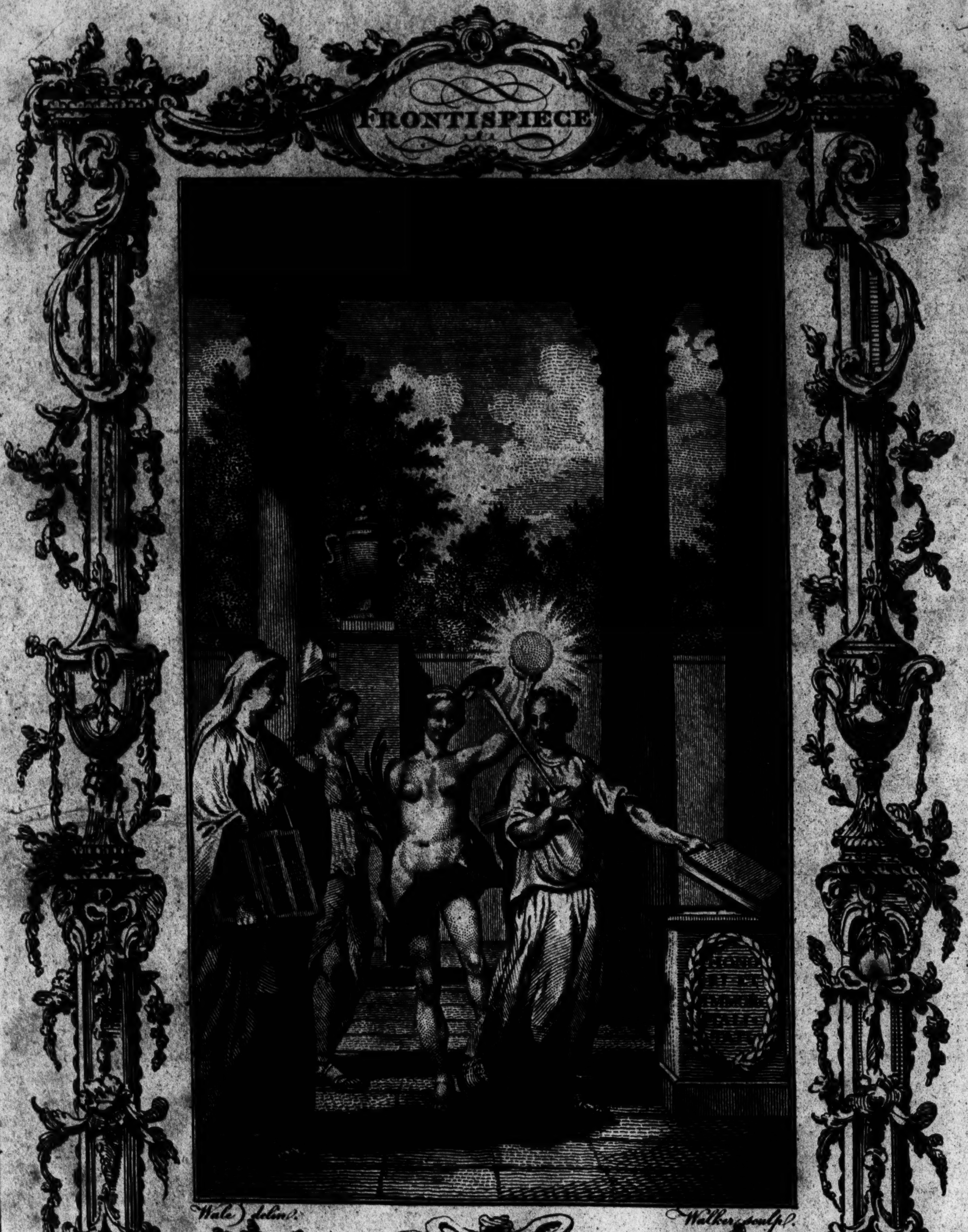
FRONTISPIECE
Wale delin.
Walker sculp.

*Explanation.*
*The Genius of History attended by Liberty, Virtue, & Religion,*
*depositing the* **HISTORY** *of* **ENGLAND** *in the*
*Temple of Honour and Immortality.*

1851 b. 20

# A
# NEW AND COMPLETE
# HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD
OF
AUTHENTIC INTELLIGENCE
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.
Wherein EVERY INTERESTING TRANSACTION, relating to
WAR or PEACE,
LAWS or GOVERNMENT,
POLICY or RELIGION,
Is IMPARTIALLY RECITED;
THE NOBLE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF
THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION
FULLY DESCRIBED, AND TRACED FROM ITS ORIGINAL FOUNDATION:
THE CHARACTERS OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS
ARE IMPARTIALLY DRAWN,
AND THEIR GENIUS AND LEARNING, THEIR VIRTUES AND THEIR VICES, PROPERLY DISPLAYED.
TOGETHER WITH
A CIRCUMSTANTIAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE,
AND THE
PROGRESS OF THE ARTS IN THIS KINGDOM,
FROM THEIR FIRST INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD OF ELEGANT IMPROVEMENT.

---

By *TEMPLE SYDNEY*, Esq. K

---

Embelliſhed and illuſtrated with upwards of ONE HUNDRED beautiful COPPER PLATES, engraved in the moſt maſterly Manner,
from the Drawings of the ingenius Mr. WALE, by thoſe capital Engliſh Artiſts,
*Grignion*, *Walker*, *Rennoldſon*, and *Taylor*.

---

*All Hail* BRITANNIA! *Queen of Iſles!*
*Where* Freedom *dwells*, *and* Commerce *ſmiles:*
*Where fair* Religion *burns her brighteſt Flame,*
*And every Virtue conſecrates her Name:*
*Whoſe Godlike Sons diſdain to yield,*
*Or in the Senate, or the Field;*
*While their ſtrong Eloquence and Courage roll*
*Warmth to the Heart, and Terror to the Soul.*
*All Hail* BRITANNIA! *Queen of Iſles!*
*Where* Freedom *dwells*, *and* Commerce *ſmiles:*
*Whoſe ſtill undaunted Tars, with Sails unfurl'd,*
*Ride in bold Triumph*, CONQUERORS *of the* WORLD.

---

LONDON:
Printed for J. COOKE, at SHAKESPEAR's-HEAD, in PATER-NOSTER ROW. MDCCLXXV

BRITISH MUSEUM

# TO THE

# PUBLIC.

THE Knowledge of the Hiſtory of any Country is of great Conſequence to its Inhabitants :——That of ENGLAND ſhould be the firſt Study of an Engliſhman. In arbitary States it may be of *ſome* Uſe to know the Proceedings of former ages ; but in a Land boaſting of its Freedom, they are peculiarly intereſting to every individual. The Author of this WORK, in exhibiting a faithful Picture of former Times, hopes, by alarming the Preſent, to preſerve the Liberties of the Future.

When we reflect on the noble Struggles made by our renowned Anceſtors in the Cauſe of Freedom, the holy Flame will be enkindled in our Breaſts, and we ſhall not tamely ſubmit to the Loſs of that Liberty which hath been purchaſed with the beſt Blood of the braveſt Men.

In the Courſe of this Volume the Writer hath taken peculiar Care to delineate with Fidelity every diſtinguiſhed Character ; and if the Colouring be ſometimes high, it is always juſt. Diſdaining to let the Royal Tyrant ſkulk behind the ſuppoſed Sanctity of his Character, he has dragged him forth to public View, and to public Contempt.——He has accompanied the Hero to the Field, and bound his Brow with Laurels :—— Nor has he forgot the modeſt merit of his fair Countrywomen ; but has given, in many Inſtances, a faithful Trait of the Female Virtues : always happy in an Opportunity of celebrating the Fortitude of the Man, and depicting the milder Graces of the Woman.

While Care hath been taken to brand the Vicious with the ſtrongeſt Mark of Infamy, the Writer hath not been leſs ſolicitous to reſcue modeſt Merit from the dreary Shade of undeſerved Obſcurity.

The gradual Advancement of RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE hath been recited with Fidelity ; the Extenſion of COMMERCE marked with Accuracy ; and the Progreſs of the FINE ARTS traced from their firſt faint Dawn, to their preſent Meridian Luſtre.

In a Word, whatever can tend to enlarge the Mind, improve the Underſtanding, and fan the ſacred Flame of FREEDOM, has been proſecuted with ſuch a Zeal, Integrity, and Fortitude, as he hopes will preclude the Neceſſity of beſpeaking the Favour of the Public.

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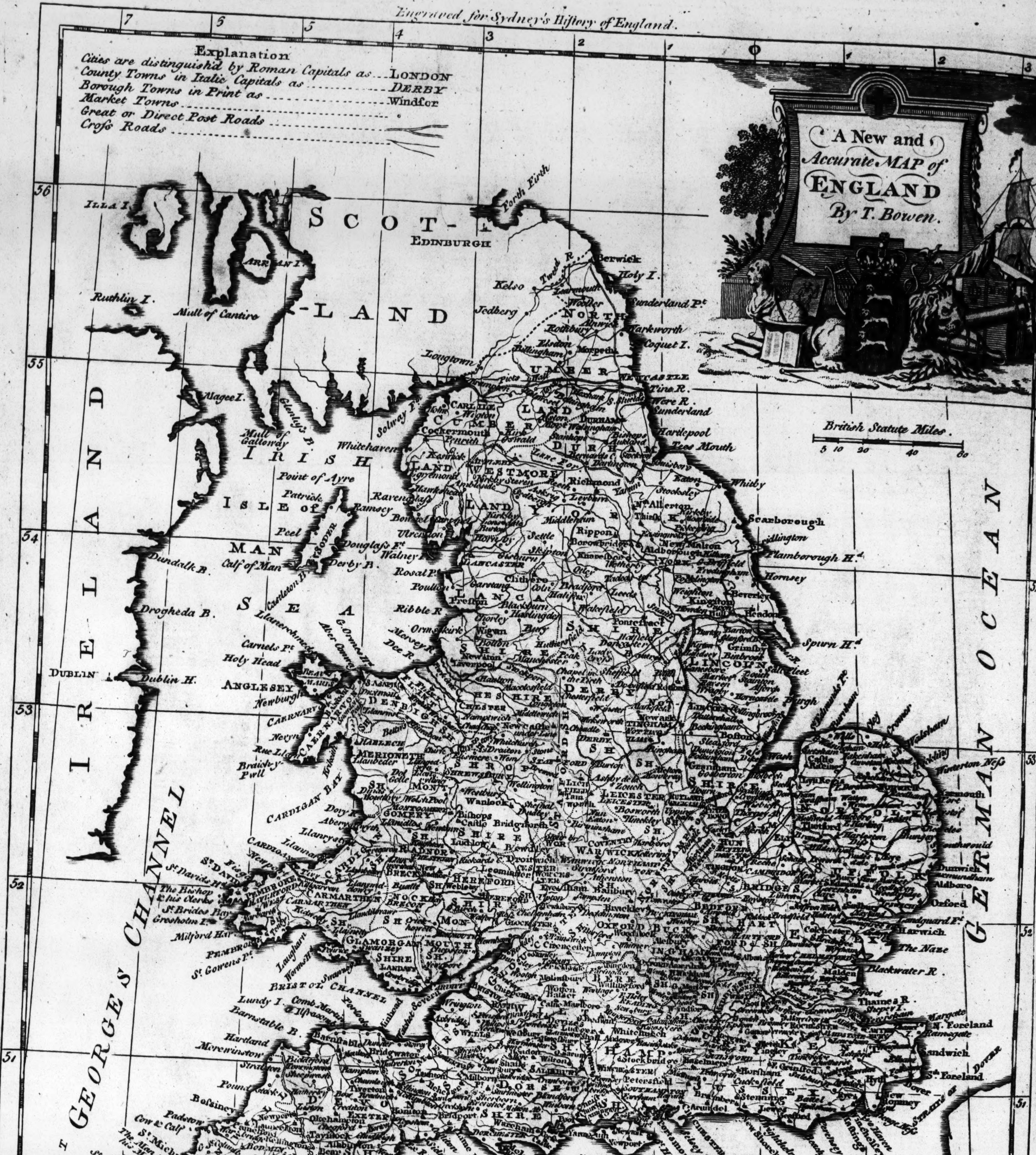
A New and Accurate MAP of ENGLAND By T. Bowen.
Explanation
Cities are distinguish'd by Roman Capitals as LONDON
County Towns in Italic Capitals as DERBY
Borough Towns in Print as Windſor
Market Towns
Great or Direct Post Roads
Croſs Roads
British Statute Miles
5 10 20 40 60
SCOT-LAND
EDINBURGH
IRELAND
DUBLIN
IRISH SEA
ISLE of MAN
ANGLESEY
St GEORGE'S CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
GERMAN OCEAN
FRANCE
Guernſey I.
Jerſey I.
Sark
The Caskets
C. de la Hague
C. Barfleur
WIGHT I.
Scilly I.s
Lands End
Lizard Pt.
Eddistone Light House
Start Pt.
Lundy I.
Holy Head
Berwick
Holy I.
Newcastle
Whitehaven
Scarborough
Flamborough Hd.
Spurn Hd.
Harwich
N. Foreland
S. Foreland
Dover
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# A
# NEW AND COMPLETE
# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## BOOK I.

### From the earlieſt Accounts of Time, to the final Departure of the Romans.

IT is generally difficult, often impoſſible, to diſcover the original inhabitants of any country. The events that happened during the infancy of nations are in time forgotten, or diſguiſed by fable and fiction: a thick cloud of ignorance and error broods over the tranſactions of early times. The firſt inhabitants of almoſt every kingdom were ſurrounded with difficulties, and expoſed to dangers; the whole country being little more than a continued foreſt, filled with beaſts of prey. Rude and ferocious in their manners, their chief employments were hunting and war. They were ſtrangers to learning, and wanted both leiſure and abilities to tranſmit their hiſtory to poſterity. It is therefore no wonder that the whole is little more than a ſeries of uncertain conjectures, mixed with a few facts, which glimmer thro' the veil of obſcurity; but afford too feeble a light to direct the hiſtorian in his reſearches.

Theſe remarks are unfortunately too applicable to the ancient monuments of the hiſtory of England. The origin of the firſt inhabitants cannot be traced with any degree of certainty: a vague and romantic tradition only remains to lead us through the intricate mazes of fabulous times. Some writers indeed have traced the origin of the Britons from Samothes, one of the ſons of Japhet; and others from Brutus, the grandſon of Æneas; but both theſe accounts are evidently fictitious, and have been long ſince exploded. The moſt probable opinion is, that this iſland was peopled at various periods, and from various parts of the continent; but it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to determine the æra when the firſt ſettlement was made. The earlieſt expedition to this iſland founded on hiſtorical evidence, happened in the reign of Theutat, or Mercury, king of the Celtes, who, about 1860 years before the birth of Chriſt, ſent a colony into Britain, in order to increaſe the commerce of his ſubjects. Others followed their example, and ſpread themſelves into different parts of the iſland. Every family became a ſeparate ſociety; and thoſe who inhabited the inland parts, having no concern with the commerce carried on by their brethren, became in time a diſtinct people. They devoted themſelves entirely to a paſtoral life, and wandered from one part of the iſland to another in ſearch of paſture for their flocks and herds. They envied not the advantageous traffic of their brethren; they deſired not to ſhare in the buſy ſcenes of commerical employment. Strangers to the refinements of luxury, their wants were few, and eaſily ſatiſfied. Hunting and feeding their flocks formed at once their buſineſs and diverſions.

In their perſons they were tall, well proportioned and robuſt. Their hair, which was generally yellow, flowed looſely over their ſhoulders: they conſtantly ſhaved their faces, except their upper lip, where they ſuffered the hair to grow to an enormous length. They ſtained their bodies of a ſky-blue colour with the juice of woad, and wore no other covering than the ſkins of beaſts. Their ornaments conſiſted of coarſe paintings of flowers and animals on various parts of their bodies. Enured to all the inclemencies of the weather, to hardſhips and fatigue, and greatly addicted to hunting, they acquired a degree of fortitude and valour, which even their brethren on the continent, beheld with aſtoniſhment. Their agility was ſurpriſing, and the dangers they every day encountered among the rocks and precipices of their country rendered them almoſt ſtrangers to fear.

Honeſt, hoſpitable, and ſincere, they conſidered both the perſons and effects of ſtrangers inviolably ſacred; they thought it an indiſpenſible duty to afford them protection and defence againſt every inſult. Open and generous, they diſdained every ſpecies of deceit and artifice; manly and brave, they beheld effeminacy and indolence with deteſtation. Liberty was their darling object, and they made no ſcruple of ſacrificing their lives in its defence. They were ſo jealous of that noble acquiſition, that it was never entruſted in the hands of a ſingle perſon. Every tribe had indeed a chief, but his authority was at once both limited and precarious. His power was rather perſuaſive than coercive; he was reverenced as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He had no guards, no priſons, no officers of juſtice; and one act of ill-judged violence was ſufficient to pull him from his throne. They were, however, very far from deſpiſing all kinds of authority, they were always attentive to the voice of wiſdom, which experience has conferred on the aged; and they willingly ſerved under the banners of a chief, in whoſe valour and military addreſs they had learned to repoſe their confidence. As a ſhade to all theſe virtues, they are charged with unbounded and even inceſtuous concubinage. But even this declined in proportion, as they became more civilized, and was ſoon after totally laid aſide.

Their habitations were mean huts, ſometimes formed of boughs of trees, reſembling arbours, and ſometimes of mud and clay, and generally covered with turf. Their towns were nothing more than a number of theſe huts, irregularly placed at ſmall diſtances from each other, and ſituated in the middle of a wood, all the avenues to which were blocked up with felled trees. They often changed the places of their abode according to the different ſeaſons of the year. In ſummer they generally inhabited the moſt fertile valleys, as affording the greateſt plenty of paſture and water for their cattle, and in the winter they removed to the hills, as being at once more dry and healthy.

While the Britons lived in this ſtate of natural tranquillity, the Belgæ finding themſelves greatly ſtreightened on the continent, ſent a colony into Britain. They were hoſpitably received by the inhabitants, and ſuffered to ſettle on the coaſt, where they applied themſelves to commerce and agriculture. Struck with the advantages reſulting from the latter, the natives applied themſelves to cultivate the ſoil. The increaſe was prodigious, and bread became the common food of the natives; the firſt refinement they received from their more opulent neighbours. The ſucceſs of theſe foreigners induced many of their countrymen to follow their example, till their number was ſo greatly increaſed, and their ſettlements extended over ſo large a part of the country, that the natives feared they ſhould ſoon want paſture for their flocks.

The tranquillity of the iſland was now deſtroyed; diſcord and faction ſucceeded to peace and unity. Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, took advantage of the civil commotions of the Britons, landed a conſiderable army on the coaſt, and being joined by great numbers of the Belgæ, inhabiting the maritime parts of the iſland, penetrated into the heart of the country, and reduced ſeveral of the inland provinces, which he garriſoned with Belgic troops. War and devaſtation now filled the iſland with blood and ſlaughter. The ſmaller tribes unable to defend themſelves againſt the inroads of the enemy, joined with others, and thus ſeventeen kingdoms, or principalities, were formed in the iſland; and each governed by an independent chief.

The names of the inhabitants of theſe principalities, and the counties they included, are exhibited in the following table.

| INHABITANTS. | PRINCIPALITIES. |
|---|---|
| 1 Cantii | Kent. |
| 2 Regni | Surry.<br>Suſſex. |
| 3 Durotriges | Dorſetſhire. |
| 4 Dunmonii | Cornwall.<br>Devonſhire. |
| 5 Belgæ | Somerſetſhire.<br>Wiltſhire.<br>Hamſhire. |
| 6 Attrebatii | Berkſhire. |
| 7 Dobuni | Glouceſterſhire.<br>Oxfordſhire. |
| 8 Cattieuchlani | Buckinghamſhire.<br>Bedfordſhire.<br>Hertfordſhire. |
| 9 Trinobantes | Middleſex.<br>Eſſex. |
| 10 Iceni | Suffolk.<br>Norfolk.<br>Cambridgeſhire.<br>Huntingdonſhire. |
| 11 Coritani | Northamptonſhire.<br>Leiceſterſhire.<br>Rutlandſhire.<br>Lincolnſhire.<br>Nottinghamſhire.<br>Derbyſhire. |
| 12 Cornavii | Warwickſhire.<br>Worceſterſhire.<br>Staffordſhire.<br>Shropſhire.<br>Cheſhire. |
| 13 Brigantes | Yorkſhire.<br>Durham.<br>Lancaſhire.<br>Weſtmorland.<br>Cumberland. |
| 14 Ottadini | Northumberland. |
| 15 Silures | Herefordſhire.<br>Radnorſhire.<br>Brecknockſhire.<br>Monmouthſhire.<br>Glamorganſhire. |
| 16 Ordovices | Montgomeryſhire.<br>Merionethſhire.<br>Caernarvonſhire.<br>Angleſey.<br>Derbyſhire.<br>Flintſhire. |
| 17 Dimetæ | Caermarthenſhire.<br>Pembrokeſhire.<br>Cardiganſhire. |

Before the invaſion of Divitiacus, the Britons were totally ignorant of all military diſcipline; they hardly knew an inſtrument of war. Deſtitute of fortifications, they had no other retreat than their mountains, their defiles, their foreſts rendered more difficult by felled trees, and their bogs. Their only arms were ſharp-pointed ſticks, which they uſed as javelins, and long poles cleft at one of the extremities to receive a ſharp edged flint ſecured by a band of copper. A bell of the ſame metal was fixed at the other extremity, with the noiſe of which they endeavoured to terrify the enemy. But they learned from the Belgæ the uſe of the ſword, the dagger, and the target. They improved the war chariot, which they decorated very ſuperbly, and fixed ſharp iron inſtruments, reſembling ſcythes, to the axles. Their dexterity in managing theſe deſtructive chariots was amazing; they drove them with dreadful rapidity through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy's infantry, cutting down and trampling upon all that oppoſed their paſſage. They could ſtop them in an inſtant when in full ſpeed, and even on the declivity of a hill, leap from the chariot, run along the pole, and regain their ſeat, without checking the impetuoſity of the horſes. When they had penetrated into the center of the enemy, they leaped from their chariots, fought on foot till overcame with fatigue, and then vaulted into their ſeats. Endued with uncommon valour and perſeverance, and enured to hardſhips and fatigue, they charged the enemy with a fury ſcarce reſiſtable by troops not covered with armour. They advanced to the attack with every circumſtance that tended to inſpire the enemy with terror. They claſhed their arms in the moſt furious manner, raiſed a dreadful ſhout, while the hoarſe and jarring ſounds of uncouth inſtruments increaſed the confuſion of the wild uproar. The charge was dreadful: the tracks of their chariots were marked with blood and ſlaughter, and deſtruction hovered over the field of battle. But their being divided into ſeparate tribes, and governed by different chiefs, gave the enemy an advantage not eaſily retrieved. They were ſenſible of this, and endeavoured in ſome meaſure, to repair ſo pernicious a defect in the conſtitution of their country. When any eminent danger threatened their liberties, the ſtates were aſſembled, and a general was choſen, who commanded the whole army, and led the combined forces againſt the enemy. But though he had no equal in command, his power was not unlimited. He was ſubject to the orders of the aſſembly. The ſame authority that conferred, could deprive him of his command; and as ſoon as the danger was over he reſigned the enſigns of his power. A conſiderable interval of time, however, elapſed, before theſe precautions could be taken, during which the enemy was too often fluſhed with victory, and rendered more formidable by ſucceſs.

Though the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts of Britain were addicted to traffic even from the time of Theutat, it is difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to enumerate all the commodities in which their commerce conſiſted. It is known that the Phœnicians, even before the ſiege of Troy, which happened 1190 years before

Chriſt, carried on a conſiderable trade with the weſtern parts of the iſland for tin, which they ſold to other nations; giving the Britons pearls, ivory, ſilver and gold in exchange. The two former they manufactured, and in that ſtate ſold them to the merchants of Gaul. After the Belgæ had introduced agriculture, and extended the commerce of the iſland, the corn and wool of the Britons furniſhed valuable commodities, and were purchaſed with avidity by the traders on the continent. But the iſlanders were deſtitute of veſſels of burden: the art of ſhip-building was unknown to the Britons. They had only a few open boats, poorly conſtructed of wicker, and covered with pitched hides. In veſſels ſo ill adapted to out-live a ſtorm, very ſhort voyages only could be made; the tempeſtuous ſeas of Britain were not to be navigated in boats like theſe. The continent of Gaul was probably the fartheſt voyage they undertook, and this only in the ſummer months, and when the weather was calm and ſerene. Navigation, as well as ſhip-building, was introduced after the invaſion of the Romans.

But though the power of their chiefs was limited and precarious, that of their prieſts, whom they called Druids, was more abſolute and extenſive. Their influence in civil affairs was great, and in religious ceremonies abſolute and unlimited. They engroſſed all the learning of their country, and found their account in continuing the veil of ignorance over the eyes of a ſuperſtitious people. Skilled in every art that had a tendency to excite the admiration of an uninſtructed multitude, they were revered as ſomething more than mortal, and believed to be inſpired with the wiſdom of the deity. The education of youth was entruſted to their care, and without their approbation, no criminal could be executed. They were governed by a chief, called the arch-druid, whoſe power extended to the depoſition of kings. He was the ſupreme arbiter of all diſputes, and from his ſentence there was no appeal.

Every part of the druidical religion, was calculated to ſtrike the people with the terrors of ſuperſtition. Their altars were ſituated in the dark receſſes of ſome gloomy foreſt, and human victims were ſacrificed to their gods. Their ceremonies were always ſtriking; ſometimes dreadfully awful. The knowledge of the druids in aſtronomy was ſufficient for calculating eclipſes of the ſun, and they always took advantage of theſe phænomena. The people were ſummoned to the ſacred grove; the arch-druid preſided in perſon; and as ſoon as the eclipſe began, the victims were ſlain upon the altar. The horror of the ſlaughter was doubly augmented by the darkneſs, which the people conſidered as ſupernatural. Amidſt this ſcene of complicated diſtreſs, the arch-druid, agitated with enthuſiaſtic fury, and his hands reeking with human blood, addreſſed the gods; and continued his prayers till the darkneſs was over, when the wrath of heaven viſibly appearing to be appeaſed, he diſmiſſed the people with his bleſſing.

Perſuaded that the powers of nature were entruſted with their druids, and that their prayers were ſufficient to call down or avert the wrath of the gods; it is no wonder that an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, almoſt adored them, and that their power was unlimited. But this power which they gained by art and deception, they uſed for the nobleſt purpoſes. They compoſed, by their mediation, the civil diſcords of their country. Their integrity was not be corrupted; their fortitude and perſeverance were uncommon. The great as well as poor trembled at their juſtice; for neither riches nor power were able to warp the equity of their deciſions. Their authority was ſufficient to ſoothe the rage of exaſperated armies, when on the very point of engaging. Fearleſs of the danger, and armed only by their ſacred character, they often ruſhed between the javelines of furious warriors, and calmed the raging ſtorm of contending paſſions into peace.

The oaks were ſacred among the druids; their conſecrated groves conſiſted entirely of thoſe trees; and their branches compoſed all the ornaments of their altars. The miſletoe of the oak was a peculiar object of veneration, being conſidered as the choiceſt gift of heaven. It was annually ſought for on the firſt day of the moon in the ſpring, with great caution and anxiety; and its diſcovery hailed by the acclamations of the multitude. The arch-druid, dreſſed in a long robe, aſcended the tree, and cropped the miſletoe with a golden pruning-knife. With this ſacred acquiſition in the ſkirts of his robe, he deſcended the tree, and offered a ſacrifice to the gods, to implore a bleſſing on their own gift.

It is not eaſy, at this diſtance of time, to diſcover the religious tenets of the Druids. All we know is that they believed in one ſupreme God, infinite, immortal and omnipotent; that all things derive their origin from heaven; that the ſoul is immortal, and that the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked puniſhed in a future life. Their idea of the deity was noble and ſublime. They believed his preſence filled the univerſe, his power ſupported the pillars of heaven, and his eye pervaded the inmoſt receſſes of the heart. “It was, ſays Tacitus, an opinion univerſally eſtabliſhed in all the countries where the religion of the Druids prevailed, that to ſuppoſe the preſence of the deity to be confined within any encloſed place, to repreſent him in an human form, or by any material image, was at once derogatory to his honour, and incompatible with his divine attributes.”

A. C. 55. Such were the ancient Britons, and ſuch the religious tenets they profeſſed, when Cæſar, after ſubduing the Gauls to the Roman yoke, meditated the conqueſt of their country. Animated with the deſire of extending the glory of his arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, he determined to tranſport his victorious legions into this unknown country: the conqueror of Gaul muſt alſo triumph over the armies of the Britons. He pretended, indeed, that the Britons had aſſiſted the Gauls againſt the Romans; and that they had given refuge to the Belgæ, who had excited a revolt. This was conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for hoſtilities, it having been long a maxim with the Romans to chaſtiſe all who had in any manner aſſiſted their enemies.

But whatever was the motive that excited Cæſar to engage in this expedition, it is certain that he took every precaution to inſure ſucceſs. He ſent Voluſenus in a ſingle ſhip to ſurvey the Britiſh coaſt, and obtain all the intelligence he could with ſafety. At the ſame time, he diſpached Comius, a Briton by birth, but a creature of his own, as ambaſſador to his countrymen, to perſuade them to form an alliance with the Romans, and put themſelves under the protection of the conqueror of Gaul. Both theſe atempts were rendered abortive. Voluſenus was not able to make any material diſcoveries, and Comius was loaded with chains, and treated as a traitor to his country.

No diſappointment was, however, ſufficient to check the ardour of Cæſar. He embarked two legions on board eighteen ſhips, ſailed from the coaſt of Gaul at midnight, and reached the Britiſh coaſt on the 26th of Auguſt, fifty-five years before the birth of Chriſt. Jealous of their liberties and religion, and acquainted with the deſign of the Roman general, the Britons had not been idle in making preparations for the defence of their country. Cæſar on his approaching the iſland perceived the ſhore lined with the natives to oppoſe his landing. His genius only was capable of ſurmounting the difficulties that now oppoſed his enterprize. Strangers to the manner of landing in the face of an enemy, deſtitute of boats, and incommoded by the ſurf of the ſea, the Roman ſoldiers ſhrunk from the danger; the conquerors of the world were for once intimidated. Cæſar perceived their confuſion, and exerted all his abilities to remove it; but ſtill the Romans refuſed to leap into the ſea amidſt a multitude of enemies who threatened their deſtruction. At length the ſtandard bearer of the tenth legion, with an intrepidity truly Roman, leaped overboard with the enſign in his hand, exhorting his brother ſoldiers to follow his example, as the only method to prevent their eagle from falling into the hands of the enemy. The ſenſe of honour now prevailed over the ſenſe of danger; and reproach effected what perſuaſion had attempted in vain. The whole legion followed their ſtandard-bearer, and the Roman army was ſoon engaged with the Britons. But here their boaſted diſcipline was of no advantage; the irregular manner of quitting their ſhips had thrown them into confuſion, and they were too vigorouſly aſſaulted by the Britons to form their ranks; the fortune of Cæſar was on the point of deſerting him. He ſaw the danger, and by a furious diſcharge from his engines broke the ranks of the enemy. The Romans took advantage of their diſorder and reached the ſhore. The fortune of the day was now entirely changed. The Romans recovered their ranks, attacked the Britons with their wonted intrepidity, and drove them from the field. The victory, however, was far from being complete; the Britons retreated to a neighbouring foreſt, and Cæſar thought it prudent not to perſue them. Convinced of the ſuperiority of the Romans, and dreading the effects of farther oppoſition to an enemy, now conſidered as invincible, the Britons releaſed Comius, and ſent him with their ambaſſadors to the Roman general, with offers of ſubmiſſion. A peace was concluded; they delivered ſome hoſtages, and promiſed to ſend others to the continent.

But the ſcene of war was hardly cloſed, before a violent ſtorm made dreadful havock in Cæſar's fleet. It happened in the middle of the night, ſo that the darkneſs augmented the horrors of the tempeſt. Some of the gallies were daſhed to pieces, and others that had been drawn up upon the ſhore, were filled with water. This dreadful misfortune ſpread ſuch univerſal terror and conſternation among the Roman ſoldiers, that they ſeemed not to be the ſame people. They had no materials for refitting their ſhips, and proviſions began to grow ſcarce in their camp. The heart of the intrepid Cæſar trembled for the conſequence.

The Britons perceived the diſtreſs of the enemy, and their innate love of liberty animated them to attempt the recovery of their independence. The warlike ſpirit of the generous iſlanders revived; their deteſtation of ſlavery rouzed them to action. Their ambaſſadors, after carefully viewing Cæſar's camp, ſecretly withdrew to their countrymen, that they might be more than ſpectators in the noble ſtruggle for freedom. They collected their ſcattered forces, and endeavoured to cut off all ſupplies of proviſions from the Roman camp.

Cæſar had foreſeen the conſequence, and took every precaution to render the attemps of the enemy abortive. He ordered all the harveſt of the neighbouring fields to be ſecured, and a magazine of corn to be collected within the fortifications of his camp. He refitted one of his gallies, and ſent her to the continent of Gaul for the neceſſary materials for refitting the reſt. In the mean time the fragments of the ſhips which the ſtorm had rendered irrepairable, were uſed with aſſiduity and ſucceſs. In ten days the remainder of his fleet was completely repaired. The Roman courage again revived, and the flame of conqueſt once more warmed the breaſts of theſe intrepid veterans. They had gathered in the greater part of the harveſt without diſturbance, and the paſſive behaviour of the Britons ſeemed to convince them, that their alarming apprehenſions had no other foundation than their own fears.

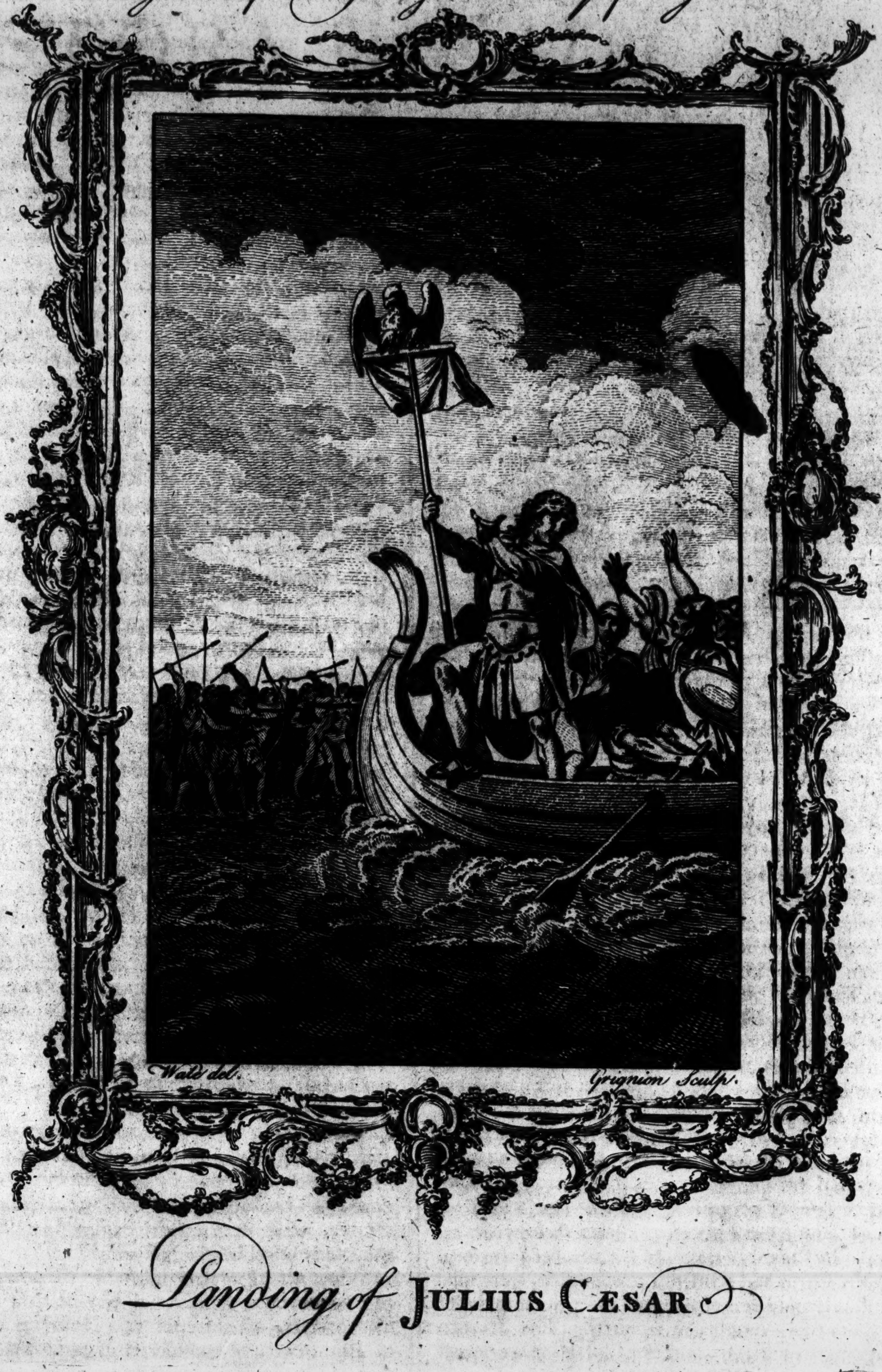
The moſt diſtant field of corn was ſtill untouched, and the ſeventh legion diſpatched to reap it. But they had hardly begun, when they found themſelves attacked by a numerous army of Britons, who had concealed themſelves for that purpoſe in a neighbouring wood. The Romans perceived their danger, and prepared for a retreat: but this was impoſſible. The Britons ſurrounded the field with their war-chariots, whoſe axles were armed with ſcythes, and attacked the Romans with a fury to which even theſe experienced ſoldiers, nurſed in the lap of ſlaughter, were wholly ſtrangers. Fortunately for them, and fortunately for their leader, the advanced guard of the camp perceived an unuſal cloud of duſt, and gueſſed the cauſe. Cæſar was alarmed, and flew at the head of the guard to the aſſiſtance of his diſtreſſed legion. His arrival prevented a general ſlaughter. Overpowered by numbers, and a retreat rendered impoſſible, a very ſhort interval of time muſt inevitably have determined the fate of this intrepid legion. The preſence of their general inſpired them with freſh courage: the attack of the Britons became more languid: they opened their ranks and retired to ſome diſtance, and Cæſar, after joining his legion, drew up his forces in order of battle; but the Britons not advancing to the charge, he retired unmoleſted to his camp. This is the only inſtance of that general's ever neglecting to pour his vengeance on the foe. Perhaps it is not too much to ſay, that Cæſar was, for the firſt time, obliged to leave the palm of victory in the hands of the enemy.

Convinced that the Romans, however powerful, were not invulnerable, and elated with their late ſucceſs, the Britons imprudently undertook what they were unable to perform. They ſent diſpatches into all parts of the iſland, inviting the chiefs of the petty ſtates to join them with all their forces, that they might aſſault the Roman camp, and pour deſtruction on the heads of the invaders of their county. A numerous army was ſoon collected, and the Roman intrenchments attacked with all the fury of an enraged multitude. Cæſar, with great tranquillity, beheld the irregular and unſucceſsful aſſault. He drew out his legions before the principal gate of his camp; and charged the undiſciplined Britons with ſo much impetuoſity, that they were unable to ſuſtain the ſhock. They fled in confuſion to their foreſts, and trembled leſt the Romans ſhould follow them to their retreat.

In this dreadful ſituation, the Britons once more ſued for peace; nor was their requeſt diſagreeable to Cæſar. Deſtitute of cavalry, he found it impoſſible to purſue his advantages by following the enemy into the inland parts of the iſland, the only method of ſecuring his conqueſt. The late battle was far from being deciſive; the Britons were defeated; but they had ſtill prodigious reſources, and their paſſion for liberty would not yet ſuffer them to ſubmit to the galling yoke of ſlavery. Proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, the harveſt was over, and his army, though victorious, had ſuffered greatly, and were averſe to winter in an enemy's country, and in an iſland wholly unknown. Cæſar therefore readily admitted the ambaſſadors, and ſigned another treaty of peace with the Britons. Senſible of his own dangerous ſituation, and that the iſlanders would obſerve the peace no longer than they were in a condition to break it, he embarked his legions, ſailed on the twentieth of September, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed ſafely on the contient of Gaul.

Whatever luſtre may adorn the victories of Cæſar; and whatever applauſe may be due to his capacity, his conduct, his intrepidity, yet ſurely his invaſion of Britain can be conſidered in no other light than that of the oppreſſive act of a lawleſs tyrant. Actuated ſolely by ambition, and deaf to the ſoft whiſpers of humanity, he trampled on the laws of nations, and deluged the fields of a country to which he had not even a pretended claim, with the blood of its innocent inhabitants. Virtue was ſacrificed to ambition, and juſtice hurled from her ſeat by the hand of oppreſſion. Let the bold invaders of the natural rights of mankind, view the baſe acts of tyranny with delight, and applaud the man that ſpurns at the laws of immutable juſtice; but let Britons, who pretend at leaſt to found their actions on the ſolid baſis of virtue and honour, withdraw the flimſey veil which vice has

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Landing of* JULIUS CÆSAR.

BRITISH 26DE71 MUSEUM

woven for deformity, and diſplay, in their genuine colours, the flagitious actions of every oppreſſor of the human ſpecies.

The Britons were no ſooner freed from the invaders of their country, than they determined not to obſerve the peace they had concluded from neceſſity. Cæſar alſo made preparations for invading the iſland in the ſpring with a more formidable force. Warlike preparations were made in the ports of Gaul with great vigour and diſpatch. Ships and military ſtores were collected in the harbours of Spain, and every precaution taken for riveting the chains of ſlavery on the arms of the Britons.

Alarmed at theſe preparations, and determined to exert their utmoſt force in the defence of their liberties, their country, and religion, the Britons entered into a general aſſociation, and elected a commander in chief over all their forces. Two generals, equal in abilities, and equal in valour, were candidates for this important poſt of dignity and honour. Caſſivellaunus chief of the Caſſii, or inhabitants of Hertfordſhire, and Imanuentius, general of the Trinobantes, or inhabitants of Middleſex, were the two perſons between whom the lot of pre-eminence was for ſome time ſuſpended. The conteſt was warm and ſpirited; the ſuffrages were divided till the death of Imanuentius, who loſt his life in the conflict, and put an end to the debate. Caſſivellaunus was proclaimed general of the Britiſh forces, and Mandubratius, the ſon of Imanuentius, to avoid the fate of his father, fled to Cæſar for protection.

The time of embarkation now advanced apace, and Cæſar ſaw his fleet increaſed with ſix hundred new tranſports and twenty-eight gallies, which, with the remains of his old ſquadron, he conſidered as abundantly ſufficient for his intended invaſion. This numerous fleet rendezvouſed in the port of Itium, now Calais, as neareſt to the Britiſh ſhore. Here he embarked his forces, which conſiſted of five legions of foot, and two thouſand horſe; and in the beginning of June, fifty-four years before the birth of Chriſt, left the port of Itium at ſun-ſet. The next morning they approached the Britiſh coaſt, and came to an anchor near Deal, the place where Cæſar made his former deſcent.

Diſconcerted at the appearance of ſo formidable a fleet, the Britons abandoned their firſt reſolution of defending the ſhore, ſo that Cæſar, to his great aſtoniſhment, landed his forces without oppoſition. A convenient ſpot of ground on Barham Downs was marked out for a camp, and Q. Atrius, at the head of a ſufficient detachment, was left to guard the ſpot, and fortify it with the utmoſt expedition, that in caſe of any misfortune, it might afford a ſecure retreat. This precaution being taken, Cæſar ſet out at midnight with the main body of his army, in ſearch of the Britons. After a march of twelve miles, he diſcovered the enemy poſted in a very advantageous ſituation, having the river Stour in their front, and a thick wood in their rear. Their war-chariots were drawn up in great order along the bank of the ſtream, the paſſage of which they determined to defend. The attack was begun by the Roman cavalry, who charged the Britons with ſuch impetuoſity, that they ſoon forced the paſſage, and the Britons retreated into the wood in their rear. All the avenues were fortified with ramparts compoſed of large trees laid acroſs one another to a conſiderable height. Nor were theſe the only defences of this intricate and gloomy retreat. In the center of the wood was a very ſtrong fortreſs, conſtructed during the civil wars, which ſome time before raged in this part of the country.

The difficulty of forcing a paſſage through thoſe rude, but ſtrong ramparts, was ſufficiently apparent. The Roman cavalry made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, in which they were greatly haraſſed by the Britons, and were at laſt obliged to abandon the attempt to the infantry. The fortifications for ſome time baffled all their force; at laſt, the ſeventh legion was ſucceſsful, and the Britons were driven from their poſt with great ſlaughter.

Cæſar now determined to purſue the advantage he had gained over the enemy; but before he could carry his deſign into execution an expreſs arrived from Q. Atrius, informing him that a dreadful ſtorm, during the preceding night had deſtroyed the greater part of his fleet. The preſervation of his navy now engaged his whole attention, and obliterated the deſire of victory. Inſtead of following the enemy, Cæſar marched to the ſea-coaſt, where he was himſelf witneſs of the havock made by the tempeſt. Forty of his ſhips were entirely deſtroyed, and the reſt greatly damaged. He was now convinced that it was neceſſary to ſecure his navy from future misfortunes before he could with ſafety purſue the flying enemy. He ordered his veſſels to be drawn on ſhore above the reach of the waves, and ſurrounded by the fortifications of his camp. The ſoldiers applied themſelves with great alacrity to this aſtoniſhing undertaking; and having completed the deſign, Cæſar, after leaving a proper force for the defence of his marine camp marched again in purſuit of the enemy.

This misfortune, which had ſo greatly alarmed the Romans, revived the courage of the Britons, their numbers daily increaſed, and they again took poſſeſſion of the wood they had been forced to abandon. Experience had convinced Caſſivellaunus, that his forces were no match for the Romans in the open field; and he therefore took the wiſe precaution of avoiding a general engagement, and to content himſelf with haraſſing the enemy with flying parties, and cutting off their proviſions. Cæſar ſoon felt the effects of theſe prudent meaſures. His forces were continually attacked, with amazing impetuoſity, by ſmall parties who iſſued ſuddenly from their coverts, and as ſuddenly retreated. They were indeed generally repulſed, but not diſheartened; they returned to the charge with the ſame vigour, and with the ſame unſhaken firmneſs.

Cæſar was now ſufficiently alarmed. He ſaw the conſequence of being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and his troops perpetually haraſſed by flying parties of the enemy. He therefore determined to fortify his camp, and endeavour to bring the Britons to a general engagement. Caſſivellaunus, who watched every motion of the Roman general, thought it prudent to attack them before the ramparts were completed. Accordingly, while the Romans were buſily engaged in their works, he ruſhed upon them with the utmoſt fury; the advanced guard, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, gave way, and a great ſlaughter enſued. Cæſar ſaw their diſtreſs, and ſent two cohorts to their aſſiſtance. But intimidated by the dreadful execution of the Britons, they halted inſtead of joining their companions. Caſſivellaunus perceived their conſternation, attacked them with his uſual force, and routed them with conſiderable loſs. Several Roman officers, particularly Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, were among the ſlain.

This ſucceſs proved fatal to the Britons. Jealous of the honour obtained by Caſſivellaunus, ſeveral of the petty princes left the camp; abandoning at once the cauſe of liberty and the intereſt of their country. The Romans, who expected a ſecond attack, were ſurpriſed when the morning diſcovered only a ſmall number of the enemy on the hills, at ſome diſtance from their camp, diſperſed in ſcattered parties, who ſeemed to decline an engagement. This change of conduct ſeemed myſterious to Cæſar, who detached three legions of foot, ſupported by all his horſe, on a foraging party, under the command of Tribonius. The deſertion of a very conſiderable part of his army had no other effect on Caſſivellaunus than that of rendering him more circumſpect in his conduct. He determined to haraſs the Roman detachment. Accordingly the horſe was attacked with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to fall back upon the foot. This ſmall advantage brought on a general engagement.

The Britons ruſhed from their retreat, and fell upon the invaders of their country with their uſual violence. But the compacted ranks of the Romans ſuſtained the ſhock, and totally defeated the Britiſh army.

This misfortune completed the deſertion which jealouſy had begun. The confederacy was now almoſt totally deſtroyed; and the Trinobantes, who had hitherto been kept within the bounds of their duty, by the power of Caſſivellaunus, abandoned the cauſe of their country, and put themſelves under the protection of Cæſar. Strengthened by this acquiſition, and freed from the danger of a general oppoſition, the Roman general turned his whole force againſt the unfortunate Caſſivellaunus, whoſe country was now devoted to deſtruction. The Briton perceived the gathering ſtorm, and took every poſſible precaution to break its force. He croſſed the Thames at the head of his diminiſhed army, and determined there to make a ſtand againſt the conqueror of the world. He fortified the oppoſite bank with palliſadoes and intrenchments; and, in the only place where the ſtream was fordable, he drove into the bed of the river a great number of ſtakes, which were ſharpened at the top and concealed under the ſurface of the water.

But theſe artful diſpoſitions were of little advantage to Caſſivellaunus. Cæſar was informed of the contrivance by deſerters, and took the neceſſary precautions for rendering the whole abortive. The Roman horſe firſt plunged into the ſtream, and were followed by the foot with the greateſt alacrity, though incumbered with their heavy armour, and the water up to their chins. Struck with aſtoniſhment at the ardor and intrepidity of the Romans, whom no obſtacle could ſtop, no difficulty intimidate, the Britons abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated to the woods, where alone they could hope for ſafety. Caſſivellaunus now perceived that all reſiſtance was in vain, and therefore determined to ſpare the lives of his followers, that when any favourable opportunity ſhould offer, he might be able to revenge the diſtreſſes of his country. He therefore diſmiſſed his forces, retaining only four thouſand chariots, in order to cut off the ſtraggling parties, and, if poſſible, prevent the Romans from obtaining proviſions ſufficient to ſupport their army. This conduct was more alarming to Cæſar than all the attacks of the Britons. He found that the prudence of Caſſivellaunus was equal to his valour. The cattle were, by his orders, driven from the fields, and the corn taken from the granaries; ſo that the Romans had no other ſubſiſtance than the ſcanty pillage of a few inconſiderable farms.

But theſe prudent meaſures were rendered abortive and the Romans enabled to purſue their march by the puſillanimous behaviour of the Ceni magni, or inhabitants of Surry, who perceiving that the Trinobantes were freed from the calamities of war, and lived in tranquillity under the protection of Cæſar, determined to follow their example. They ſent an embaſſy to the Roman general, with offers of ſubmiſſion. Their ambaſſadors met with a favourable reception. A peace was concluded, and the Ceni magni furniſhed the Roman army with proviſions. Cæſar now purſued his march to the capital of Caſſivellunus, marking his rout with blood and devaſtation. Every village was laid in aſhes, and the whole country rendered a ſmoking deſert.

The capital of the Britiſh general conſiſted only of a number of huts, ſituated in the center of a wood, the avenues to which were ſtrongly fortified with ditches, ramparts of earth, and felled trees. Theſe fortifications, though formed in the rudeſt manner, appeared formidable to the Romans. They had before experienced the difficulty of ſtorming ramparts defended by troops driven to deſpair. Cæſar ſaw the danger, and therefore ordered the fortifications to be attacked at two different places. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. Caſſivellaunus had no aſſiſtant capable of defending the rampart againſt the enemy. His preſence was neceſſary at both the avenues attempted, and wherever he commanded, the Romans were repulſed. But he could not divide his attention, and therefore thought it more prudent to retreat. The Romans now forced the rampart, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the deſerted capital. They found, however, great quantities of corn and cattle, Caſſivellaunus having made this place a general magazine of proviſions, and a retreat for his ſubjects with their flocks and herds.

Deſerted by his friends, and defeated by his enemies, his capital taken, and his territories laid waſte, Caſſivellaunus was ſupported only by his own greatneſs of ſoul. He ſtill retained the noble ſpirit of his anceſtors. He preferred liberty in diſtreſs to ſlavery in affluence; and though unable any longer to ſupport the cauſe of his country, he planned an expedition, which had it ſucceeded, would have overwhelmed the invaders with diſtreſs. Cæſar had left his navy within the intrenchments of his camp on the ſhore, and was now above eighty miles diſtant. The Kentiſh princes were ſtill firm in their alliance, and ready to act againſt the invaders of their country. Caſſivellaunus thought a favourable opportunity now offered for deſtroying the Roman fleet. He ſent expreſſes to the princes of Kent with orders to collect their forces privately, and attack the entrenchments of the enemy before they received any intimation of their deſign. His orders were ſtrictly obeyed; but unfortunately for the Britons, the ramparts of the Romans reſiſted all their efforts. They were repulſed, and the Romans, not content with defending their fortifications, ſallied out upon the aſſailants, put them to flight, and took their general priſoner.

Caſſivellaunus was now convinced that all oppoſition was in vain. He ſaw that his continuing any longer in arms contributed only to prolong the miſeries of his country; and was therefore deſirous of ſheathing the deſtructive ſword of war. He ſent an ambaſſador to Cæſar, who liſtened to his offers, and concluded a general peace with the Britons on the following conditions: that they ſhould ſubmit to the Roman ſtate, pay an annual tribute, and ſend a number of hoſtages to Rome, as a ſecurity for the performance of their engagements. It was alſo agreed, that Mandubratius ſhould continue unmoleſted in his dominions.

A general pacification having taken place, Cæſar returned to his naval camp, and prepared for his departure. His ſhips were launched and refitted with the greateſt expedition, and about the middle of September he ſailed for the coaſt of Gaul, which he reached after a ſafe and quick paſſage. On his return to Rome, he offered a croſlet of Britiſh pearls at the ſhrine of Venus Genetrix, from whom he was ſaid to be deſcended; and to fix a laſting remembrance of his expeditions into Britain, he employed his priſoners in adjuſting the tapeſtry ſcenes of the threatre, on which the victories he gained over the Britons were repreſented; while others of a more robuſt conſtitution, were employed in carrying the ſedans of the ſenators and principal nobility.

If we candidly examine the ſecond expedition of Cæſar, it will appear rather ſplendid than effectual. He penetrated indeed much farther into the iſland, and formed alliances with ſeveral of the petty princes; but he retained not a foot of ground, nor procured any ſolid advantage to his country. He did not think it prudent to winter in the iſland, nor even to leave part of his army in garriſon to keep the Britons in ſubjection. He retired rather as a defeated general, than a conqueror; and after laying part of the country waſte, and manuring the fields with the blood of their maſters, he left the Britons to repair the devaſtations, and cultivate with new ardor the lovely plant of liberty and independence. The treaty he concluded can be conſidered only a temporary ſubmiſſion, and of which he took no care to ſecure the continuance. All the honour therefore that juſtly belongs to that celebrated general, conſiſts in his having carried the Roman arms, beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and defeated the inhabitants of an iſland known to his countrymen only by the name.

The death of Cæſar lighted up the torch of civil diſcord in Rome, and the affairs of Britain were forgotten amidſt the diſtractions that filled the capital of the world. The Britons themſelves were either too ignorant or too careleſs to tranſmit to poſterity the tranſactions of their country. An interval of ſeveral years intervened without affording any remarkable events to fill ~~the page of hiſtory~~. All that can be collected is, that Caſſivelluanus ſeverely chaſtiſed the Trinobantes, for having joined the invaders of their country; and that at his death he left his crown to his nephew Tinuantius, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Cunoboline, a prince of great talents, improved by an excellent education at Rome.

Soon after Auguſtus was ſettled on the imperial throne, he undertook to compel the Britons to obſerve the treaty they had made with Julius Cæſar, and accordingly advanced into Gaul to carry his deſign into execution. A revolt in Panonia rendered his return neceſſary, and for ſome time ſuſpended his expedition. But as ſoon as the tranquillity of that province was reſtored, Auguſtus once more marched into Gaul, where he was met by an embaſſy from Britain, and a peace was immediately concluded. From this period the Britons maintained a friendly correſpondence with the Romans during the reign of Auguſtus, and that of his ſucceſſor Tiberius. They paid no other tribute than a ſmall duty on merchandize exported to Gaul, the only remaining mark of ſubjection; in all other reſpects they were a free and independent people. This intercourſe between the Britons and the continent ſoftened their ferocious manners; they grew inſenſibly enamoured of the Roman arts, and began to cultivate them with ſucceſs. Several of the Britiſh princes reſided at Rome, and others ſent their ſons thither for their education.

But though the Britons were not oppoſed by any foreign enemy, civil diſcord ~~frequently~~ raged among the petty chiefs of the iſland. Cunoboline, the moſt powerful prince in Britain, was properly the chief of the Caſſivellauni, but he had reduced the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and ſeveral other provinces to ſubjection, ſo that he was now the moſt powerful prince in the iſland. He coined money to pay the duties impoſed by the Romans on Britiſh merchandize imported into Gaul.

During his reign, a detachment of Roman troops under the command of Germanicus, in their return from the victory they had gained over Armenius on the banks of the Weſer, were ſhip-wrecked on the coaſt of Britain. Theſe unfortunate veterans were received by the natives with the greateſt humanity, and afterwards conveyed ſafely to their country in ſhips provided by Cunoboline. That prince had hitherto enjoyed a continued ſeries of proſperity. Beloved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by foreigners, he was conſidered as one of the moſt fortunate princes of his age: but a cloud of domeſtic diſtreſs obſcured the evening of his life. Adminius his eldeſt ſon, was of a cruel tyrannical temper. He trampled on the laws of juſtice, and endeavoured to raiſe an unnatural rebellion againſt his father. The people were diſtreſſed and laid their complaints at the foot of his throne. Perſuaſion and reproof were tried in vain, Adminius was not to be reformed. Parental fondneſs on the one hand, and a love of juſtice on the other, haraſſed the breaſt of Cunoboline: the latter prevailed, and Adminius was baniſhed. Exſperated at a ſentence which he conſidered as cruel, and determined to revenge the diſgrace, he repaired to Rome, and perſuaded Caligula, who then ſwayed the imperal ſcepter, to undertake the conqueſt of his country. He repreſented the Britons as a weak and divided people, averſe to union, and unable to defend their country againſt the attack of a feeble enemy; the very appearance of the Roman emperor would be ſufficient to reduce them to obedience.

A. D. 39. Pleaſed with the hopes of making ſo important a conqueſt without danger or fatigue, the weak, the proud, the puſillanimous Caligula, embraced the deſign of ſubduing Britain, a taſk which even the great and intrepid Cæſar had attempted in vain. He aſſembled an army of two hundred thouſand men, and advanced in perſon to the northern coaſt of Gaul, in order to invade the Britiſh iſland. Elated with the idea of reducing a people that had hitherto ſupported their independence againſt every attempt, he haſtened the embarkation of his troops, and ſeemed deſirous of treading in the ſteps of his great anceſtor. But before his ſhips were ready to ſail, advice arrived, that the Britons, informed of the intended invaſion, were drawn up in order of battle on the ſhore, and determined to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. The emperor was intimidated; the very idea of danger was ſufficient to induce the daſtardly Caligula to diſembark his forces. But his vanity was equal to his cowardice: he was deſirous of receiving the honours of a triumph, without treading the thorny path of conqueſt; and of wearing the wreath of victory, without facing an enemy. He ventured out to ſea in his galley attended by his principal officers, and after ſurveying, at a great diſtance, the Britiſh coaſt, he returned with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror: ordered his ſoldiers to fill their helmets with ſhells, which he called the ſpoils of the ocean, and ſent them to Rome as the trophies of his victory. A triumph was decreed him by the venal ſenate, and Caligula entered Rome in all the parade of a victor over a people he dared not attack. And to perpetuate this ridiculous expedition, or rather to tranſmit his own folly to poſterity, he erected a watch-tower on the ſtrand, on the top of which a fire was kept burning, during the night, for the direction of mariners. The remains of this ſtructure may ſtill be ſeen at low water, on the ſands near Boulogne.

The long intercourſe the Britons had now carried on with the Romans, had greatly abated their averſion to that people. They cultivated their arts and imitated their manners. Theſe would indeed have proved happy acquiſitions, could they have been introduced without alloy: but unfortunately for our countrymen, they imported their luxuries with their arts. The hardy Britons ſunk into indolence and eaſe; their natural love of liberty and independence was ſoftened by effeminence, and that union which forms the only bound of ſecurity in times of diſtreſs, was diſſolved: the Britons had loſt their liberty before they were ſenſible of their danger.

While Caligula wore the imperial crown, no danger was to be feared, and this tended to increaſe the inattention of the Britons: they ſlept ſupinely on the couch of ſecurity. Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula, was not leſs timid than his predeceſſor, but wholly governed by favourites. Theſe ſycophants, either deſirous of increaſing the reputation of their maſter, or of ſharing in the ſpoils of ſo important a conqueſt, perſuaded the emperor to undertake the reduction of Britain. The reſolution being taken, pretences ſoon offered for beginning hoſtilities. Beric, a Britiſh prince, who had been baniſhed from his country for endeavouring to excite a rebellion in favour of Adminius, repaired to Rome, and complained of having been unjuſtly condemned; offering at the ſame time, to aſſiſt Claudius in the reduction of the iſland. Before any anſwer could be given to Beric, an embaſſy arrived from Britain to demand the Britiſh fugitive. They were received with contempt, and given to underſtand, that if the long neglected payment of the tribute was ſtill delayed, it would be demanded at the head of a Roman army.

Confounded at ſo unexpected a reception, the ambaſſadors made no reply. They left Rome immediately, and repaired with the utmoſt expedition to their country. Cunoboline had ſome time before paid the debt of nature, and his two ſons Caractacus and Togodumnus, taken poſſeſſion of the government. Theſe princes highly reſented the ignominious treatment

ment of their ambaſſadors, and rejected the demand with diſdain. They prohibited all future intercourſe with the Romans, and took every precaution in their power to defend the liberty and independence of their country. They raiſed a numerous army, and encamped near the ſea-coaſt, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy.

A. D. 43. Claudius, confident of ſucceſs, gave the command of his army in Gaul, to Aulius Plautius, a citizen of great reputation, and famous for his military capacity, with orders to tranſport a conſiderable army into Britain; enjoining him at the ſame time, not to finiſh the conqueſt himſelf; but ſend him timely information, that he might reap the fruits of victory in perſon. The emperor was deſirous of enjoying the honours of a triumph, without experiencing the fatigues of a campaign.

Plautius, in obedience to the imperial orders, led a large body of troops to the ſea ſhore, where a ſufficient number of ſhips were provided for tranſporting them into Britain. The embarkation was hardly begun, before a mutiny appeared among the ſoldiers. They declared they were ready to follow their general to any part of the continent, but would not paſs the boundaries of the ocean; they refuſed to plant the Roman eagles in what they called a new world. Aſtoniſhed at the behaviour of the legions, and perceiving that no arguments could prevail, Plautius ſuſpended the embarkation and diſpatched an expreſs to the emperor, who ſent Narciſſus, a perſon univerſally deſpiſed, and who had lately been freed from ſlavery by his maſter. He aſcended the roſtrum in order to harangue the troops: but his attempt was vain. Exaſperated at ſeeing the place, which had always been ſacred to intrepid generals, who had ſhared in common with the dangers and fatigues of war, prophaned by a ſlave, the ſoldiers ſet up an univerſal cry, in which the voice of Narciſſus was totally loſt; they would not ſuffer a perſon deſtitute of merit, and hardly free from the ſhackles of ſlavery, to interpoſe in the cauſe of a Roman army. The uproar increaſed; the banners of mutiny were diſplayed; and the imperial orders no longer regarded. Plautius perceived the gathering ſtorm, and trembled for the event. But generoſity prevailed, when power had exerted its force in vain. The ſoldiers revered the virtues of Plautius as much as they deſpiſed the effeminancy of the minion and returned to their duty. The troops were immediatly embarked, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed in Kent without oppoſition.

The Britons had been informed of the mutiny in the Roman army; and concluded the danger was over. They thought it unneceſſary to guard the coaſt when no enemy was expected, and broke up their camp juſt before the Roman legions appeared. It was now too late to regain the advantage they had loſt; and inſtead of joining in a general body and attacking the enemy before they where ready to receive them, they retired into the inland part of the country, and divided their forces into ſmall parties. The two principal bodies were commanded by Togodumnus and Charactacus, both celebrated for their military abilities, their intrepidity, and their virtue. But jealouſies prevailed among the petty princes of Britain; they envied the talents they could not equal, and ſacrificed the liberties of their country to the ſpirit of malignity. After defeating ſeveral parties, Plautius marched into Oxfordſhire, where he attacked the army of Caractacus, and put them to flight. Inſtead of retreating before an enemy fluſhed with victory, Togodumnus, determined to give battle to the Roman forces. He ſuffered the paſſion of revenge to gain the aſcendency over his prudence. He attacked the enemy and was defeated. Theſe misfortunes, though they weakened the power, did not depreſs the ſpirit of the Britons. They repaired from all parts to the ſtandard of Caractacus, who, after joining his brother, encamped on the banks of the Thames in the country of the Regni. The Romans appeared on the oppoſite ſide of the river, but the ſtream was too deep and rapid to be forded, even by cavalry. This lulled the Britons into a fatal ſecurity. They ſaw the enemy; but made no preparations for defence. In the army of Plautius was a large party of German ſoldiers, who had long been accuſtomed to ſwim a croſs the moſt rapid rivers in their armour. Theſe plunged into the ſtream with ſo much intrepidity, that the aſtoniſhed Britons abandoned their camp, and retired in confuſion. A body of the Roman infantry, animated by the example of the Germans, followed them under the command of Flavius Veſpaſian, and his brother Sabinus. Having reached the oppoſite bank, and formed their ranks, they marched in ſearch of the enemy, who had retreated to the neighbouring woods. A ſlight ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the Britons were obliged to retreat; but as night was coming on, it was not thought prudent to purſue the advantage. The Britons were now rouſed to a ſenſe of their danger: they ſaw the gathering ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm their liberties, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent its effects. They attacked the enemy with an impetuoſity, that even the boaſted diſcipline of the Romans could not reſiſt. They broke through their ranks, and, with all the fury of men exaſperated to madneſs, thinned the ſquadrons of the enemy. A ſhort interval of time would have ſtripped the wreath of laurel from the Roman brow, had not C. Sidius Geta turned the ſcale of victory. That able officer, who was ſuppoſed to have been taken priſoner, found means to diſengage himſelf and his whole corps from the enemy; and wheeling about, fell upon the Britons in the rear. This aſſault was deciſive; they faced about to repel the attack, and by that means gave the main body of the Romans time to recover. The unfortunate Britons now found themſelves charged both in front and rear. They ſtood firm for ſome time; but the Roman diſcipline at laſt prevailed, and the Britons were put to flight. In the beginning of the action, Veſpaſian himſelf was ſurrounded, and muſt have loſt his life, had not his ſon bravely reſcued him at the hazard of his own. This victory fatal to the liberties of the Britons, was dearly purchaſed by the Romans; another battle, fought with equal obſtinacy, would have rendered the expedition abortive. The Roman ſenate themſelves were ſo ſenſible of the important ſervice of Geta, that they decreed him a triumph, though they hardly ever conferred that honour on an officer of his rank.

Deſpair now ſeized the ſpirits of the Britons. They retreated along the banks of the Thames, and being well acquainted with all the ſhallow places, croſſed the ſtream a little above Greenwich, the loweſt place where it was then fordable. The marſhes on the north ſide of the river offered a retreat which they thought ſecure, and there they encamped. Encumbered with their heavy armour, and haraſſed by fens and marſhes, which rendered the march both tedious and painful, the Romans followed the Britons, and the German infantry having diſcovered a ford, they paſſed the Thames, and ſurrounded the camp of the enemy. A battle enſued, when the Britons were again defeated, and Togodumnus, revered for his military talents, fell in the action.

This victory, though obtained with far more eaſe than the former, conſiderably increaſed the loſs of the Roman army, and the death of Togodumnus, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in the Britons, that Plautius thought it imprudent to face the gathering ſtorm. He had already experienced the fury of the enemy, and dreaded the conſequence that might reſult from the laſt efforts of a people driven to deſpair, and fired with a ſenſe of an irreparable injury. He therefore fortified his camp, and diſpatched letters to Rome, requeſting a reinforcement, and inviting the emperor to repair to Britain, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of the iſland in perſon. But Plautius was ſoon ſenſible that he could not continue long in his preſent ſituation. Proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, and the flying parties of the Britons cut off moſt of his convoys. The treachery of the Dobuni now

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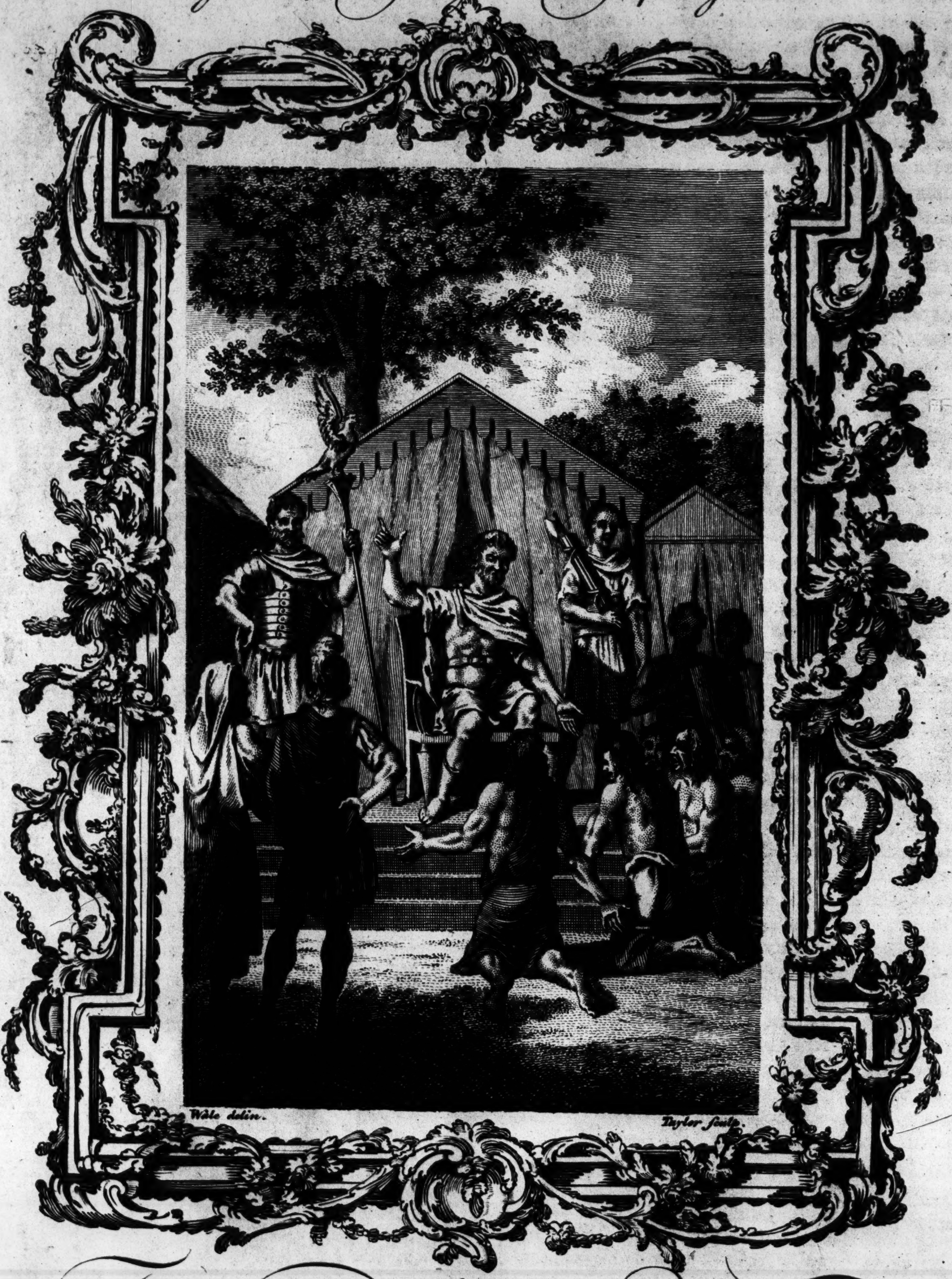
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The BRITONS submitting to CLAUDIUS.

preſerved the army of Plautius. They had already permitted a Roman garriſon to be ſettled among them, and now afforded a ſecure retreat, and plenty of proviſions to the invaders of their country.

A. D. 44. Pleaſed with the hopes of triumphing over the Britons, and of finiſhing a conqueſt which even the great Cæſar himſelf had attempted in vain, Claudius embarked at Oſtium for Marſeilles, proceeded from thence by land to Boulogne, and croſſed over into Britain, where he arrived in the month of Auguſt. The junction of the emperor's forces with thoſe of Plautius, formed a more powerful army than had ever before appeared in the iſland. The Britons perceived the ſtrength of the enemy, and prudently avoided a general engagement. But the deſire of retaliating the injuries they had received from the enemies of their country, animated them to hover round the Roman camp, by which means they cut off many of their ſtraggling parties. Claudius, who had now taken upon himſelf the command of the Roman army, left his poſt, and marched in purſuit of the Britons. The cavalry effected what the infantry had attempted in vain; they cut off the retreat of the enemy, and forced them to a general engagement. The firſt charge was dreadful: the tracts of the Britiſh war-chariots were marked with the ſlain, and the ſtandard of deſtruction waved over the field of battle. But the Roman diſcipline prevailed: the deſultory attacks of the Britons were repelled, and their whole army put to flight. Claudius did not, however, purſue the enemy; he applied himſelf to make ſettlements in order to ſecure his conqueſts. He took the city of Camelodunum, now Maldon, in Eſſex; but uſed the inhabitants with great kindneſs. His generoſity completed what his victorious army had begun. Fearful of his power, and charmed with his moderation, great numbers of the Britons came to his camp with offers of ſubmiſſion. Whole provinces followed their example, and firmly eſtabliſhed the Roman power in Britain. The natives, though vanquiſhed, were left in the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates and effects; they exchanged their liberty for domeſtic peace. The clemency of the emperor was extolled to the ſkies, by a conquered but grateful people: they erected temples to his honour, and adored him as a deity.

Pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his expedition, in which he had not only defeated, but alſo gained the affections of the Britons, Claudius left Plautius to command the army, and returned to Rome, where he received the united acclamations of the people. The conqueſt of Britain was conſidered as the greateſt acquiſition: the Roman dominions were extended beyond the limits of the ocean. Intoxicated with glory, and laviſh of their honours, the ſenate beſtowed upon Claudius the ſurname of Britannicus, and decreed him a moſt magnificent triumph. Plautius ſoon after received an honourable recall to Rome, and was received with the greateſt marks of regard by the emperor.

A. D. 50. P. Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded Plautius in the government of Britain; but as ſome interval of time elapſed between the departure of Plautius and the arrival of Scapula, the Britons had ſeized the opportunity to attempt the recovery of their liberty; and the new governor found the affairs of the iſland in great confuſion. Caractacus, inſpired with the noble ſpirit of his anceſtors, had collected a powerful army, and carried fire and ſword into the territories of the Romans. Oſtorius landed about the latter end of October, and though the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, immediately led his forces againſt the Britons. This ſudden march was fatal to the deſigns of Caractacus. Perſuaded that the Roman general would not take the field till the winter was over, and determined to chaſtiſe the inhabitants who had ſubmitted to Claudius, his army was diſperſed into ſmall parties, and in that condition were eaſily defeated by the Romans. Peace being thus reſtored, Oſtorius, in order to render it laſting, determined to diſarm all the Britons that had formed an alliance with Rome. Provoked at an attempt to rivet the chains of ſlavery on a people who had hitherto remained faithful, the Iceni refuſed to deliver up their arms. They appointed a general rendezvous in Cambridgeſhire; and having marked out a camp in a very advantageous ſituation, they fortified it with a rampart of earth and felled trees, leaving only one avenue, which they paved with ſharp flints, in order to prevent the approach of the Roman cavalry. But nothing could abate the ardour of Oſtorius. He led on his infantry to the camp, and attacked it with the utmoſt vigour, and all the precaution of an experienced general. The Britons made a noble defence, and more than once repelled the aſſaults of the Romans. But their reſiſtance was in vain; their rude intrenchments were forced, and the Iceni fled to their woods for ſafety.

Oſtorius had hardly gained this important victory, before a new army appeared in another part of the iſland. Alarmed at the ſucceſs of the Roman governor, and determined to defend their liberty to the laſt extremity, the Cornavii flew to arms; Oſtorius marched againſt them at the head of his legions, and endeavoured to bring the Britons to a general engagement. But all his attempts proved abortive: the Cornavii had adopted the prudent meaſures of Caſſivellaunus. They concealed themſelves in woods and marſhes, and haraſſed the Romans in their march, cut off their ſtraggling parties, and intercepted their convoys. Oſtorius ſaw the danger to which his army was expoſed, and took every prudent precaution in his power to prevent the conſequences of this irregular war. But before he could reduce the Cornavii, a more formidable enemy engaged his attention. The Brigantes had collected a numerous army, and made a dreadful inroad into the Roman territories. Oſtorius returned with the utmoſt expedition to the aſſiſtance of his allies; but as he was marching by the ſide of Hatfield foreſt, his army was attacked with the utmoſt fury by the Britons, who had concealed themſelves in the wood. The ſucceſs which attended the firſt aſſault proved fatal to the Brigantes. They thought themſelves ſure of victory, and took no meaſures to ſecure their retreat. The Romans recovered their ranks, and the Brigantes were totally defeated.

A. D. 51. Convinced by experience that conqueſts, without ſecuring the advantages, are empty honours, Oſtorius erected a chain of forts along the banks of the Severn and Avon, in order to prevent any future inroads by the Britons. Having finiſhed theſe fortifications, he made Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, a citizen of Rome, and confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his territories. By this prudent meaſure he acquired a firm and powerful ally, who garriſoned the forts Oſtorius had erected, and put a final period to the inroads of the Silures.

But theſe precautions were not ſufficient to intimidate the Britons. Liberty was ſtill their darling object; they preferred death to the chains of ſlavery. The Brigantes, though defeated, were not diſcouraged. They joined the Silures, and under the command of Caractacus, determined to make a noble effort againſt the invaders of their country. Nurſed in the lap of adverſity, and a ſtranger to fear, Caractacus led his forces againſt the enemy. His military abilities were uncommon; his fortitude was invincible. His meaſures were prudent and vigorous; his reſources prodigious. The Romans at once revered and dreaded his talents. Headed by ſo able a general, the Britons prepared to encounter Oſtorious with uncommon ardour and intrepidity. Caractacus well knew that the Britons were no match for the Romans in the open field, and therefore endeavoured to ſupply that defect by prudent meaſures, and advantageous poſts. He transferred the ſeat of war into the country of the Ordovices, as being more inacceſſible to the Roman army. He formed his camp on the ſummit of a lofty mountain, very difficult of acceſs. The foot of the mountain was waſhed by a river, deep and rapid; and to increaſe the natural ſtrength of the poſt, Caractacus fortified the bank of the river with ramparts of ſtones faced with ſharp-edged flints. In this poſition he determined to wait the approach of the Romans.

Senſible of the danger of attacking forces fired with an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, and led by a general, prudent, intrepid, and vigilant, Oſtorius led his legionary troops, compoſed of Roman veterans, againſt the Britons; and omitted no precaution to ſecure his army from the irregular attacks of the flying parties of the enemy.

As ſoon as the Roman army appeared, Caractacus drew up his forces, and conjured them to act like men on this important occaſion. He told them the hour was approaching that muſt reſtore them to freedom and independence, or reduce them to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery. He exhorted them to remember the glorious examples of their renowned anceſtors, who drove the ambitious Cæſar from Britain, and delivered their country from the oppreſſive violence of Rome. He invoked the ſhades of their great predeceſſors in this important day of trial, in this final ſtruggle for liberty and freedom. The Britons anſwered by a general ſhout of applauſe. They declared their reſolution of preſerving their liberties, or periſhing in the glorious attempt.

Oſtorius heard the acclamations of the Britons, and was alarmed for the event. He carefully ſurveyed the deep and rapid river, the rampart faced with flints, and defended by reſolute troops; the hanging crags, and the cloſe embattled ranks of the enemy. The proſpect was gloomy, the difficulties hardly ſurmountable, and the attempt almoſt deſperate. But the ardour of the Roman troops could not be repreſſed. Dangers tended only to awaken their courage, and augment their deſire of glory. The prize of victory was diſplayed, and every difficulty vaniſhed in the proſpect. Oſtorius perceived their eagerneſs, but would not ſuffer them to engage till he had diſcovered the ſhalloweſt part of the ſtream, where they might croſs the river with the leaſt obſtruction.

At laſt the ſignal for the attack was given, and the Romans croſſed the ſtream with great alacrity. A dreadful carnage enſued. The Britons defended their rampart with that unſhaken firmneſs which reſults from deſpair. The ground was ſtrewed with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horror of the tumult. But the Roman diſcipline at laſt ſurmounted the difficulty; the rampart was thrown down, and both armies came to a cloſe engagement. The Britons ruſhed upon the Romans like men regardleſs of deſtruction. The balance of victory was for ſome time equally poiſed, and Fortune ſeemed undetermined where to beſtow the palm of conqueſt. At length the Roman veterans removed the dreadful uncertainty. Covered with armour, the ſwords of the Britons made little impreſſion, while death attended every blow ſtruck by a Roman arm. Caractacus perceived the conteſt was unequal, and retreated to his camp on the ſummit of the mountain. The aſcent was ſteep and tedious, but the ardour of the Romans was ſuperior to every difficulty. They gained the ſummit, and attacked the camp of Caractacus. The conteſt was dreadful; the Britons fought for liberty, the Romans for glory. Urged on by deſpair, the Britons aſſaulted the ranks of the enemy with a fury bordering on madneſs. But their efforts were in vain; they met death on every ſide, and the camp became a horrid ſcene of blood and devaſtation. The victory was complete, and the ſtandard of Britiſh liberty fell to the ground. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus, with many other perſons of birth and fortune, were taken priſoners.

Caractacus himſelf eſcaped, with a few friends, the dreadful deſtruction of his army. Diſtracted at the irreparable loſs he had ſuſtained, he flew to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, for ſafety. A moment's reflection would have been ſufficient to have prevented this unguarded ſtep. He knew that Cartiſmandua had long been a friend to the Romans, though her huſband Venutius was one of the champions of liberty. Pleaſed with the opportunity of acquiring the favour of Oſtorius, ſhe baſely loaded Caractacus with chains, and in that ignominious manner delivered him into the hands of the Romans; an action that has branded her name with eternal infamy.

Rome had been long acquainted with the military reputation of this illuſtrious hero. He had ſeveral years ſupported the dying remains of that noble confederacy headed by Caſſivellaunus, for the defence of Britiſh liberty, and had given many ſignal proofs of his prudence and intrepidity. The news of his captivity was received with uncommon acclamations, and the Romans were deſirous of ſeeing a man whoſe power was ſufficient to check the flight of the imperial eagles. Caractacus and his whole family were accordingly ſent to Rome, in order to be expoſed as a public ſpectacle to the populace. The whole city attended; the prætorian guards were under arms, and the emperor was ſeated on a magnificent tribunal, adorned with the trophies of war. The ſervants of Caractacus walked firſt in the mortifying proceſſion, and were followed by the brothers, the wife and daughter of Caractacus, whoſe tears ſufficiently demonſtrated, that their ſpirits were equally depreſſed with their fortunes. Not ſo the brave Caractacus; he marched on with a ſteady countenance and noble deportment; his ſoul ſoared far above his preſent condition: he looked down with contempt on the malice of his enemies. He approached the imperial tribunal, and thus addreſſed himſelf to Claudius.

"Had my moderation been adequate to my birth and fortune, I had entered this capital not as a captive but a friend. Nor wouldſt even thou, O Cæſar! have diſdained to rank in the number of thy friends a prince deſcended from a long race of royal and illuſtrious anceſtors, and the commander of many nations. My preſent condition adds luſtre to your glory, though it reflects diſhonour upon me. I was once maſter of men and arms, of horſes and chariots of war, of riches and power. Can you wonder that I fought to preſerve them, and that I loſt them with regret? If the Romans are deſirous of univerſal empire, does it follow that all mankind ſhould ſubmit tamely to the yoke? Had the hand of perfidy ſooner betrayed me, I ſhould have been leſs diſtinguiſhed by misfortunes, and you by glory. Had I fallen in battle, both my name and fortune had been conſigned to oblivion. Puniſh me with death, and I ſhall ſoon be forgotten; ſuffer me to live, and the generous action will remain an eternal monument of your clemency."

Claudius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many acts of moderation, was deeply affected by the manly addreſs and majeſtic air of Caractacus. He ordered the Britiſh hero, and all his family, to be ſet at liberty, and loaded them with favours.

The ſenate was aſſembled, and the victory over Caractacus compared with the brighteſt periods of the Roman glory. They decreed to Oſtorius the honour of a triumph; but this was the period of his good fortune. Fired with reſentment at the ignominious treatment of their favourite leader, the Britons were rouſed to vengeance. They had acquired by fatal experience ſome knowledge of the Roman diſcipline, and carried on the war with more prudence and better ſucceſs than formerly; while the Romans, fluſhed with victory, grew indolent and careleſs. The legionary cohorts left to complete the chain of forts on the Severn, were attacked and defeated. A body of Roman foragers ſhared the ſame fate. Animated with theſe ſucceſſes, the Britons attacked the Roman army, maintained the battle till night put an end to the conteſt, and then retired with very little loſs. The Romans were no longer conſidered as invincible. The ſtandard of liberty was again diſplayed,

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

Wale del.
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Caractacus betrayed into the Hands of the Romans by
CARTISMANDUA

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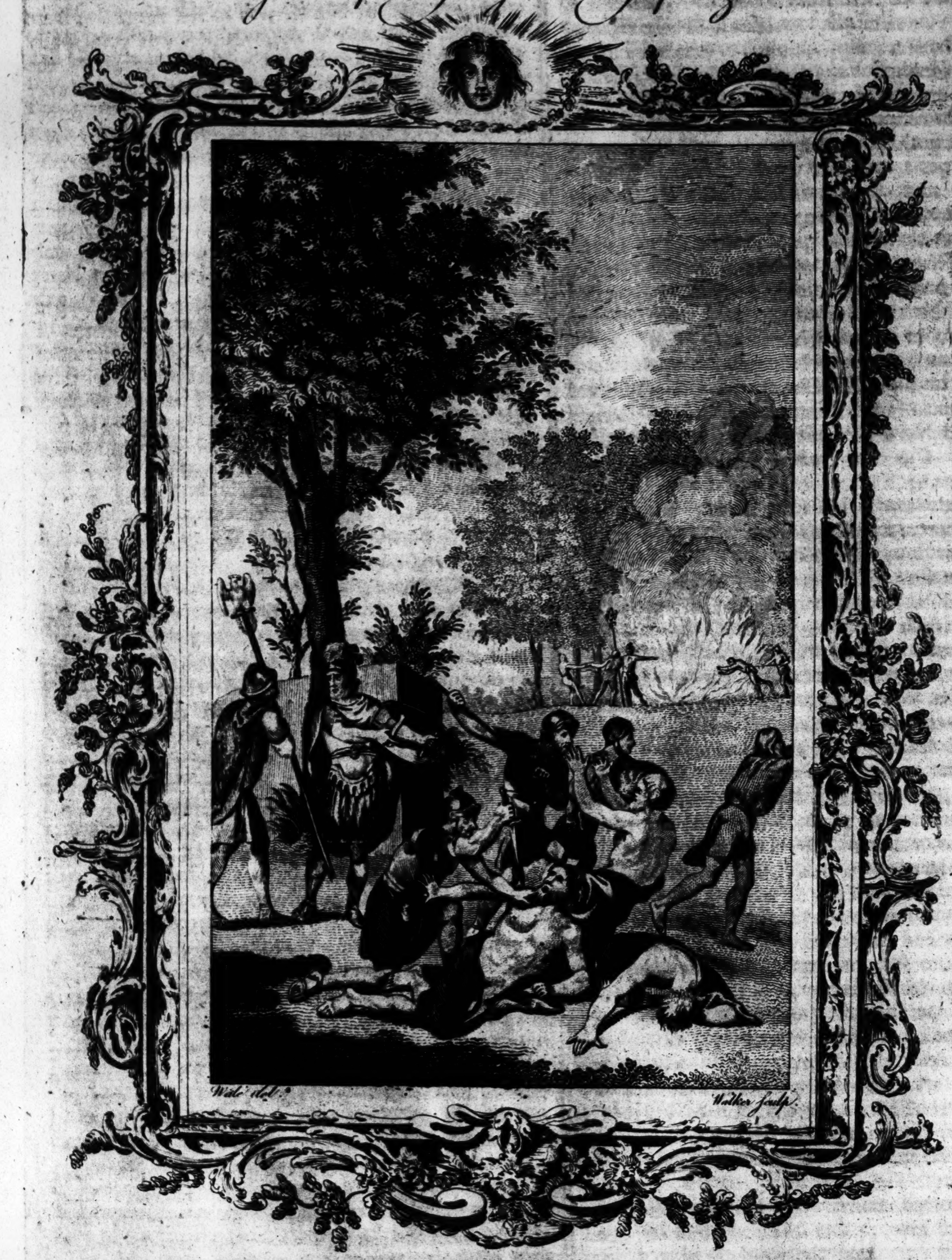
Wale del.
Walker ſculp.

*Murdering the* **DRUIDS** *and Burning their* **GROVES**

played, and the Britons flattered themſelves with being able to retaliate the injuries they had received on the invaders of their country.

A. D. 59. Oſtorius, who now ſtooped under a weight of years and infirmities, exerted the laſt remains of life to finiſh a war ſo ſucceſsfully begun. But he was unequal to the taſk: he found it impoſſible to check the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, and ſunk into the grave with grief and dejection. Aulius Didius Gallus was ſent from Rome with the title of proprætor, to take the command of the Roman forces in Britain. But before he reached his government, Manlius Valens, a tribune, who headed the troops on the death of Oſtorius, had been defeated by the Silures, who now committed dreadful devaſtations in the Roman province. Aulius exerted all his abilities to recover the loſſes ſuſtained before his arrival, and, by his indefatigable application, put a ſtop to the victories of the Silures.

About this time Claudius paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by Nero, a prince who had no ambition for military honours. He devoted his time to purſuits of a very different kind, and would probably have declined all farther attempts againſt the Britons, could he have done it with ſafety to himſelf. But the people conſidered Britain as one of the faireſt jewels in the Roman diadem; and Nero thought it prudent to tread in the ſteps of Claudius, whoſe memory he highly reſpected.

During theſe tranſactions at Rome, a civil war of a very different kind broke out in Britain. Cartiſmandua, the infamous betrayer of Caractacus, to fill up the meaſure of her iniquity, had taken Volocatus, one of her menial ſervants, to her bed. Exaſperated at ſuch ſhocking injuries, her huſband Venutius repaired to the Silures, repreſented, in the moſt forcible manner, the deteſtable conduct of Cartiſmandua, and expatiated on the irreparable injury ſhe had done her countrymen, by baſely betraying their intrepid leader. He did not plead in vain. Rouſed by the ignominious treatment of their beloved general, they expreſſed their reſentment with a fury nearly allied to madneſs; and bound themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn acts of their religion, either to take ample vengeance on the infamous betrayer of their country, or periſh. The Brigantes readily joined the confederacy; and the deſerted Cartiſmandua, who had preferred the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion to conjugal virtue, and the friendſhip of the Romans to the liberty of her country, found herſelf abandoned by the greater part of her ſubjects, and expoſed to the vengeance of an enraged people. She flew immediately to the Romans for ſuccour, and was received with kindneſs and reſpect. Supported by forces that ſhe conſidered as invincible, ſhe ſet no bounds to her paſſion, and looked upon the threatened vengeance of the Britons with contempt.

But the Roman power was become fallacious. Diſcipline had given place to licentiouſneſs, and effeminacy had enervated the ſtrength of the conquerors of the world. The Britons advanced with confidence and intrepidity, and the Romans marched out to meet them. A dreadful battle enſued; the field was covered with ſlain; and it was with the greateſt difficulty the Romans prevented Cartiſmandua from falling into the hands of an enraged and injured people. All her dominions fell into the hands of the enemy. Didius, who was very old and infirm when he firſt came over into Britain, could not lead in perſon his army againſt the Britons: he entruſted the command to generals much inferior in merit, and the conſequences reflected a ſtain upon the honour of the Romans. Didius ſaw with grief this ſudden reverſe of fortune, and fell a victim to the complicated attacks of diſeaſe and vexation.

A. D. 61. As ſoon as the news of the death of Didius reached Rome, Paulinus Suetonius, one of the moſt celebrated generals of the age, was ſent to ſupply his place. A leader of abilities was never more wanting than at preſent. Elated by their ſucceſs, and exaſperated by the injuries they had received, the Britons threatened the Romans with deſtruction. Suetonius ſaw the danger, and took the moſt prudent methods to prevent it. The greater part of the Roman army was encamped in the country of the Ordovices, hear the ſtreight which ſeparates the iſland of Mona, now called Angleſea, from the coaſt of North Wales. Mona was principally inhabited by the Druids; it was their univerſity, the reſidence of their pontiff, a place more immediately conſecrated to their religious worſhip; and therefore eſteemed ſacred by all the Britons. It had alſo for ſome years been a common aſylum for the enemies of Rome, and was now very full of people. Convinced that the Britons could never be reduced to obedience while the Druids continued in their authority, Suetonius determined to deſtroy this ſeat of their ſuperſtition. He knew that enthuſiaſm ſupplied the Britons with a kind of frantic courage. Perſuaded that thoſe who fell in battle againſt the enemies of their religion, paſſed immediately into a ſtate of perfect happineſs, they did not conſider the loſs of life as an evil. They ruſhed undaunted into the thickeſt part of the battle, and ſmiled in the agonies of death. It was in vain to hope that force only could ever reduce to ſubjection a people inſpired with ſuch ſentiments. A mind filled with ſuperſtitious notions is deaf to the voice of caution. Mona muſt be laid waſte, the ſource of enthuſiaſm deſtroyed, and the Druids themſelves extirpated, before the Romans could triumph over the liberties of the Britons.

The arm of the ſea which divides Mona from the adjacent coaſt, could not be forded by the infantry; a ſufficient number of boats were therefore collected for tranſporting the legions, while the horſe croſſed the ſtreight. Suetonius perceived the inhabitants were drawn up at ſome diſtance from the water's edge, and therefore landed his troops with very little oppoſition. But the Britons ſoon advanced with the utmoſt fury upon the Romans, who were ſtruck with a ſuperſtitious terror at a ſcene which was now preſented to their view. Behind the Britiſh army were a multitude of women running about like furies with diſhevelled hair, and flaming torches in their hands. Amidſt theſe frantic women were the Druids pouring out the moſt dreadful imprecations, and, with their hands lift up to heaven, imploring the vengeance of their gods upon the enemies of their religion. The Romans ſtood for a time motionleſs; they ſeemed as it were transfixed with horror, and became an inactive mark to the miſſiles of the Britons. Suetonius ſaw their terror, and trembled for the event: he flew from rank to rank, and endeavoured, by threatenings and exhortations, to rouſe them into action. At laſt the love of glory prevailed over enthuſiaſtic horror. They attacked the enemy with their uſual intrepidity, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, drove them into the woods, with a dreadful ſlaughter. Being thus maſter of the iſland, Suetonius applied himſelf to deſtroy every place dedicated to the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Britons. He cut down their ſacred groves, and burnt the Druids on thoſe very altars that had been ſo often ſtained with human blood.

But while he was employed in demoliſhing the ſtructures and groves of the Druids, he was recalled by an event that threatened the total deſtruction of the Roman power in Britain. The vices of Nero were riſen to ſuch a ſhameful height, that a new ſpecies of taxation had for ſome time been introduced into all the provinces of the Roman empire, to ſupply his extravagance. The taxes levied on the Britons were grievouſly oppreſſive. They complained; but, inſtead of redreſs, they were treated with inſolence; their misfortunes were inſulted, and their miſeries made a ſubject of ridicule. Theſe acts of wanton tyranny raiſed a general ſpirit of reſentment,

ment, and the whole nation was ripe for a revolt, when an incident happened which kindled into a flame the latent ſparks of vengeance.

Praſutagus, king of the Iceni, had long lived in friendſhip with the Romans; and having no ſon to inherit his dominions, bequeathed his immenſe treaſures to the emperor, and his two daughters, as joint-heirs; hoping by that means to procure a powerful protector for his children. But he was fatally deceived. Catus Decianus, the procurator, a monſter of vice, avarice and injuſtice, ſeized upon the whole, and the dominions of Praſutagus became a prey to the licentiouſneſs of the Roman centurions. Boadicea, the wife of Praſutagus, remonſtrated warmly againſt theſe iniquitous proceedings, and loudly exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of depriving her daughters of their inheritance; but inſtead of redreſs, ſhe was treated in a manner that reflects diſgrace npon humanity. Catus added inſolence to injuſtice: he ordered Boadicea to be publickly ſcourged, and ſuffered the ſoldiers to violate the chaſtity of her two daughters.

Theſe inhuman proceedings rouſed the Iceni to vengeance. They were joined by the Trinobantes, under the command of the intrepid Venutius; the band of union, which had been ſo long cancelled, was again revived; and the authors of theſe ſhocking acts of brutality devoted to deſtruction. Boadicea, who inherited all the ſpirit of her anceſtors, animated the Britons to vengeance by her irreſiſtible eloquence; while the druids, whoſe ſacred groves Suetonius was then deſtroying, inſpired them with a religious fury.

The firſt place which felt the vengeance of the Britons was Camelodunum, which was taken by ſtorm, and every torture that an exaſperated enemy could invent was practiſed on the unfortunate inhabitants. Boadicea ſeverely retaliated in kind on the Roman women the injuries offered to herſelf and her daughters. The garriſon retired to the temple of Claudius, imagining, perhaps, that the Britons would ſpare a ſtructure dedicated to religion. A moment's reflection would have been ſufficient to have convinced them how fatally they were miſtaken. The deſtruction of Mona had rouſed a ſpirit of religious fury which nothing could reſtrain. They forced the temple, put every Roman to the ſword, and laid the ſtructure in aſhes.

Elated with this ſucceſs, the Britons continued their ravages, ſpreading devaſtation over the whole country ſubject to the Romans. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, and was met by the Britons. A dreadful conflict enſued, in which all the foot of the legion were cut to pieces, and Cerealis obliged to fly, with his horſe, to his fortified camp. But the infamous procurator eſcaped the vengeance his crimes ſo juſtly deſerved. Conſcious of having occaſioned this dreadful inſurrection, he fled to Gaul, and by that means eluded at once the fury of the enemy, and the rage of his Romans.

In the mean time Suetonius was marching with the utmoſt expedition to the relief of his friends, and reached London before that city had felt the vengeance of the Britons. But finding it impoſſible to defend the place with his ſmall army againſt the numerous forces of the enemy, he retired to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to take poſſeſſion of ſome advantageous poſt, and bring on a general engagement.

Informed that the Roman general had reached London, Boadicea led her army to that capital; but finding it abandoned by the enemy, ſhe put near ſeventy thouſand Romans to the ſword, and laid the city in aſhes. Theſe ſacrifices were, however, far from being ſufficient to appeaſe the fury of Boadicea; nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the Romans could ſatisfy her vengeance.

Aware of the enterprizing ſpirit of that heroine, and ſenſible that an inſatiable thirſt of revenge in the breaſt of an incenſed woman, at the head of a numerous army, would carry her beyond the bounds of prudence, and urge her to acts of imprudent impetuoſity; the Roman general poſted his forces, which now amounted to ten thouſand men, in ſuch a poſition as might beſt enable him to ſuſtain the fury of the firſt attack. Accordingly he made choice of a ſpot of ground acceſſible only by a narrow defile, having an open plain in his front, and a large wood in his rear. In this ſituation he prepared to withſtand the dreadful aſſault of the Britons. He placed his legionary troops in the center, the light-armed on each ſide, and his cavalry in the wings. In this order he waited the approach of the enemy.

Fluſhed with conqueſt, and elated with the hopes of exterminating at once the Roman power in Britain, Boadicea led her army into the plain in the front of the enemy. The number of the Britons was not leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand men, eager for retaliating the injuries they had received on their tyrannical maſters. They did not entertain a doubt of obtaining the prize of victory, and accordingly brought their wives and children with them into the field, that they might be ſpectators of the vengeance they were going to pour on the heads of the enemy, and aſſiſt in plundering the invaders of their country. Theſe being placed in waggons poſted in the rear of the army, rendered a retreat extremely difficult.

At the head of the Britiſh army appeared Boadicea, drawn in a chariot, with her two daughters. She paſſed between the ranks of her army, and addreſſing herſelf to the heads of every tribe, repreſented, with the moſt powerful eloquence, and in the moſt pathetic manner, the inhuman inſults that had been offered to herſelf and her two daughters. "But, added ſhe, the deſire of revenging mine own injuries, however great, is the leaſt motive that induced me to attack the tyrants of the world. It is the univerſal ſlavery that is preparing, the chains that are forging for my brave and numerous people, that have rouſed me to vengeance. I have taken the field to defend the liberties of my country; but if there be any here who prefer the yoke of ſlavery to freedom; who can tamely behold their wives and daughters raviſhed, and ſtoop ſo low as to kiſs the feet of an inſolent maſter; they will do well to depart. For myſelf, I am abſolutely determined to conquer or periſh."

A general ſhout of applauſe reſounded in the Britiſh army, and Boadicea immediately led her forces againſt the Romans. The firſt aſſault was made by the Britons with the utmoſt fury. They valued not the ſwords of the enemy; they ſeemed rather to court than decline deſtruction. But the Roman ranks could not be broken; they ſtood firm amidſt a dreadful ſhower of javelins, darted with violence from the nervous arms of the enraged Britons. The legionary troops now ſallied out upon the enemy, and were followed by the auxiliaries. A horrid ſlaughter enſued. The victory was long doubtful, and the field of battle covered with the ſlain. But the heavy armed forces of the Romans at laſt bore down all oppoſition; and the retreat of the Britons being in a manner cut off by their own waggons, a dreadful carnage ſucceeded; near eighty thouſand of them periſhed. The unfortunate Boadicea perceived with diſtraction the defeat of her army, and diſdaining a ſubmiſſion, put a period to her life.

The Britons were now convinced that all oppoſition was in vain. They retired to their reſpective places of abode; but Suetonius, with a cruelty that has ſtained his character, purſued them with unremitting vengeance. The whole country became a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter; even the women and children were put to the ſword; the villages and towns reduced to aſhes, and large diſtricts totally laid waſte. A dreadful famine enſued, which depopulated thoſe parts of the iſland which the ſword of the Romans had ſpared.

Driven to deſpair by cruelty, and exaſperated to madneſs by the loſs of every thing they held dear, the Britons had once more recourſe to arms, and many of the Romans felt the weight of their reſentment. They never attempted to face the enemy in the open field, but hovered continually round their quarters, and put to the ſword every Roman that fell into their hands. Death, even in its moſt horrid ſhape, had loſt its terror: the Britons were rendered invincible by diſtreſs. Barbarity only increaſed the evil, and ſlaughter had no other tendency than that of depopulating the country. Julius Claſſicanus, who had ſucceeded Catus as procurator, beheld the perſeverance of the Britons with aſtoniſhment, and rightly imputed their obſtinate inflexibility to the haughty ſeverity of Suetonius. He was penetrated with compaſſion at the ſufferings of a brave and hardy people; and wrote to Rome, informing the emperor, that there would never be an end to the war, unleſs Suetonius was recalled. His letter had its proper weight with the emperor, and Suetonius received orders to repair to Rome.

A. D. 62. He was ſucceeded by Petronius Turpilianus, who, by the mildneſs of his adminiſtration, and his great affability, ſoon effected what the legions of Suetonius had attempted in vain. Inſtead of haraſſing the Britons by military executions, and keeping alive their reſentment by new injuries, he ſuffered them to enjoy unmoleſted repoſe. By this prudent conduct, their rage abated, their loſſes were forgotten, peace once more extended her olive branch over the deſolated country, and plentiful harveſts crowned the fields that the ſword of war had laid waſte.

A. D. 65. After three years reſidence in Britain, Turpilianus returned to Rome, where he was received with univerſal applauſe: triumphal honours were decreed him; and the Romans were convinced from experience, that moderation and lenity were more effectual in ſubduing the Britons, than perſecutions and tyranny. The ſame meaſures were purſued by ſeveral ſucceſſive governors; and the Britons, though many of them ſtill retained their love of liberty, did not look upon the Romans with the ſame malignity as before.

A. D. 78. But the glory of ſubduing the Britons was reſerved for Julius Agricola, whoſe virtues and talents have been rendered immortal by the pen of Tacitus. Agricola was no ſtranger to the Britons; he had ſerved under Suetonius with great reputation. Soon after his arrival, he received advice that the Ordovices had ſurpriſed and cut to pieces a body of Roman horſe ſtationed on their frontiers. This ſudden commencement of hoſtilities greatly alarmed the Romans; and Agricola, though the ſummer was far advanced, and the cohorts lay diſperſed in different parts of the country, wiſely reſolved to check the inſurrection in its birth. He accordingly aſſembled the legions and auxiliaries with the utmoſt expedition, and marched againſt the Ordovices. On his approach, they abandoned the plains, and retired to their ſtrong holds and fortreſſes in the mountains, places which had hitherto been conſidered as inacceſſible to an enemy. But Agricola was not to be deterred by dangers, nor ſtopped by difficulties: he aſcended the mountains at the head of his army, and drove the enemy from their retreats. Haraſſed in every part of the country, and deſtitute of any place of ſafety, the Ordovices ſubmitted to the Roman governor, and peace was once more reſtored in Britain.

A. D. 79. As ſoon as the winter was over, Agricola marched his army to the ſea-ſide, in order to reduce the iſland of Angleſey; an undertaking which Suetonius had left unfiniſhed. After carefully ſurveying the ſtreight which ſeparates the iſland from the coaſt of Wales, he diſcovered a ford, by which his forces paſſed into the iſland without oppoſition. Intimidated at the ſight of the Romans, the inhabitants flew into the woods for ſafety; but ſoon after ſued for peace, and gave him poſſeſſion of the iſland, which ſtill retains ſeveral monuments of his victory.

Agricola now applied himſelf to cultivate the arts of peace; and, in order to render his attempts ſucceſsful, he made himſelf well acquainted with the tempers and diſpoſitions of the people he was to govern. He began his civil adminiſtration by acts of juſtice and clemency. He was particularly careful to reform the diſcipline of his army, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his troops, that no freſh cauſe of diſpute might ariſe from their inſolence and oppreſſion. He was ſevere, but not cruel. He puniſhed crimes with rigour, but often pardoned faults. The common ſoldiers became modeſt and agreeable, the officers generous and humane. He was an inveterate enemy to every ſpecies of corruption. No rigour was practiſed in collecting the tribute; no iniquitous impoſitions were ſuffered. He coveted not reſpect when it owed its origin to fear; but cheriſhed obedience when it flowed from the heart. The Britons were happy under his government; they revered him as a parent, rather than feared him as a tyrant. They cheriſhed a real attachment for his perſon, and imitated his conduct.

A. D. 80. At the beginning of ſummer Agricola took the field, and penetrated into ſeveral provinces which had not hitherto been ſubdued; and by ſometimes haraſſing and alarming the inhabitants, and at others inviting them to ſubmiſſion by every poſſible allurement; he, by degrees, prevailed upon ſeveral capital cities to receive Roman garriſons. In this manner, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by his military abilities, he ſubdued the whole iſland, and returned to his head-quarters at the end of the campaign. He was joyfully received by the Britons, and he aſſiduouſly applied himſelf to finiſh the civil regulations he had ſo happily begun. He erected temples, courts of judicature, and other public ſtructures. He encouraged the building of private houſes, and inſpired a noble emulation among the Britons, by rewarding the active and diligent, and puniſhing the indolent and ſlothful. He eſtabliſhed ſchools and ſeminaries, where the Britiſh youth were inſtructed in the liberal arts: he extolled their genius, he applauded their aſſiduity. They were pleaſed with his encomiums, and ſoon became fond of the arts and manners of the Romans. Agricola conquered the Britons by kindneſs and perſuaſion: they cultivated the Roman language, and put on the Roman habit: they cheriſhed the Roman luxury; they viſited their baths and their banquets. At laſt they buried in the grave of voluptuouſneſs their natural ſimplicity and integrity, together with the very remembrance of their former independence.

A. D. 81. Having provided for the domeſtic tranquillity of Britain, Agricola led his army to the northern parts of the iſland, and penetrated as far as the frith of the river Tay in Scotland; the Caledonians, though a robuſt and intrepid people, retiring before his victorious legions. Here he erected a chain of forts to ſecure his conqueſts, and ſtop the ravages of the Caledonians. Theſe forts were conſtructed with ſo much art, and their ſituations ſo advantageouſly choſen, that it is ſaid not one of them was either forced, ſurrendered, or quitted as untenable, during his reſidence in Britain. Theſe forts were well ſupplied with proviſions, and garriſoned with brave and intrepid ſoldiers, who, by occaſional ſallies, kept the enemy in continual alarms.

A. D. 82. Early in the ſpring he led his army a conſiderable diſtance to the northward of the forts he had erected, and ſubdued ſeveral of the ſmaller tribes. He now erected a chain of forts acroſs the iſthmus between the Clyde and the Forth. During this expedition he ſaw the coaſt of Ireland, and meditated the conqueſt of that iſland; but this deſign was never executed.

A. D. 83. Deſirous of being acquainted with the coaſt of Scotland, Agricola ſent out a fleet to make diſcoveries of the creeks and friths in thoſe parts, while he himſelf marched forward at the head of his army. Alarmed at the appearance of this formidable ſquadron, the Caledonians attacked the forts of Agricola with great fury. Exaggerated accounts of the number of the enemy intimidated the Roman officers, who adviſed their general to retreat. But Agricola was not to be intimidated; he determined to continue in the enemy's country, but took every prudent precaution to preſerve his army. The Caledonians were headed by Galgacus, a prince admired for his military abilities: he had ſerved under the Romans, and was no ſtranger to their method of making war. Intrepid by nature, and nurſed in a camp, he was a ſtranger to fear, and knew too well the great advantage that always attends the aggreſſor in the field. He knew that forces fluſhed with conqueſt were almoſt invincible, and that diſtreſs had no tendency to render an army formidable. He therefore attacked the forts of Agricola with great fury, before the Roman general could carry fire and ſword into the heart of his country. The Caledonian army was greatly ſuperior in numbers to the Roman, but almoſt deſtitute of diſcipline. Agricola ſaw the danger of keeping his troops in one body, almoſt ſurrounded by a numerous and active enemy, who would not fail to cut off his proviſions. In order therefore to avoid the fate of periſhing by famine in an enemy's country, he divided his forces into three bodies. Fruſtrated in his deſign of ſurrounding the Roman army, Galgacus united his forces, and fell ſuddenly upon the weakeſt diviſion of the enemy. The advanced guard was cut to pieces, and the barbarians poured like a deluge into the Roman camp. Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected attack, which appeared more terrible from having been made in a dark and tempeſtuous night, the legionary ſoldiers were unable to exert their uſual intrepidity. Fortunately for them, Agricola was informed by his ſpies of the intention of Galgacus, and immediately diſpatched a reinforcement of light armed troops to their aſſiſtance. As ſoon as they reached the camp, they gave a general ſhout, which intimidated the enemy, and animated with freſh vigour the deſpairing legion, who were on the very point of being cut to pieces. The palm of victory was now wreſted from the Caledonians, who were obliged to retreat to the neighbouring woods for protection. But, though defeated, they were not diſperſed. The ſpirit of liberty was rouſed, and the whole country entered into a general aſſociation againſt the invaders of their country. An army far more numerous than the firſt was raiſed with the utmoſt expedition, and their wives and children ſent to places of ſafety. But, before they were ready to take the field, the ſeaſon was too far advanced to decide the dreadful conteſt.

A. D. 84. Early in the ſpring Agricola renewed his military operations, by ſending his fleet before him with orders to land occaſionally in different places, and ſpread the alarm along the coaſt of Scotland; while he himſelf marched to the Grampian hills, where the Caledonian army was aſſembled. It conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, headed by the intrepid Galgacus. As ſoon as he perceived the Roman army, he harangued his troops with all the eloquence of a conſummate general. He told them, in the moſt pathetic manner, that the iſſue of the enſuing battle would be the recovery of their freedom, or perpetual ſlavery; for their ſituation having rendered a retreat impracticable if vanquiſhed, they muſt either conquer, ſubmit to ſlavery, or periſh.

Galgacus drew up his army on the declivity of the mountain, by which means their whole number was expoſed to the view of the Romans, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. Agricola formed his army into two lines; the firſt conſiſted of eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe forming the wings; the ſecond was wholly formed of Roman legions. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, both armies began the conteſt with amazing intrepidity. The battle was fierce and obſtinate, and, for ſome time, greatly in favour of Galgacus. Agricola perceived the danger, quitted his horſe, and, at the head of his legions, cloſed upon the enemy, and engaged them ſword in hand. This attack turned the ſcale of victory. The javelins of the Caledonians, on which they chiefly depended, and which they darted with the greateſt dexterity, were rendered uſeleſs, and their ſwords were too unweildy to be uſed with advantage. Unable therefore to ſtand the ſhock of the legionary forces, they gave way; and the Romans, after penetrating the firſt line, ſoon put the whole army into diſorder. The Caledonians now attempted to drive their war-chariots through the ranks of the enemy, but the unevenneſs of the ground prevented the deſign. Galgacus exerted his whole power to rally his forces, and lead them once more againſt the enemy, but found it impoſſible; and the night coming on apace, he retired, with the ſcattered remains of his army, into the inacceſſible parts of the mountains. Ten thouſand Caledonians fell in this fatal battle, while the loſs of the Romans did not exceed three hundred and fifty. The ſcene of deſolation which enſued is ſhocking to humanity. Driven to deſpair, and dreading captivity more than death, the Caledonians ſet fire to their huts, and maſſacred their wives and children, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans. Such are the dreadful effects of unbounded ambition; the laws of immutable juſtice are ſacrificed to the deſire of conqueſt, and the ſoft whiſpers of humanity plead in vain!

This victory, ſo deſtructive to the Caledonians, was fatal alſo to Agricola. The infamous Domitian, who now filled the imperial throne, grew jealous of the reputation of his general. The conqueſts of Agricola were terrible to Domitian. He was recalled, under pretence of being promoted to the government of Syria, but in reality, that a final period might be put to his victories. He returned to Rome, where triumphal honours and a ſtatue crowned with laurel were decreed him by the ſenate. But he ſoon fell a victim to the ſuſpicious fears of the cowardly Domitian, who found means to take him off by poiſon. Thus fell the renowned and accompliſhed Julius Agricola, the celebrated governor of Britain. He introduced the Roman arts, the Roman language, and the Roman luxuries into this iſland; and ſpread deſolation and ſlaughter through an extenſive country, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to part with their liberties, and tamely ſubmit to the Roman yoke of ſlavery. He waded through a ſea of blood to crop the laurels of victory, and fell a ſacrifice to that ambition which led him on to conqueſt. As a general, as a governor, as a civil magiſtrate, he deſerves the higheſt honours. His talents were great, his judgment was ſound, his memory was tenacious; he was fruitful in reſources, and intrepid in danger, a friend to merit, and an implacable enemy to extortion. But he ſtained his laurels with the blood of a people who never injured him, and againſt whom he had no other complaint than their being tenacious of their liberties, and true friends to their country.

A. D. 87. Lucullus ſucceeded Agricola in the government of Britain; but our accounts of his adminiſtration are very imperfect. The Caledonians, immediately after the departure of Julius Agricola, iſſued again from their mountains; and, by their example and conduct, animated the Britons to reſume the ſpirit of their anceſtors, and to join in the common cauſe of extirpating the Romans. But this was an undertaking that required years to bring to perfection. In the mean time Lucullus was put to death by Domitian, merely becauſe he had given his own name to a new kind of launce he had invented.

A. D. 111. No governor was ſent from Rome to ſucceed Lucullus till the attempts of the Caledotians rendered the preſence of an able general neceſſary. They broke through the chain of forts erected between the Forth and Clyde by Agricola, and laid great part of the country waſte. Alarmed at this irruption of the northern people, Julius Severus was diſpatched to drive the Caledonians back into their own country. He was a perſon of great military abilities; but, before he could lead his forces againſt the enemy, he was recalled; a rebellion having broke out in Syria, and Severus was the only general thought capable of reducing the inſurgents, and reſtoring peace to that fertile province. The Caledonians took advantage of the abſence of Severus, and continued their inroads with great ſucceſs. Lucius Antoninus, who commanded the Roman forces in Britain, advanced againſt the northern invaders. A battle enſued, in which the Romans were defeated, and Lucius himſelf dangerouſly wounded.

A. D. 120. There was now a neceſſity for ſending an able general to head the Roman army. The late defeat had rendered them timid and cautious, and the relaxation of diſcipline leſs able to contend with barbarians fluſhed with victory. The danger was preſſing; a little delay might have been fatal to the Romans. Priſcus Luſcinius was immediately diſpatched into Britain, and was ſoon after followed by the emperor Adrian in perſon. The Caledonians thought it imprudent to face the Roman army headed by the emperor, and retired to their faſtneſſes in the mountainous parts of their country. Adrian, however, proceeded as far as York, determined to chaſtiſe the enemy for their late inſults, and put the frontier into a better ſtate of defence. But ſome old officers who had ſerved under Agricola, gave him ſo dreadful an account of Scotland, and painted the difficulties that attended the march of an army through bogs and foreſts, and over the moſt frightful precipices, in ſuch ſtriking colours, that the emperor thought proper to lay aſide his intended expedition. He was, however, determined to provide for the future ſecurity of the Roman provinces. Accordingly he continued his march to the forts erected by Agricola; but thinking they were ſituate at too great a diſtance from the main body of the Roman forces, he relinquiſhed theſe fortifications, and erected a wall, or rather rampart of earth, above eighty miles in length, extending acroſs the iſland, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith. Garriſons were placed, at proper diſtances, along the whole line; and every neceſſary precaution taken to prevent the future inroads of the enemy. Having provided for the ſafety of his people, Adrian applied himſelf to correct the abuſes that had crept into the government. This taſk required the authority of the emperor, and he accordingly ſucceeded; after which he returned to Rome, and was honoured with the title of "The Reſtorer of Britain."

A. D. 138. On the death of Adrian, Antoninus Pius aſcended the imperial throne, and, like his predeceſſor, was more ſollicitous to preſerve than to enlarge his dominions; but hearing that the northern invaders had ruined ſeveral parts of Adrian's wall, and renewed their incurſions into the Roman territories; he ſent Lollius Urbicus to chaſtiſe the Caledonians, and put a ſtop to their depredations. Urbicus ſoon drove them back into their own country; and, to prevent their incurſions for the future, he erected a wall of ſtone covered with turf, extending from the Frith of Furth to the Frith of Clyde. From this period to the death of Marcus Aurelius, Britain enjoyed the bleſſings of peace. The invaſions of the Caledonians were not renewed; poſſibly the wall of Antoninus was too ſtrong a barrier for them to force, while the garriſons were well ſupplied with proviſions, and the ſoldiers regularly relieved.

A. D. 180. But, on the death of Aurelius, the face of affairs was altered. Commodus, who aſſumed the purple on the death of his father, was famous only for his vices. His indolence and timidity rendered him contemptible; his criminal exceſſes, an object of deteſtation. The Caledonians thought this a proper opportunity for attacking once more the territories of the enemy. Accordingly they made a breach in the wall of Antoninus, near one of the principal forts, cut the Roman garriſon to pieces, and poured like a torrent into the adjacent country. The contiguous ſtations were abandoned by the Romans, and the invaders ſuffered to purſue their inroads without reſiſtance. Rouſed from the ſlumber of indolence by the danger that threatened Britain, Commodus ſent Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the northern invaders. On his arrival, he found the Roman diſcipline ſunk into a ſtate of ſloth and licentiouſneſs. The hardy veterans were become effeminate, and much fonder of the couch of indolence, than the honours which reſult from a vigorous campaign. Ulpius ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient diſcipline before he led his forces againſt the enemy. He applied himſelf to the taſk with great aſſiduity, and his endeavours were ſoon crowned with ſucceſs. This difficulty being removed, Ulpius led his forces againſt the Caledonians, and drove them back into their own country with great ſlaughter. But merit is never rewarded by the ungenerous and the cruel. The ſucceſs of Ulpius excited the jealouſy of Commodus: he was recalled; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped with his life.

The Roman empire was now diſtracted with internal convulſions. On the death of Commodus, different pretenders to the imperial purple ſtarted up, and every part of the empire became the dreadful ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter. Violence and oppreſſion uſurped the ſeat of juſtice, and anarchy erected her throne in the capital of the world. The affairs of Britain were diſregarded in this general confuſion; and the Roman forces in the iſland became debilitated by luxury. The hardy veterans ſlumbered on the couch of indolence, and the deſire of acquiring glory loſt its force.

A. D. 207. At laſt Severus having defeated all his competitors for the imperial purple, determined to paſs over into Britain, in order to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Scots and Picts, who, during the diſtreſſes of the Roman empire, had made inroads into Britain, and laid a conſiderable part of the country waſte. The very name of Severus, though now old and infirm, appeared terrible to the northern invaders. As a general, he had no equal; as a friend to juſtice, he puniſhed delinquents with rigour. The Caledonians feared his reſentment, and determined, if poſſible, to divert the ſtorm which was gathering round them. On his arrival, they ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace. But Severus was not to be diverted from his purpoſe; he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with an equivocal anſwer; and having made the neceſſary preparations, marched into the enemy's country.

A. D. 208. His army was too powerful for him to fear any oppoſition from the Caledonian forces; but he met with difficulties of a different kind. The country was covered with woods, and interſected with bogs and marſhes. Sometimes a frightful precipice oppoſed his march, and ſometimes a broad and rapid river. His forces were deſtroyed without fighting, and intimidated without facing the enemy. The Caledonians perceived the diſtreſs of the Roman army, and renewed their requeſts for a peace. Severus, who had now loſt above fifteen thouſand men, in this dreadful march through the territories of the enemy, liſtened to their propoſals, and a peace was accordingly concluded. But knowing that the Caledonians would obſerve the conditions of the treaty no longer than they were compelled by force, he applied himſelf to form a ſtronger barrier. Accordingly he faced Adrian's wall with ſtone, erected forts at proper diſtances, and finiſhed the whole in ſo firm and ſubſtantial a manner, that it reflected an honour on his reign. Having finiſhed his expedition, he returned to York, and took the title of Britannicus Maximus.

A. D. 209. The two ſons of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, inherited not the virtues of their father. Both were cruel, and both enervated with vice. Caracalla was left to guard the pretenture, but his imprudent conduct ſoon exaſperated the ferocious Scots to break the peace they had ſo lately concluded. He ſuffered his ſoldiers to make incurſions beyond the wall, and to treat the inhabitants with inſolence and cruelty. Exaſperated at theſe repeated acts of flagitious tyranny, and deſirous of recovering their former independence, the Scots and Picts had again recourſe to arms, and ſeverely retaliated on every Roman ſoldier, who ventured beyond the wall, the miſeries they had ſuffered from Caracalla.

A. D. 218. Severus, ignorant of the behaviour of his ſon, was ſo highly provoked at this breach of faith, that he determined to take a ſevere revenge. The orders he iſſued for chaſtiſing the Caledonians were couched in the moſt rigorous expreſſions; nothing leſs than the total extirpation of that people could ſatisfy the wrath of Severus. But he lived not to ſee his threatenings executed: his diſtempers continually increaſed; and, before the neceſſary preparations for the march of the army were completed, he died at York in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age; and his obſequies were performed with a ſplendor ſuitable to a Roman emperor.

The virtues of Severus, however great, were not without alloy. As a private man, he was covetous; as a commander, he was too ſuſceptible of revenge. Where-ever he conquered, he ruined; the ſword of deſtruction followed the wreath of victory. His ſpirit was dauntleſs, and ſuperior both to danger and fatigue. He was a ſtranger to laſſitude, and never wearied by the moſt minute enquiry into every article of his government. To his perſonal friends he was extremely grateful; to his perſonal enemies contemptuouſly diſdainful. As an emperor, he was moderate in his expences: in public buildings of every kind, magnificent, if not profuſe. He heard cauſes with the utmoſt exactneſs and patience: he entered the courts of juſtice at break of day, and ſtayed there till noon. His abilities were excellent, and improved by learning. He had more than the fondneſs of a father; he forgave Caracalla's frequent attacks upon his life. He was careful of the education of his ſons; and, at his death, jointly bequeathed to them his empire. The ſoldiers who loved Severus paid an entire ſubmiſſion to his will; they readily took the oath of fidelity to both the brothers. But the manners of the Britons were not ſufficiently poliſhed to render their country a pleaſing retreat to perſons long acquainted with the luxuries of Rome. They made a peace with the Scots and Picts; and taking with them their father's aſhes, they both repaired to the capital of the empire, and depoſited the remains of Severus in the tomb of Adrian. But Caracalla, whoſe ſoul was deeply tinctured with ambition and cruelty, could not bear to ſee a partner in the throne: he conſidered Geta as an enemy rather than a brother, and baſely cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated.

A. D. 286. From the departure of theſe princes, till the reign of Diocleſian, who aſſociated Maximian with him in the throne, nothing remarkable occurs in the hiſtory of Britain. Anarchy and confuſion prevailed throughout the world. The continent was filled with rebels, and the ſea covered with pirates. The coaſts of Britain and Gaul were infeſted with the fleets of the Franks and Saxons. Theſe diſorders called for an immediate remedy; and one Carauſius, a perſon of mean extraction, but famous for his courage and experience at ſea, was commiſſioned to put a ſtop to the ravages of the pirates. He was very ſucceſsful in his firſt attempts, and the barbarians were obliged to deſiſt from their depredations. His ſtation was near Boulogne, a port well ſituated for making him acquainted with the coaſts, the harbours, and the inhabitants of Britain. Carauſius ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful fleet, and was wiſe enough to know the weight, power, and dignity of his poſt. He ſaw himſelf the indiſputable ſovereign of the ſea, and determined, if poſſible, to wreſt the imperial ſcepter from the hands of the emperors. He redoubled his attention to increaſe his navy; he became rich by the ſpoils of the pirates; he formed a ſtrict alliance with the Britons. Had Carauſius been a land officer, all his ſchemes muſt have proved abortive; but from thoſe few particulars of his life which have reached our times, he appears to have been as ſucceſsful as he was ambitious, as bold as he was powerful, and as fit to command as he was ready to execute. To him we owe the firſt dawnings of our naval power; from his conduct we are appriſed of our natural ſtrength as an iſland, and from his example we have learned to ſet all the power of the continent at defiance.

Alarmed at the power, and exaſperated at the conduct of Carauſius, a perſon was diſpatched from Rome by the emperors, with a commiſſion to aſſaſſinate him. The attempt miſcarried, the aſſaſſin was diſcovered, and Carauſius determined to publiſh his claim to the imperial ſceptre. The officers of his fleet applauded his reſolution, and unanimouſly declared they would ſupport him to the laſt extremity. His firſt attempt was upon Boulogne, which he took by aſſault, and fortified the place as an occaſional retreat.

But his chief confidence was placed on Britain. The ſituation as an iſland rendered it impregnable to all but a maritime force, and his navy was ſuperior to any fleet the Romans could bring againſt him. Accordingly he had no ſooner finiſhed the fortifications of Boulogne, than he ſailed to Britain, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy by the inhabitants. The Roman army proclaimed him emperor, and inveſted him with the purple robe.

A. D. 287. A triumvirate of emperors was an unuſual phænomenon: but the Roman power was ſo very tottering and precarious, that neither Diocleſian nor Maximian were in any degree ſtrong enough to deſtroy the acquiſitions of Carauſius. Some faint preparations of reſiſtance were made by Maximian, and Carauſius was proclaimed a pirate and a traitor to his country; but neceſſity ſoon after compelled the Romans to lay aſide their hoſtile intentions, and to ſign a treaty of peace; by which inglorious compact, this proclaimed pirate was declared Pius; this maritime robber was acknowledged Felix; and this avowed uſurper was ſurnamed Auguſtus.

Carauſius who was nothing more than a nominal emperor in Rome, was a real monarch in Britain; and he held the reins of government worthily. The Britons were no longer ſubject to the Roman power; they paid obedience only to their own ſovereign, and the laws of their country. Juſtice and equity were diſpenſed with an even hand; the commerce of the kingdom was encouraged; and the Britiſh ſeas were cleared of pirates.

The Scots and Picts, perſuaded that the Britons unaſſiſted by the Roman power, were unable to defend their country, renewed their ravages, and broke through the walls of partition. Carauſius immediately marched againſt the invaders, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and drove them back into their country with conſiderable loſs. But having ſignalized his courage, and convinced the Caledonians that he was at once a powerful and vigilant enemy, he offered them peace on very advantageous terms, hoping by that means to unite the whole power of the iſland, and render abortive any attempt that might be made by the imperial armies of Rome.

A. D. 289. The power of Carauſius, and the alliances he had formed with other maritime powers, alarmed the Romans. The imperial throne was now filled by Maximian Galerus, and Conſtantius Chlorus. Forces were raiſed with the utmoſt expedition; and every precaution taken to prevent the allies from joining the fleet of the Britiſh monarch. Carauſius ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and took the moſt prudent meaſures to break its force. He collected his fleet, and ſtationed troops in every part of the iſland where the Romans could hope to land their forces. Small veſſels were kept continually cruiſing on the coaſts of Gaul, in order to give him the moſt early intelligence of the appearance of the enemy.

A. D. 293. But while he was thus preparing for the ſafety of his kingdom, he was baſely aſſaſſinated by the treacherous Alectus, one of his officers, and his boſom friend. That perfidious wretch did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his villany. He ſeized indeed the reins of government, but loſt the affections of his people. At once ambitious and cruel, he was deteſted by the Britons; they paid him only the obedience of fear; and were ready to join the Romans on their firſt appearance.

Alectus ſaw his danger, but wanted capacity to avoid it. He increaſed his navy indeed, but not for the defence of his country. He employed his maritime forces rather as a pirate than a prince: inſtead of encouraging the trade of his ſubjects, he deſtroyed it. The intercourſe between Britain and Gaul was cut off; and the commerce of the Roman provinces interrupted. The loſſes and diſtreſſes of his people greatly affected Conſtantius. He redoubled his efforts to collect a fleet ſufficiently powerful to engage the navy of Alectus; and was at laſt ſucceſsful.

No time was loſt in unneceſſary preparation. The forces were immediately embarked, and Conſtantius ſailed for the coaſt of Britain. Alectus, informed that the imperial navy had left the harbours of Gaul, ſtood off to ſea to meet them; but a thick fog concealed both fleets from the ſight of each other; and the Romans landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Suſſex.

Conſtantius knew that it would be impoſſible to defend his fleet from the attacks of the enemy, after his forces were landed, and therefore prudently ſet his ſhips on fire. The Britons were pleaſed with this magnanimous action. They ſaw that Conſtantius was determined to conquer or periſh, and therefore flocked from all quarters to his ſtandard, imploring his protection againſt the treacherous tyrant of their country.

The genius of Alectus was not fertile in reſources. He was ſuperior at ſea, but wanted prudence to make uſe of that advantage. He abandoned the only acquiſition that rendered him formidable to Conſtantius, and madly determined to meet the Roman army on the land. He ſhould have reflected that a number of raw forces, ſtrangers to military diſcipline, without armour, and without affection for their leader, were no match for the Roman veterans. Alectus was convinced of this when it was too late; the greateſt part of his ſoldiers went over to the enemy, and the reſt were ſoon put to flight. Deſpair now ſeized the heart of Alectus; he threw away his purple robe, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the Roman army, and was cut to pieces.

A party of the Franks, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, marched directly to London, plundered the city, and fell down the river in veſſels loaded with the ſpoils they had taken; but were met in their paſſage by a diviſion of the Roman fleet, which had been ſeparated from the reſt by the late fog. A battle enſued; the Franks were totally defeated, and the Romans recovered all the booty taken by the enemy.

The Britons, now delivered from the tyranny of Alectus, once more applied themſelves to cultivate the arts of peace. Conſtantius laboured inceſſantly to render them a happy people. He publiſhed a general pardon to all that had been concerned in the late revolt; he reſtored to the proprietors all that had been taken from them, even by his own ſoldiers. He diſpenſed juſtice with impartiality; he permitted the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, which had for ſome time before been planted in the iſland. He cleared the ſea of pirates, reſtored the Britiſh commerce, and chaſtiſed the northern people, who, during the late troubles, had renewed their ravages. So many good qualities rendered him dear to the Britons; they conſidered him as their deliverer, and forgot that they were again ſubjected to the Roman power.

The arts which had been introduced by Agricola had arrived to ſome perfection during the reign of Carauſius. The city of London was decorated with elegant ſtructures; it was become conſiderable for its extent, its beauty, and its riches: it was the center of commerce, and the reſidence of many wealthy merchants. Conſtantius was pleaſed with theſe improvements, and encouraged them by his munificence. He viewed with delight the dawnings of ſcience, the firſt eſſays of genius in a ferocious people. He thought the iſland worthy of his reſidence, and applied himſelf to cultivate the riſing merit of a people who conſidered him as their father. Perhaps his paſſion for the celebrated Helena, who, according to our beſt hiſtorians, was a native of Colcheſter, contributed to increaſe his affection for the Britons. She was a woman of extraordinary accompliſhments: the many noble works ſhe carried on at her own expence ſufficiently diſplay her public ſpirit; and her liberality, which attracted the love and veneration of the Britons, was unbounded.

A. D. 306. The Britons were happy under the adminiſtration of Conſtantius, but it was of no long continuance. He died at York in the twelfth year of his reign, and left the Britons to lament his loſs. His ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, arrived ſoon enough to pay the laſt duties to his father, who named him for his ſucceſſor. His choice was univerſally approved of; and, on the deceaſe of Conſtantius, he was declared emperor by the army.

Conſtantine was formed for empire: his genius was piercing; his memory tenacious; his learning uncommon; his liberality unbounded. Affable, polite, equitable and humane, he won the hearts of all his ſubjects: they revered him as a father; they loved him as a friend. No perſon ever retired diſſatisfied from his preſence; no perſon ever implored his aſſiſtance in vain. Inflexibly impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and deeply affected with every ſpecies of diſtreſs in others, he often repaid from his own coffers the loſs which the needy had juſtly ſuſtained by his ſentence. His ſoul was a ſtranger to cruelty. His laurels of conqueſt were never ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed. The ſword of rapacity never followed his victories; the forfeited eſtates of his moſt inveterate enemies were reſtored. To be unfortunate was a ſufficient recommendation to his protection, and the ſufferer was always ſure of finding relief. He openly declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and by that means gave a fatal blow to Pagan ſuperſtition. His life was the beſt comment on the tenets he profeſſed; the refined morality of the goſpel directed all his actions.

Under the government of ſuch a prince the Britons could not fail of being happy. No diſturbance, no inſurrection happened during his whole reign, though extended to an uncommon length. Poſſibly his political regulations had ſome tendency to promote this ſeries of tranquillity. He divided the iſland into four governments, viz. Britannia Prima, comprehending the country between the Thames and the Engliſh channel: Britannia Secunda, including that part of the iſland that lies between the Severn and the Iriſh ſea: Flavia Cæſarienſis, containing Cornwall, Somerſetſhire, and part of the counties of Wilts and Glouceſter: and Maxima Ceſarienſis, including the northern counties, together with Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire.

A. D. 337. Conſtantine the Great paid the debt of nature on the twenty-ſecond of May, after a proſperous reign of thirty-one years, and divided his empire between his three ſons. To the eldeſt, who was of the ſame name with his father, he bequeathed Britain, France, Spain, and part of Germany. But he did not long enjoy the crown, being killed in the battle of Aquileia, three years after his acceſſion, in attempting to make himſelf maſter of the dominions of Conſtans his brother.

A. D. 343. Conſtans having acquired the inheritance of his brother Conſtantine, paſſed over into Britain, in order to repel the incurſions of the Picts and Scots, who, on the death of Conſtantine the Great, renewed their ravages on the northern frontiers. This prince poſſeſſed not the virtues of his father; he was a ſtranger to the noble qualities that rendered Conſtantine amiable. He was not anxious to promote the happineſs of his people; he liſtened not to their complaints. Immerſed in luxury, and delighting only in the diverſions of the field, he left the cares of government to others who abuſed his confidence. His ſubjects were oppreſſed, and his revenues waſted by perſons of deteſtable characters. Exaſperated by cruelty ſupported by power, an inſurrection enſued. Magnentius, a Gaul of Britiſh extraction, headed the tumult, and Conſtans was ſoon after put to the ſword.

A. D. 350. The family of the great Conſtantine was, by this cataſtrophe, reduced to the youngeſt ſon, named Conſtantius; but the vices of his brother had alienated the affections of the Britons, who now declared for Magnentius; and had that uſurper been contented with the ſceptre of the iſland, he might, in all probability, have ſupported his power againſt all the attempts of his enemies; but he graſped at empire. He was ambitious of wearing the purple robe, and raſhly paſſed over to the continent at the head of an army. He fought two battles with Conſtantius, and was unfortunate in both. Driven to deſpair, and having only the wretched alternative of falling into the hands of the conqueror, or periſhing by his own hand, he choſe the latter; and falling on his ſword, put an end to his life.

A. D. 354. The ſufferings of the Britons began with the death of Magnentius. The emperor was implacable. They readily ſubmitted to his authority; but their defection in favour of Magnentius was not to be forgiven. He ſent over a covetous and unfeeling wretch, called Paulinus, a notary by profeſſion, to diſcover the adherents of Magnentius, and, on conviction, to confiſcate their eſtates. Nurſed in the lap of extortion, and proof againſt the moſt complicated diſtreſs, he executed his commiſſion with outrage and cruelty. Martin, the deputy of the province, ſaw his proceedings with grief; the ſufferings of an injured people excited his compaſſion. He warmly expoſtulated with Paulinus, and even threatened to leave the iſland, in order to lay his conduct before the emperor. Exaſperated at the threats of Martin, and terrified at the conſequences of having his conduct publickly examined, he ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe Martin of crimes againſt the ſtate. The deputy ſaw his danger, and determined not to ſuffer the intended diſgrace. When called before the court, he looked ſternly at Paulinus, drew his ſword, and made a thruſt at the tyrant's heart; but miſſing his blow, he turned the weapon againſt himſelf, and plunged it in his own boſom. Paulinus did not long, however, enjoy the fruits of his perfidy; he was, a few years after, burnt alive, by the command of Julian the apoſtate.

A. D. 363. From the death of Martin till the reign of Valentinian, nothing remarkable happened in Britain. The northern nations indeed continued their deſultory war, but were always repelled before they made any conſiderable progreſs; their attempts were not ſufficient to diſturb the general tranquillity of the province. But a ſcene now opened, which more than repaid the inactivity of many years. The fleets of the Franks and Saxons committed the moſt dreadful ravages along the coaſts; while the Scots and Picts, having broke through the walls of partition, laid the inland parts of the country waſte. The Roman general advanced againſt the invaders, at the head of his forces; but fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſlain. The condition of the Britons was now truly deplorable, and ſome forces were ſent to their relief; but they were unable to ſtem the torrent, and the barbarians continued their ravages with greater cruelty than before.

A. D. 364. Convinced that nothing but a powerful reinforcement, headed by a general of abilities and experience, could ſave the province from deſtruction; Valentinian diſpatched Theodoſius, reckoned the beſt ſoldier of his time, at the head of a choice body of troops, to chaſtiſe the ferocious barbarians, and reſtore tranquillity in the iſland. The arrival of Theodoſius entirely changed the face of affairs: he defeated the invaders in different parts of the country, recovered the ſpoils they had taken, and returned them to the original owners. Theſe acts of juſtice ſoon endeared him to the Britons; they followed his ſtandards with alacrity, and nobly aſſiſted in repelling the barbarians. He purſued his advantages, and, by degrees, drove the Caledonians into their own country. But Theodoſius well knew that he had yet effected only a temporary relief; the barbarians were repelled, but not rendered incapable of making another attempt. He therefore formed the country, between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, into a ſeparate province, which he called Valentia, in honour of the emperor. He repaired both the walls, added new works, and placed ſtrong garriſons at proper diſtances, that a ſufficient force might always be ready to render abortive any attempt of the Caledonians. The ravages of the Franks and Saxons now called for his attention; a ſtrong fleet was fitted out, and the pirates totally defeated.

A. D. 370. Having thus reſtored tranquillity in the iſland, Theodoſius applied himſelf to regulate the internal police of the ſtate, in order to render it laſting: he corrected many abuſes, and committed the department of the adminiſtration of juſtice to a civilian equally famous for his parts and integrity. He leſſened the taxes, demoliſhed ſuch impoſts as were burdenſome to trade, and encouraged the commerce of the Britons by every method in his power. By theſe acts of prudence and clemency, he became the idol of the people; they conſidered him not only as their deliverer, but their common father. And, when he left the iſland, he was attended to the ſhip by multitudes of people, teſtifying, in the warmeſt expreſſions, their regret and ſorrow for his departure. The emperor received him with the moſt public demonſtrations of friendſhip and affection; and the ſenate decreed him a ſtatue, ordering it to be placed among their moſt celebrated anceſtors.

Among the officers that ſerved under Theodoſius in Britain, was Maximus, a ſoldier of great merit and experience, and deſcended from a noble family in Spain. Soon after the departure of Theodoſius, Maximus was advanced to the chief command in Britain; and, by forming his conduct after the model of his illuſtrious predeceſſor, acquired the love and eſteem both of the army and inhabitants. A profound peace reigned in the iſland; for the barbarians, intimidated by the valour and alacrity of Maximus, had laid aſide their incurſions, and continued quiet in their own country.

A. D. 375. During this period of repoſe and tranquillity, Valentinian paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the weſtern empire by his ſon Gratian, a youth in every reſpect incapable of ſupporting the weight of the imperial diadem. He was wholly addicted to pleaſures, and governed by favourites choſen from the loweſt claſs of the people. His talents were mean, his learning ſuperficial, his knowledge confined: his abilities were thoſe of a huntſman, rather than a monarch. He was much better qualified to preſide at the feaſts of debauchery, than to ſway the ſceptre of Rome. Gratian ſoon perceived his own inability to hold the reins of government, and choſe Flavius Magnus Theodoſius, ſon of the great general of that name, to be his aſſociate in the empire.

A. D. 385. Maximus could not behold the ſudden riſe of young Theodoſius with temper. They had both ſerved under the celebrated conqueror of the Caledonians; but Maximus being the older officer, was ſuperior in command. His ambition would not ſuffer him to ſerve under a perſon he had been uſed to command. He complained loudly of the injuſtice which had been done him; and found means to prevail upon the ſoldiers to join in his reſentment. The Britons, who were greatly prejudiced in his favour, followed the example of the Roman forces, and declared themſelves his friends. Elated with this dawning of ſucceſs, he collected all his forces, conſiſting of Romans and the flower of the Britiſh youth, and paſſed over into Gaul, where the legions quartered in that country and the neighbouring parts of Germany joined his ſtandard. He fixed his reſidence at Tiers, and was acknowledged emperor by moſt of the provinces on this ſide the Alps.

But while Maximus was enjoying the pleaſures of royalty, the Britons were reduced to a ſtate truly deplorable. Deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Roman veterans, whoſe very name was terrible, and drained of their native forces; the Britons were in no condition to repel the attacks of the ferocious Caledonians. They broke through the pretentures, and laid the country waſte with fire and ſword. Maximus rejected their repeated ſollicitations for ſuccour: the calls of ambition rendered him deaf to the ſoft whiſpers of of humanity.

A. D. 387. But it was now neceſſary for him to exert his whole ſtrength: Gratian advanced againſt him at the head of a powerful army. Maximus drew up his forces; but juſt before the ſignal for engaging was given, the greater part of Gratian's legions went over to the enemy. Deſerted by his troops, and in no condition of collecting a ſecond army, he fled to Lyons, and there periſhed by the hand of Andragathius.

Intoxicated with ſucceſs, and ambitious of poſſeſſing the whole Roman empire, he purſued his conqueſt with unremitting vigour, and graſped in idea the whole dominions of Conſtantine the great. Theodoſius was not intimidated by his rival's ſucceſs: he advanced againſt him at the head of an army of veterans, uſed to conqueſt under his ſtandard. The battle was fierce and bloody; but the fortune of Theodoſius at laſt prevailed, and the troops of Maximus were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in flight. He himſelf fled to Aquileia, where he was taken priſoner and put to death.

A. D. 388. Theodoſius, though ſurrounded by enemies, liſtened to the ſollicitations of the Britons. Their condition, indeed, merited pity. Without troops to repel the attacks of the ferocious Caledonians; without a fleet to guard their coaſts; and without generals to lead them againſt the invaders, they became an eaſy prey to the enemy, and ſeemed to have loſt the power of reſiſtance. But on the arrival of Chryſanthus, ſent into Britain at the head of an army by Theodoſius, the face of affairs was totally changed. The Caledonians were driven back to their country, the fleets of pirates, which had for ſome time infeſted the coaſt, were defeated, and the haraſſed Britons once more enjoyed the bleſſings of peace.

A. D. 395. While Theodoſius filled the imperial throne, the Britons were happy; their commerce flouriſhed, and the barbarians were confined to their own mountains. But the death of that great prince, put a period to their tranquillity. The Roman empire was indeed grown feeble under the weight of conqueſt. A deluge of barbarians pouring in from the north, attacked a power which oppreſſed the world. An inundation of warlike nations overflowed the plains of France and Italy. It became neceſſary for Rome to exert her utmoſt ſtrength to repel the attacks of the ferocious inhabitants of the north. The legions were recalled from Britain, and the inhabitants who had exchanged their freedom for ſlavery, left to defend themſelves.

Theſe fierce tribes of barbarians, who came to take vengeance on the empire, either inhabited the various provinces of Germany, which had never been ſubdued by the Romans, or were ſcattered over the northern parts of Europe and Aſia, now inhabited by the Danes, Swedes, Ruſſians, Tartars and Poles. They were driven from their native country by that reſtleſs diſpoſition which actuates the minds of barbarians, and induces them to roam from their native ſeats in queſt of plunder or new ſettlements. The firſt invaders met with a powerful reſiſtance from the ſuperior diſcipline of the Roman legions; but this, inſtead of daunting men of ſtrong and impetuous tempers only rouſed them to vengeance. They returned to their companions, acquainted them with the unknown conveniences and luxuries that abounded in countries better cultivated, or bleſſed with a milder climate than their own; they informed them of the battles they had fought, of the friends they had loſt, and watched them with reſentment againſt their oppoſers. Exaſperated at the misfortunes of their countrymen, and animated with a deſire of poſſeſſing kingdoms ſo far preferable to their own, multitudes of armed men, with their wives, children, ſlaves, and flocks, iſſued forth like regular colonies, in queſt of freſh ſettlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deſerted, were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. Theſe, in their turn, puſhed forward into more fertile countries, and, like a current continually increaſing, rolled on, and ſwept every thing before them. Blood and ſlaughter marked the route of the barbarians. They ravaged or deſtroyed the countries round them. They reſpected neither age, nor ſex, nor rank; all fell in one promiſcuous carnage. Perhaps there is not a period in the hiſtory of the world more pregnant with calamities and diſtreſs, than that which commenced at the death of Theodoſius, and terminated with the ſettlement of the Lombards in Italy. The cotemporary writers who beheld that dreadful ſcene of deſolation, are at a loſs for expreſſions to deſcribe its horrors. "The ſcourge of God, the "deſtroyer of nations", are the dreadful epithets by which they diſtinguiſh the moſt noted leaders of the barbarians.

The Britons had their ſhare of theſe dreadful calamities. Deprived of the Roman legions, ſtrangers to military diſcipline, and immerſed in luxury, they were unable to defend their country againſt the ferocious inhabitants of Caledonia; who broke through the pretentures, and laid the country waſte with fire and ſword. In vain the Britons oppoſed their incurſions; they had ſlumbered too long on the bed of effeminacy, to be a match for the hardy inhabitants of the north; who ravaged the fields of their debilitated neighbours, and threatened them with the loſs of thoſe advantages, for which they had bartered their freedom.

A. D. 408. Driven to deſpair by their formidable enemy, they implored, in the moſt pathetic terms, the protection of the emperor. But their requeſt could not be granted. Alaric the Goth preſſed the Romans on every ſide, and threatened the deſtruction of their powerful empire. Honorius, who then filled the throne of the Cæſars, informed them, that no forces could be ſpared for their relief; and therefore adviſed them to arm in their own defence, and chaſtiſe with their own forces, the lawleſs invaders of their country. Tumult and confuſion, inſtead of unanimity, now filled the councils of the Britons. They ſeveral times elected a king, and as often hurled him from the throne. Like the idols of ſome ſavage nations, they were ſet up, worſhipped, and trampled to pieces. The names of theſe monarchs of a day are inſignificant, their actions as ſovereigns immaterial and uncertain: they were elected, adored, and deſtroyed. Affairs were now become deſperate; and the Romans who reſided in Britain, perſuaded that all reſiſtance was in vain, buried their treaſures, and fled to the continent for ſafety.

A. D. 423. Valentinian III. who ſucceeded Honorius in the imperial throne, could not view the diſtreſſed ſtate of the Britons without commiſerating their misfortunes. A ſingle legion was ſent to their relief; and even this ſmall force was ſufficient to drive back the ferocious Caledonians to their country. The pretentures were now repaired, and the northern frontiers put once more into a poſture of defence. Tranquillity was reſtored, and the Britons began to cultivate the arts of peace. While the Romans continued in the iſland, the Picts and Scots remained quiet in their own country; but the legion was no ſooner withdrawn, than the northern barbarians renewed their ravages: the frontier provinces were again filled with blood and ſlaughter. The fields were laid waſte, and every ſpecies of cruelty, that a ſavage enemy could invent, was practiſed on the wretched inhabitants.

A. D. 446. The Britons, unable to repel the attacks of their neighbours, applied again to the emperor for protection; and another legion, under the command of Gallio, an experienced general, was ſent to their relief. Succeſs again attended the Roman ſtandards; the barbarians were driven back to their mountains, and peace extended her olive wand over the iſland.

A. D. 447. But Gallio plainly told the Britons that this was the laſt aſſiſtance they muſt ever expect from Rome. He therefore aſſiſted them in repairing or rather rebuilding the wall of Severus: exhorted them to practice the military diſcipline of the Romans, and to unite themſelves firmly in one body for their defence. He gave them every neceſſary inſtruction, taught them the method of making the inſtruments of war, and pointed out the natural advantages they poſſeſſed from their ſituation. Having performed theſe good offices, he embarked with his legion, and took a final leave of the Britons.

No farther aſſiſtance indeed could be expected: the Roman empire itſelf ſoon became a prey to barbarous nations. Its ancient glory, vainly deemed immortal, was effaced, and Adoaces, a barbarian leader, ſat down on the throne of the Cæſars. The irruptions of theſe ferocious people were, indeed, gradual and ſucceſſive. The amazing fabric of the Roman empire was the work of ages; and it required the labour of ſeveral centuries to demoliſh it. The military diſcipline of the ancient Romans was ſo efficacious, that the remains of it deſcended to their ſucceſſors, and muſt have rendered them ſuperior to all their enemies, had it not been for the vices of their emperors, and the univerſal corruption of manners that prevailed among the people. Satiated with the luxuries of the known world, the emperors were at a loſs for new provocatives. The moſt diſtant regions were explored, the ingenuity of mankind was exerted, and the revenues of provinces expended on a favourite diſh. The tyranny and wickedneſs that prevailed under the Cæſars, could only be equalled by the barbarity of thoſe nations who demoliſhed the empire of the Romans.

It is well known that the chriſtian religion was introduced into Britain during the government of the Romans; but the exact time is uncertain. Some have indeed maintained that St. Paul preached the goſpel in Britain; but there is no other foundation for this opinion than a paſſage in Clemens Romanus, not rightly underſtood; and with regard to the fable of Joſeph of Aramathea, it has long been acknowledged to have owed its riſe to the dreams of ſome ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſtic. All we know is, that our anceſtors received the glad tidings of the goſpel in very early times, when they groaned under the yoke of foreign tyranny; and that this event happened before the concluſion of the ſecond century; becauſe in the general perſecution under Diocleſian and Maximinus about the year 303, the chriſtians in Britain were very numerous, St. Alban, and ſeveral others, ſuffered martyrdom for their faith during that perſecution.

What progreſs the Britons made in literature during this period, is uncertain. They were, doubtleſs, acquainted with the Roman arts; but whether any of them excelled, is unknown. No traces of their learning have been handed down to us: not a ſingle book written by the Britons has reached our time. Architecture and ſculpture flouriſhed during the reign of Carauſius; and further improvements were made in theſe and other polite arts, during the peaceable reign of Conſtantine the great; but the names of the artiſts are forgotten; they are periſhed with their works, and ſunk together in the gulph of oblivion.

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Wale delin.

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HENGEST and HORSA meeting KING VORTIGERN,
in the Isle of Thanet.

# BOOK II.

## From the final departure of the Romans till the eſtabliſhment of the Saxon Heptarchy.

A. D. 448. THE Britons were now no longer the ferocious iſlanders who oppoſed the arms of the mighty Cæſar: they loſt their courage with their liberty, were become a puſillanimous people, and an eaſy prey to the Scots and Picts. They applied, in the moſt abject manner, to Ætius, whoſe valour at that time protracted the fall of the empire. The letter they addreſſed to that general, diſplays at once the miſeries of their country, and their own cowardice. “The barbarians (ſaid they) drive us towards the ſea; the ſea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the wretched alternative left us, of periſhing by the ſword, or by the waves.” But their requeſt was in vain: Ætius himſelf was ſo cloſely preſſed by the Goths and Vandals, that no forces could be ſpared to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed iſlanders: the ravages on the continent were at leaſt equal to thoſe committed in Britain.

Denied aſſiſtance by the Romans, and incapable of forming any generous effort, the Britons abandoned themſelves to deſpair; they flew for ſhelter to their foreſts, and neglected the cultivation of their lands. A dreadful famine ſucceeded, during which multitudes of them periſhed for want of food. The ferocious Caledonians themſelves ſeverely felt the conſequences of their inhuman ravages. They found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in a country they themſelves had laid waſte, and retired to their mountains with the ſpoils they had taken from their effeminate neighbours.

The retreat of the enemy revived the ſpirits of the Britons. They returned to their former habitations, applied themſelves to agriculture, and ſoon reſtored plenty to their country. But they enjoyed this interval of tranquillity without taking any care to render it permanent; they made no preparations for their future ſecurity. They were divided into parties, by the hereſy which their countryman Pelagius had lately introduced among them; and even the dread of the ravages of a ferocious enemy was not ſufficient to procure unanimity in their councils. Their northern neighbours, whoſe trade was rapine, ſoon threatened them with a new invaſion. Alarmed at the horrors they had ſo lately experienced, and trembling at the thoughts of depending on their own power, a reſolution was taken to procure the aſſiſtance of foreigners. Vortigern, who had made his way to the throne by the murder of his predeceſſor, propoſed that a number of Saxons might be invited into the iſland. The motion was approved, and ambaſſadors were immediately ſent to the continent to enter into a treaty with that people.

At that time the Saxons inhabited the ſea-coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Valour and the love of liberty formed the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of that people. Their chiefs, who led them to battle, and preſided in their councils, were far from enjoying a deſpotic power; they were ſubject to the regulations of the ſtate, and to the voice of the people, who always came armed to the council, in order to declare their ſentiments. The attachment of the Saxons to their leaders was remarkable. When any of them fell in battle, they thought themſelves obliged to revenge their death, and never to ſurvive a defeat. They were almoſt ſtrangers to agriculture; they had no lands they could properly call their own, a new diviſion being made every year, leſt the love of property ſhould leſſen their military ardour, which they conſidered as the true ſupport of their ſtate. They generally carried their wives and children with them into the field, that the preſence of theſe objects of their affection might augment their intrepidity in the day of battle, and prevent their turning their backs upon the enemy.

Such were the Saxons, whom the Britons invited into their country, in order to defend them againſt the ravages of the Scots and Picts. But ſurely there wanted no great degree of foreſight to perceive the danger that threatened them from ſo powerful an ally. It was nothing leſs than exchanging a partial for a perpetual tyranny. For a moment's reflection is ſufficient to convince any thinking man, that a nation of ſo warlike and ferocious a diſpoſition as the Saxons, would not omit to ſubdue a people who were ſunk into the abyſs of effeminacy, and accuſtomed to the yoke of ſlavery.

The offers of the Britons could not fail of being agreeable to a people nurſed in a camp, who lived by rapine, and whoſe country was overſtocked with inhabitants. Hengiſt and Horſa, two of the moſt famous leaders of the Saxons, entered into a treaty with the deputies of Vortigern. They were brothers, and no ſtrangers to Britain, having often viſited the coaſts of that iſland in their piratical cruiſes. Nor did theſe ferocious generals find any difficulty in perſuading a ſufficient number of their countrymen to follow their ſtandards. The northern parts of Europe were full of barbarian tribes, who were continually ſending out multitudes of people in ſearch of new ſettlements; ſo that it was in vain for them to hope they ſhould be able to extend the limits of their country on the continent. Britain was fertile; the inhabitants opulent, and the climate inviting; charms more than ſufficient to attract the wiſhes of a rude and indigent people, and render them deſirous of exchanging their dreary and ſterile ſoil for the beautiful plains of a country ſmiling in all the charms of nature, improved by the unwearied hand of aſſiduous cultivation.

A. D. 450. Hengiſt and Horſa having increaſed their army to ſixteen hundred men, embarked their forces in three ſhips, and landed in the iſle of Thanet, where they were met by Vortigern and his court. Hengiſt and Horſa approached the Britiſh monarch in the attitude of ferocious warriors, having in their hands their ſhort broad ſwords, which they uſed with ſo much dexterity and effect. Their troops followed them in the ſame poſture, in order to convince the Britons, that they had not applied to a nation incapable of protecting them againſt the northern invaders of their country. Before the Saxons reached the Britiſh coaſt, the Scots and Picts had renewed their ravages, and penetrated as far as Lincolnſhire, committing the moſt dreadful outrages in their march. The Saxons joined the Britons, and ſoon convinced theſe northern invaders, that victory was not confined to the Roman ſtandards. They were unable to withſtand the valour of the Saxons; they fled in confuſion towards the frontiers of their country, abandoning all the ſpoil they had taken, which fell into the hands of the conquerors. This eaſy victory gave the Saxons a very mean opinion of the power of the Britons, who were unable to repel the deſultory attacks of ſo undiſciplined a foe: they perceived their own ſuperiority, and determined to improve it to their own advantage. Little ſincerity is to be expected from barbarians; their great virtue is to conquer for their own emolument. Ambitious of being maſters of a country they were called to defend, and deſirous of procuring a deſireable ſettlement for their Saxon friends, they informed them of the great fertility of the iſland, and the effeminate manners of the inhabitants; at the ſame time inviting them to attempt a conqueſt of the utmoſt importance, and attended with very little difficulty.

Their invitations were not made in vain. Deſirous of ſharing in the good fortune of their countrymen, and ſettling in a country ſo much ſuperior to their own, a very conſiderable number of the Saxons paſſed over into Britain, and joined the army of Hengiſt and Horſa. The Britons beheld this increaſe of the Saxon forces with anxiety. The auxiliaries, in whom they had placed their confidence, were become their terror. They had been witneſſes of their valour againſt their northern enemies, and dreaded the conſequences that would inevitably enſue, ſhould they turn their ſwords againſt their employers. They perceived the folly of the ſtep they had taken, and were deſirous of retrieving it.

A. D. 451. But it was now too late; the Saxons were landed, and their forces daily augmenting. Reaſons are ſeldom wanting when a barbarous army are determined to attack the poſſeſſions of a rich and indolent people. Hengiſt and Horſa, under pretence that the Britons had refuſed the ſubſiſtence they had promiſed, ravaged the adjacent country, formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and laid waſte, with fire and ſword, the territories of a people who had called them to their defence.

Exaſperated at the perfidy of the Saxons, and ſcandalized at the vices of Vortigern, the Britons flew to arms, hurled the guilty potentate from his throne, and placed the ſceptre in the hands of Vortimer his ſon. Under the banners of that active prince, the ancient valour of the Britons began to revive: they fought ſeveral battles with the Saxons; and, though generally defeated, convinced their perfidious auxiliaries, that the intrepidity of their anceſtors ſtill ſubſiſted among the Britons. In a battle fought near Ailsford, the Britons were victorious; and Horſa, one of the Saxon generals, fell in the conflict.

A. D. 457. The Saxons were alarmed at this change of fortune, and ſaw the neceſſity of repairing their loſs. But their numbers were too much reduced for them to venture a ſecond engagement with a people fluſhed with conqueſt; and therefore retreated to their camp, in order to wait the arrival of freſh ſuccours. The interval was of no long continuance; a large body of Saxons landed in Britain, and marched immediately to the camp of Hengiſt. Vortimer perceived the cloud of deſtruction gathering round him, and laboured aſſiduouſly to break its force; but the army of the enemy was too numerous to be oppoſed with ſucceſs by the undiſciplined Britons. Hengiſt now took the title of King of Kent; and the Saxons ſallied from their camp, marking their route with blood and devaſtation. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared; the prieſts were burnt upon their altars, and the prince and the peaſant ſhared the ſame fate. The ſtructures dedicated to religion were levelled in the duſt; and the whole country through which they paſſed exhibited the moſt dreadful ſpectacle of horror and deſolation.

A. D. 465. Vortimer ſaw with grief the ruin of his country, and exerted his whole power to ſtop the barbarous ravages of the Saxons; but before he could accompliſh this deſireable end, death put a final period to his labours, and the Britons were left without a leader. The fate of their country was too critical to admit of delay; ſo that the deſtructive parties that uſually prevailed at the election of a prince were now forgotten; and Ambroſius, a Briton of Roman deſcent, was, by the unanimous voice of the council, placed in the ſeat of power. A more proper perſon could not have been choſen to hold the reins of government at this dangerous criſis; he was humane, prudent, and intrepid: his conduct and valour were equally eminent; he was not to be intimidated by the power of the enemy, nor provoked to raſh meaſures by their cruelty.

Hengiſt perceived the alteration in the conduct of the Britons, and was alarmed for the conſequences. Inſtead of extending his ravages, he found it difficult to keep poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Kent. Aſſiſted by the famous Arthur, whoſe exploits have given riſe to ſo many fables, Ambroſius defeated ſeveral detachments of the Saxons, and filled with alarms the camp of the enemy. Hengiſt, to avoid the deſtruction of his army, ſent for another tribe of his countrymen, under the command of his brother Octa; but, inſtead of joining the Saxons in Kent, he ordered him to land in Northumberland, in order to divide the attention of Ambroſius. But ſtill the Saxons were in no condition to undertake any thing of conſequence againſt the Britons; ſeveral years elapſed before they were able to make ſettlements in any other part of the kingdom.

While the Saxons lay inactive, new tribes of adventurers were daily arriving from Germany. Among theſe the Angles made a conſpicuous figure, both with regard to number and military abilities. They were of a different nation from the Saxons; but being of the ſame religion, ſpeaking the ſame language, and coming upon the ſame errand, they joined the forces of Hengiſt, and acted with them in concert againſt the forces of Ambroſius.

A. D. 477. The affairs of the Britons now wore a lowring aſpect. The former ravages were renewed, and the ſtandard of deſolation again erected in their devoted country. In the midſt of theſe confuſions, Ella, a Saxon chief, landed, at the head of his forces, on the coaſt of Suſſex. He was bravely oppoſed by the Britons, and obliged to wait for freſh ſuccours before he could make any ſettlement in the country. This oppoſition raiſed the fury of Ella; he thought it an unpardonable offence in the inhabitants to defend their property, and therefore ſpared neither age or ſex; every perſon that fell into his hands he put to the ſword, without diſtinction. The wretched inhabitants that eſcaped the fury of their invader, took refuge in the foreſts, and left their poſſeſſions a prey to the conqueror, who took the title of King of the South-Saxons.

A. D. 495. About eighteen years after Ella had founded the kingdom of Suſſex, Cerdic, and his ſon Kenrick, landed in the weſtern parts of England, at the head of a powerful army of Saxons. But though his forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of Ella, he met with more difficulties in making a ſettlement. He was oppoſed by the celebrated Arthur, whoſe valour was now the principal ſupport of his country. He attacked the Saxon chief with all the vigour of an ancient Briton, and defeated him in ſeveral battles. But freſh reinforcements continually arriving, Cerdic conquered all oppoſition, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Weſſex.

A. D. 527. The attention of the Britons was now called to another part of the country. No leſs than three armies landed about the ſame time on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. The firſt of theſe conſiſted chiefly of Angles, headed by Uffa, a celebrated leader of that nation. Little oppoſition was now made by the Britons; multitudes of them were deſtroyed, and others had taken ſhelter in the mountainous parts of the iſland. Uffa therefore eaſily defeated the few forces that oppoſed him, and founded the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia. Crida laid the foundations of the kingdom of Mercia; and Erkenwin eſtabliſhed that of Eſſex, or the Eaſt Saxons.

A. D. 547. Though the Saxons had been, for many years, ſettled in ſome parts of Northumberland,

land, they were not able to ſubdue the inhabitants, till they were joined by Ida, a celebrated leader, at the head of a numerous detachment. The arrival of this chief raiſed the drooping courage of his countrymen. He attacked the Britons, drove them, with great ſlaughter, from their poſſeſſions, and aſſumed the title of King of Bernicia, including the counties of Northumberland and Durham. While Ida was employed in conquering the northern parts of the kingdom, Ella, another Saxon prince, ſubdued Lancaſhire, and the greater part of Yorkſhire, which he formed into a kingdom, under the title of Deïri. Theſe counties were afterwards united by a marriage between the grandſon of Ida, and the daughter of Ella, under the title of the kingdom of Northumberland.

Such was the eſtabliſhment of the Heptarch, or ſeven Saxon kingdoms in Britain. Hiſtory furniſhes few examples of revolutions that have been more general, or more complete: for if we except Cornwall and Wales, the whole ſouthern part of the iſland had changed its inhabitants, its manners, its language, and its government. Exaſperated by a long ſeries of oppoſition, the ferocious Saxons depopulated the country. They were not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſions of the unfortunate Britons; their lives were alſo neceſſary to ſatiate their inhuman cruelty. They ſtained their laurels with the blood of the innocent, and founded their power on the maſſacre of the inhabitants.

The hiſtory of literature, during this period, is confined to a very narrow compaſs. The Saxons were ignorant of letters; and, among the Britons, very few were capable of recording the tranſactions of their country. The long and dreadful wars which waſted their country, had almoſt obliterated the arts they had learned from the Romans. A few particulars indeed may be gleaned from ſome ancient writers, but moſt of them are founded on doubtful authority, and their number is too ſmall to form a connected hiſtory. The names of Merlin, a reputed prince and prophet; Pendragon, the celebrated Arthur, Thalieſſin, whoſe writings are ſaid to be ſtill extant, and a few others of leſs note, compoſe the whole catalogue of the learned in this dark period of hiſtorical narration. Literature, ſcience, taſte, were words ſcarce heard of in this ferocious and barbarous age. The human mind, neglected, uncultivated, and depreſſed, ſunk into the abyſs of ignorance. The taper of learning was extinguiſhed, and a cloud of more than Egyptian darkneſs hovered over Europe.

Previous to the hiſtory of the Saxon Heptarchy, it will be neceſſary to point out the counties which formed theſe reſpective kingdoms; and theſe will appear in the following table.

| KINGDOMS OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY. | COUNTIES CONTAINED IN EACH. |
|---|---|
| 1. Kingdom of Kent. | 1. Kent. |
| 2. Kingdom of the South Saxons. | 2. Suſſex.<br>3. Surry. |
| 3. Kingdom of Weſſex. | 4. Berkſhire.<br>5. Hampſhire.<br>6. Wiltſhire.<br>7. Somerſetſhire.<br>8. Dorſetſhire.<br>9. Devonſhire. |
| 4. Kingdom of Northumberland. | 10. Northumberland.<br>11. Durham.<br>12. Lancaſhire.<br>13. Yorkſhire.<br>14. Cumberland.<br>15. Weſtmorland.<br>16. Part of Scotland to the Frith of Edinburgh. |
| 5. Kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons. | 17. Part of Hertfordſhire.<br>18. Eſſex.<br>19. Middleſex. |
| 6. Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles. | 20. Norfolk.<br>21. Suffolk.<br>22. Cambridge, with Ely. |
| 7. Kingdom of Mercia. | 23. Huntingdonſhire.<br>24. Derbyſhire.<br>25. Nottinghamſhire.<br>26. Leiceſterſhire.<br>27. Northamptonſhire.<br>28. Rutlandſhire.<br>29. Warwickſhire.<br>30. Bedfordſhire.<br>31. Buckinghamſhire.<br>32. Part of Hertfordſhire.<br>33. Oxfordſhire.<br>34. Glouceſterſhire.<br>35. Herefordſhire.<br>36. Worceſterſhire.<br>37. Cheſhire.<br>38. Shropſhire.<br>39. Staffordſhire. |

BOOK

# BOOK III.

## From the eſtabliſhment of the Saxon Heptarchy, to its final diſſolution by Egbert.

THE hiſtory of the Saxon heptarchy is involved in obſcurity. The events which happened during this period are blended together, and form rather a chaos of perplexity, than a regular ſeries of facts proper to fill the page of hiſtory. Several writers have, indeed, laboured, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to unravel this intricate web of political confuſion, woven by the hands of ignorance and neglect; but their efforts have proved abortive, and the ſame doubts, the ſame uncertainties ſtill continue. Hiſtorical monuments are wanting, and it is impoſſible to ſupply the defect. The hiſtorians of thoſe times were ignorant, bigotted monks; they wanted penetration to perceive what was really neceſſary to be known; and learning, to convey to poſterity thoſe facts which they thought of ſufficient importance. Guided entirely by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſtic credulity, and wanting either abilities or honeſty to detect the frauds and examine the narratives of artful men, they have adopted the moſt abſurd fictions, and given, as hiſtorical facts, relations that ſhock the ear of reaſon. At the ſame time, they have often either omitted, or blended with improbable, and ſometimes contradictory circumſtances, ſuch civil tranſactions as are neceſſary for continuing the thread of hiſtorical narration. All, therefore, that can be attempted with ſucceſs, in this dark period, is to collect the few ſcattered particulars which form the outlines of the Saxon heptarchy, without pretending to finiſh the picture.

But it will be neceſſary, previouſly, to remark, That the Anglo-Saxon kings, during the heptarchy, uſually choſe one who was placed at the head of their political confederacy, for regulating their concerns; but without any juriſdiction in the dominions of others. He was general in chief, and led the combined forces of the heptarchy againſt the common enemy in times of war, and preſided in the general council of the confederacy in times of peace. This council was never aſſembled but when ſome imminent danger threatened the exiſtence of the whole heptarchy, and then only the whole was ſubject to its deciſions.

## THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

HENGIST, the great leader of the Saxons, and founder of the kingdom of Kent, had, by his valour and conduct, rendered it the moſt formidable of all the Saxon heptarchy; but his two immediate predeceſſors may be ſaid to have inherited his conqueſts, rather than imitated his example. They ſat down ſupinely on the throne of their great anceſtor, without taking any care to render the ambitious deſigns of the neighbouring potentates abortive. While the original inhabitants of the iſland were able to make head againſt the invaders of their country, the Saxons were cloſely united, and formed one ſtrong compacted body: but the Britons were no ſooner rendered incapable of diſturbing the peace of the heptarchy, than the Saxons turned their arms againſt one another. Ambitious of power, and envious of the proſperity of their neighbours, they could not behold the proſperity of another without repining; and made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the laws of equity and conſcience to the thirſt of empire.

The firſt who diſturbed the peace of the heptarchy was Ceaulin, king of Weſſex. He unjuſtly ſeized the ſceptre of Suſſex on the death of Ciſſa; and not content with this acquiſition, he formed a ſcheme for becoming maſter of the whole heptarchy. He had for ſome time obſerved the indolence of the Kentiſh princes, and thought this a proper time for carrying his plan into execution.

Ethelbert, the great grandſon of Hengiſt, now filled the Kentiſh throne. He ſaw with grief the declining ſtate of his kingdom, and determined to reſtore it to its original luſtre. Poſſeſſed of all the intrepidity of Hengiſt, and ſuperior to him in mental acquiſitions, he was beloved and feared by the other Saxon princes. The ambitious deſigns of Ceaulin were ſufficiently evident, and required the abilities of Ethelbert to render them abortive. He ſummoned the other princes of the heptarchy to a general council, and convinced them of the neceſſity of arming in their own defence. Ceaulin ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering round him, and exerted his whole force to defend himſelf againſt its fury. He marched againſt Ethelbert, who led the combined forces, and gave him battle. The conflict was dreadful, but the fortune of Ethelbert prevailed: Ceaulin was totally defeated, and died ſoon after. Deprived of their leader, and the greater part of their army, the Mercians were in no condition of oppoſing the combined army of the heptarchy; they ſubmitted to Ethelbert, who reſtored the kingdom to the lawful heir, though under ſuch conditions and limitations as greatly augmented his own power.

But the moſt remarkable event in the reign of Ethelbert, was the introduction of the Chriſtian religion. The Britons had, for ſeveral centuries, enjoyed the light of the goſpel; but the Saxons were ſtill involved in the thickeſt night of ignorance and error. They worſhipped a plurality of gods, and had blended with their own the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions of other nations. Their principal deity was Woden, the god of war, from whom they pretended their anceſtors were deſcended, and to whoſe aſſiſtance they were indebted for all their victories. But, as their religion had no political inſtitutions to ſupport it, and many of their brethren on the continent had exchanged its abſurdities for the precepts of the goſpel, they were induced to entertain no very favourable opinion of the religion of their anceſtors, and prepared to liſten to the arguments brought in ſupport of another.

Ethelbert had, for ſome time, been married to Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris; and it was ſtipulated by the marriage articles, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion. Adorned with all the charms peculiar to her ſex, and with the unaffected piety which adds a luſtre to greatneſs, ſhe was at once beloved and adored by the king and his whole court. She was attended by Luidhard, a prelate venerable at once for his learning and a life of exemplary goodneſs. The church of St. Martin, built in the time of the Romans, was allotted to Bertha for the exerciſe of her religion; and there the pious Luidhard preached the doctrines of the goſpel to very crouded audiences. The Saxon nobility liſtened with pleaſure to his eloquent and pathetic diſcourſes, and ſeveral of them became converts to chriſtianity. Theſe favourable circumſtances induced pope Gregory the great to entertain the pleaſing hopes of being able to deſtroy the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Saxons and eſtabliſh on its ruins the tenets of the goſpel. To execute this noble deſign, he ſent Auguſtin or Auſtin, with four other monks, on a miſſion to the court of Ethelbert. But the monks, on their arrival in France, were ſo intimidated by the accounts they received of the ferocious manners of the Saxons, their conſummate ignorance, and their ſuperſtitious attachment to the religion of their anceſtors, that Auſtin thought proper to ſuſpend the expedition, till he received orders from his holineſs. Gregory ſaw the dangers which threatened the miſſionaries, and wrote a letter to queen Brunehaut, who, though ſtained with the moſt enormous vices, was capable of promoting the intereſt of the church, requeſting, in the moſt preſſing manner, her aſſiſtance in this pious undertaking. He ſollicited not in vain. Brunehaut exerted all her power to render the attempt ſucceſsful; and furniſhed the miſſionaries with interpreters from among the Franks, who ſtill ſpoke the language of the Saxons.

A. D. 597. Furniſhed with interpreters, and letters to queen Bertha, recommending the monks to her protection, Auſtin and his followers embarked on their miſſion, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed in the iſle of Thanet. He immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to court, informing the king of the intention of his coming, and requeſting his permiſſion to preach the doctrine of the goſpel publickly. Ethelbert, without either granting or denying his petition, ordered him to continue in the iſle of Thanet, and ſoon after came thither in perſon, with his queen, attended by his whole court. The ſtupidity of this prince, though the moſt learned and polite of all the Saxon potentates, was ſo great, that he received the miſſionaries in the open air, in order to break the force of their enchantments, ſhould they employ magic and ſorcery againſt him. The monks advanced to audience with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. Auſtin explained the doctrines of the goſpel, with which Ethelbert ſeemed deeply affected, but without declaring himſelf convinced of the great truths delivered by the miſſionary. He, however, granted him permiſſion to preach them openly to his people. Auſtin acquitted himſelf nobly; and added ſtrength to his doctrines, by the auſterities of his life. The Saxons were perſuaded that the followers of a religion which mortified every paſſion, muſt act from conviction; and that the tenets they profeſſed muſt be founded on a baſis more than human. Ethelbert was convinced of the truth of the goſpel, and ſuffered himſelf to be baptized. The example of kings is always powerful. The nobles and people flocked to Auſtin, and the chriſtian religion triumphed over the idolatry of the Saxons. Auſtin was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury; the churches that had fallen to decay were repaired; the heathen temples were conſecrated to the worſhip of the true God, and a ſeminary of learning was opened in the capital of Kent.

A ſimilarity of ſentiments in religion is generally productive of civil connections. This obſervation was now ſufficiently verified. The Anglo-Saxons opened an intercourſe with the nations on the continent, and from them conceived an idea of more cultivated manners. They ſaw the many advantages that reſulted from a polite and generous behaviour; from connections founded on virtue; from reciprocal acts of kindneſs and benevolence; and wiſhed to imitate the practice. Ethelbert, deſirous of promoting the happineſs of his people, enacted a body of laws, and cauſed them to be written and publiſhed, that none might plead ignorance of the contents. The remaining part of the reign of Ethelbert, is marked with no tranſaction of importance, except the death of the virtuous Bertha: no diſturbance happened; his people were happy, and Ethelbert, after a proſperous reign of fifty-two years, paid the debt of nature in the boſom of peace and tranquillity.

A. D. 616. Eadbald aſcended the throne on the death of his father. But blinded with an inceſtuous paſſion for his mother-in-law, he abandoned his religion, that he might indulge his criminal exceſſes without reſtraint. Many of the nobility followed his example, and the tenets of the goſpel were in danger of falling a ſacrifice to heathen ſuperſtition. Laurentius, the ſucceſſor of Auſtin, found means to prevent ſo dreadful a misfortune. Fearleſs of danger when religion demanded his aſſiſtance, he laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to make Eadbald ſenſible of the enormity of his vices; and at laſt ſucceeded. Convinced by the arguments of Laurentius, he renounced the pagan religion, divorced his inceſtuous conſort, and became a remarkable penitent for his crimes. He demoliſhed the idolatrous temples, broke the ſtatues of the gods in pieces, and firmly eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in his kingdom. He extended his care for the intereſt of the goſpel beyond the limits of his territories; he greatly contributed by the force of his arguments, and more by his exemplary piety, to the converſion of Edwin, king of Mercia. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, with the character of an excellent and pious prince; beloved by his ſubjects, and revered for his virtues, even by the pagan monarchs of the heptarchy.

This kingdom continued in the royal line of the founder till the year 794; but no event that deſerves the notice of hiſtorians happened after the death of Eadbald. On the extinction of the Hengiſt family, the kingdom was rent with factions, and the crown became the ſport of fortune. The towns were laid in aſhes, and the fields manured with the blood of their owners. Nor were theſe troubles terminated, till Egbert united in his perſon the ſeven crowns of the Saxon heptarchy; after Kent had continued a diſtinct and ſeparate kingdom during an interval of 372 years.

## The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

THIS ſmall kingdom, which contained only the county of Suſſex and part of Surry, makes the leaſt figure of any in the Saxon heptarchy. Its whole extent was inconſiderable; and a very large part of this little territory was covered with woods and foreſts. At the ſame time it was but thinly inhabited, and therefore incapable of making any effectual reſiſtance againſt the attempts of an enterpriſing enemy.

It has been already obſerved, that this kingdom was founded by Ella, who landed at the head of a conſiderable reinforcement, to ſtrengthen the intereſt of Hengiſt. He died after a reign of twenty-three years. Ella was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and, on the death of Hengiſt, placed at the head of the Saxon heptarchy.

A. D. 514. Ciſſa, the only ſon of Ella, ſucceeded him in the throne; but did not poſſeſs the abilities of his father. He built the city of Chicheſter, and laboured inceſſantly to promote the happineſs and tranquillity of his ſubjects. He engaged not in the quarrels of the heptarchy, nor endeavoured to conquer any of the territories of his neighbours. This placable diſpoſition prevented his kingdom from becoming a ſcene of war and deſolation. His age, and the length of his reign were both uncommon; they were both extended beyond the common limits of mankind. He paid the debt of nature after a peaceful reign of ſeventy-ſix years, and in the one hundred and ſeventeenth year of his age.

A. D. 590. On the death of Ciſſa, who left no iſſue, the crown was ſeized by Ceaulin, king of the Weſt-Saxons, which occaſioned a confederacy to be formed againſt him, as has been already mentioned in the hiſtory of Kent. After this event the kingdom of Suſſex was ſubject to ſeveral revolutions; and, at length, totally ſubdued and united to that of the Weſt-Saxons in the year 754.

## The Kingdom of WESSEX, or the WEST SAXONS.

NONE of the Saxon kingdoms met with greater oppoſition in their infancy than that of Weſſex. Cerdic, one of the greateſt generals among the Saxons, found two powerful enemies in Ambroſius and Arthur; nor was he able to eſtabliſh his kingdom till after the death of theſe two great leaders, who for ſeveral years ſupported the falling liberties of their country. With them the powerful reſiſtance terminated, and Cerdic ſat down in peace on the throne he had founded in the blood of an innocent people. He paid the debt of nature about ſixty-one years after his arrival in England, and left the Saxons in poſſeſſion of the eſtates they had wreſted from the inhabitants.

A. D. 540. Kenrick, the ſon of Cerdic, aſcended the throne on the death of his father. He came with him from Germany, and was very inſtrumental in defeating the Britons, and ſettling the kingdom. His reign, after the death of his father, was an interval of peace; no enemy made any attack upon his territories, no reſtleſs ſubjects diſturbed his tranquillity: he died in peace, after holding the ſceptre of Weſſex four years.

A. D. 544. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ceaulin, who inherited the military abilities and ferocious paſſions of his grandfather, but without his milder virtues. His ſole delight was war: he had no regard to the juſtice of his cauſe; the cries of a people, who never injured him, were fruitleſs and vain. He firſt turned his arms againſt the Britons who inhabited the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and laid great part of their country waſte. But the territories of the ancient inhabitants was a field too ſmall to circumſcribe the ambition of Ceaulin. He formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole heptarchy: he could not bear the thoughts of an equal; he graſped at the ſceptre of a kingdom, whoſe bounds were thoſe of the whole iſland. Warmed with the dreams of general monarchy in Britain, and fearleſs of the danger that muſt oppoſe his progreſs, he marched his victorious army into Suſſex, and ſoon became maſter of that little kingdom. But conqueſt now forſook the ſtandard of Ceaulin. Alarmed at his progreſs, and exaſperated at his conduct, the Saxon ſtates entered into a confederacy to blaſt his laurels. Ethelbert, king of Kent, led the combined army againſt the invader, and totally defeated him. The cruelty of his diſpoſition had alienated from him the affections of his ſubjects; they obeyed him only from fear. This defeat, therefore, could not be retrieved. He was driven from his kingdom, and died in miſery.

A. D. 568. The victorious Ethelbert placed Ceolric, the nephew of Ceaulin on the throne of Weſſex. He was entirely devoted to his benefactor, and had even joined the confederacy againſt his uncle: but nothing further is recorded of his reign, except that his kingdom enjoyed an uninterrupted peace while he filled the throne of Cerdic.

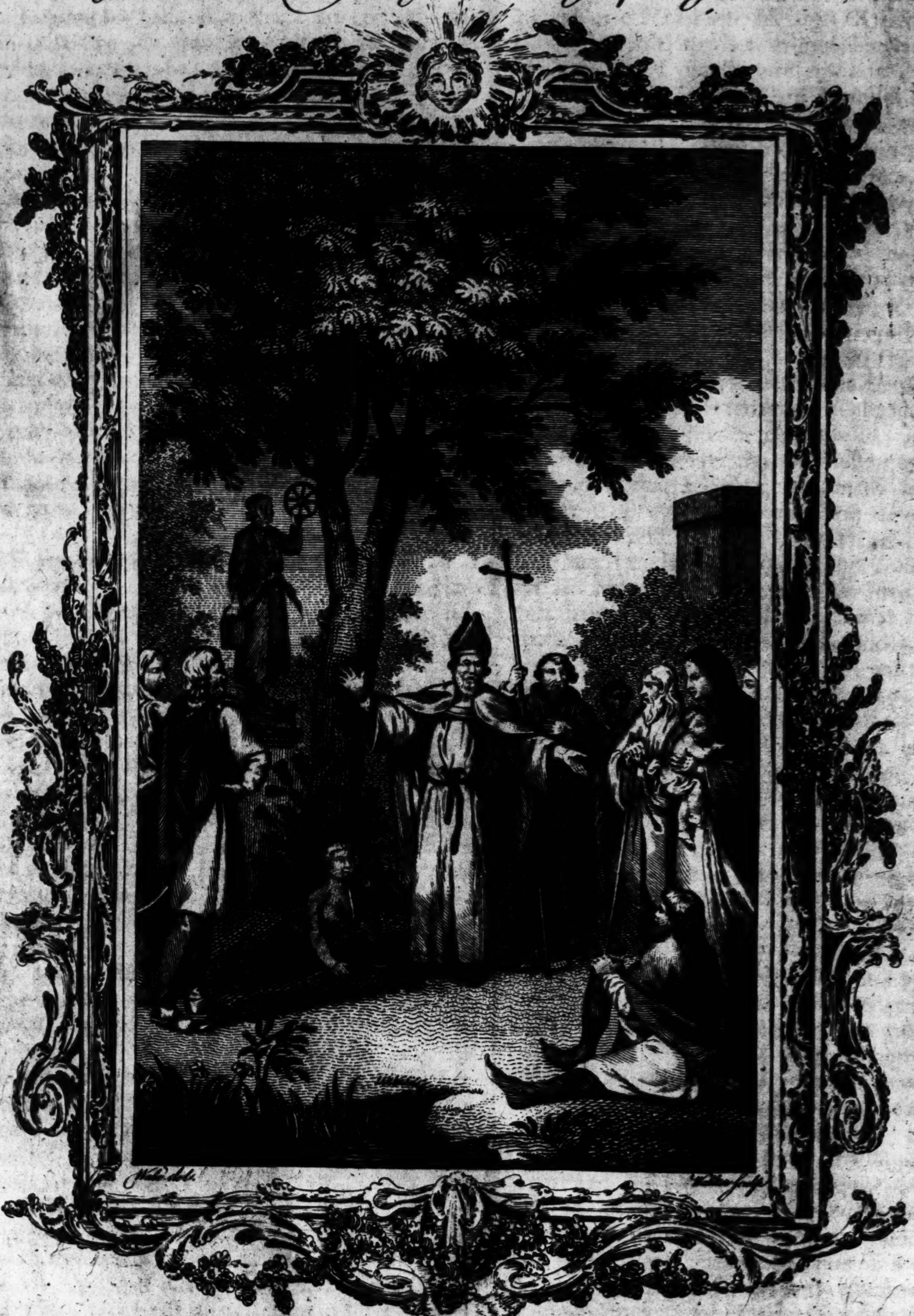
A. D. 597. Ceolwulph, the nephew of Ceolric, was placed in the ſeat of power, on the death of his uncle. The military abilities of this prince were great, and his talents for government equally conſpicuous. His whole reign was one continued interval of war. He courted peace indeed, but ſhe fled from him. Ever active and vigilant, he ſupported the dignity of his kingdom, and even enlarged the boundaries, though ſurrounded by powerful enemies. His moſt formidable oppoſer was Redwald, king of Eaſt-Anglia, then at the head of the Saxon confederacy. The conteſt between them was violent and bloody; but Ceolwulph at laſt prevailed, though he did not long enjoy the honours he had acquired. He died before he could reduce the South Saxons to obedience.

A. D. 611. Ceolwulph dying without iſſue, Kinegils, or Cinegils, his nephew, obtained the throne of Cerdic; and, in the firſt year of his reign, aſſociated his brother Quinchelm with him in the government; and they reigned together in the greateſt harmony. During two years the kingdom enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but at the end of that interval, the Britons began to make inroads into the territories of the Saxons. Rouſed by the injuries received from the enemy, Kinegil and Quinchelm advanced at the head of their forces, and met the invaders near Bindon in Dorſetſhire. A dreadful battle enſued, in which the Britons were totally defeated, and above two thouſand of them killed upon the ſpot.

A. D.

BRITISH 26DE71 MUSEUM

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale delin.
Walker sculp.

**BERINUS** *Converting the* **SAXONS** *to Christianity.*

A. D. 634. Though the Chriſtian religion had, for ſome years, been planted in the kingdom of Kent, yet the Weſt Saxons were ſtill immerſed in all the errors of Pagan ſuperſtition. The torch of truth had not yet been lighted up in this part of the iſland, to diſpel the darkneſs of bigotry and error. But the period was now arrived when the abſurd worſhip of the Saxons ſhould be aboliſhed, and the true religion eſtabliſhed in its ſtead. Berenius, an Italian eccleſiaſtic, after being conſecrated by the pope, was ſent into Britain, to aſſiſt in converting the Saxons to chriſtianity. Kinegils liſtened to the preaching of Berenius, declared himſelf convinced of the truth of the goſpel, and was immediately baptized. His example was followed by numbers of his ſubjects; churches were erected for the worſhip of the true God; the heathen temples were, in many places, demoliſhed; and Berenius was inveſted with an epiſcopal character as biſhop of York. Quinchelm did not, however, follow the example of Kinegils immediately; but being ſeized with a violent fever, embraced the faith, and died immediately after his baptiſm. Kinegils ſurvived his brother about eight years, and laboured inceſſantly to promote the happineſs of his people.

A. D. 643. Kenovaloch, or Kenwal, ſucceeded his father Kinegils in the throne, but was a ſtranger to his virtues. Headſtrong, cruel, and voluptuous, he at once oppreſſed and impoveriſhed his people. He embraced chriſtianity with his father, but was not guided by its precepts. Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, he married one of the ſiſters of Penda, king of Mercia; but, not long after, he repudiated his wife, without aſſigning the leaſt reaſon for his conduct, and renounced his religion. Exaſperated at the affront offered to his ſiſter, Penda, without giving him time to prepare for a defence, entered his dominions at the head of a powerful army, laid great part of his kingdom waſte, and obliged Kenwal himſelf to fly to Annas, king of Eaſt-Anglia, for protection. Penda took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Weſſex, and kept it three years. During that interval, Annas laboured inceſſantly to render Kenwal aſhamed of his vices: he happily ſucceeded; Kenwal again profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, and was, by the aſſiſtance of Annas, replaced on the throne of his anceſtors.

A. D. 652. He was hardly fixed in the ſeat of power, before a rebellion broke out in his kingdom, and once more threatened him with exile. But the inſurgents were too haſty in their meaſures: they engaged the royal army near Bradford, in Wiltſhire, before they were joined by their friends in different parts of the kingdom, and were totally defeated.

A. D. 658. But though the rebellion was thus happily extinguiſhed, peace was not yet reſtored to this diſtracted kingdom. The Britons had long waited for an opportunity of retaliating on the Saxons the many injuries they had received, and thought this a fortunate moment for ſtriking the blow. Accordingly they invaded the kingdom of Weſſex, committing the moſt dreadful outrages in their route. Kenwal collected all his forces, and took the field at the head of a powerful army; determined, if poſſible, to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He marched, with the greateſt expedition, towards the place where the Britons had committed the greateſt diſorders; but, as he was paſſing along the declivity of a hill called Pine, in Shropſhire, the Britons fell with ſo much fury upon his army, that the Saxons were obliged to give way, and victory ſeemed ready to deſert the ſtandards of Kenwal. But the Saxons recovering from their ſurprize, cloſed their ranks, and attacked the Britons with ſo much intrepidity, that they were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

A. D. 661. Tranquillity was not, however, yet the lot of Kenwal. He was hardly returned from chaſtiſing the Britons, before his dominions were invaded by Wulphur, king of Mercia. The two armies met at Ponteſbury, in Shropſhire, and a furious engagement enſued. But the event of the battle is uncertain: ſome hiſtorians poſitively ſay, that Kenwal was defeated; while others aſſert, that he gained the victory. But however that be, this battle was productive of a peace, which ſoon after took place between the two kingdoms.

Kenwal now enjoyed ſome reſpite from the fatigues of war. Misfortunes and adverſity had convinced him of his errors. He applied himſelf, in the evening of age, to make ſome amends to his ſubjects for the cruelties he had committed in the morning of youth. He built the cathedral church of St. Peter at Wincheſter, which ſoon after became the ſee of a biſhop. But he did not long enjoy this interval of tranquillity. He was deſirous of conciliating the affections of his people: but, before he could entirely effect it, death put a period at once to his labours and his life. He died without iſſue, and left his kingdom to his wife Saxeburga.

A. D. 672. Few women were better qualified to hold the reins of government than that princeſs. Intrepid by nature; of a piercing genius, improved by an excellent education, ſhe held the ſceptre with honour to herſelf, and advantage to her country. The good of her people was her principal care. Vigilant and careful to provide for the ſafety of her dominions, ſhe gave her enemies no advantage, nor did ſhe attempt to invade the territories of others. But her ſubjects did not long enjoy the happineſs of her protection; ſhe paid the debt of nature after a ſhort reign of twelve months.

A. D. 674. On the death of Saxeburga, Eſcwin, deſcended from one of the collateral branches of the Cerdic family, aſcended the throne of Weſſex: but the fury of parties was now arrived to ſuch a pitch, that he was obliged to ſhare his power with Kentwin, brother to the late Kenwal. For ſome time they enjoyed the crown in peace; but the reſtleſs ambition of the Saxon princes would not ſuffer any potentate to enjoy a long ſeries of tranquillity. Wulphur, king of Mercia, once more invaded the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. Eſcwin, who commanded the army, marched at the head of his forces, and met the Mercian troops at Bedwin, in Wiltſhire. The conteſt was long doubtful; at laſt victory declared for the Mercians; but the advantage had been ſo dearly purchaſed, that Wulphur was in no condition to continue in the territories of the enemy. Eſcwin ſurvived this battle only two years, when he paid the debt of nature, and left the throne to Kentwin.

A. D. 676. Hiſtorians have been ſilent with regard to the Mercian war. Probably a peace was concluded ſoon after the defeat of Eſcwin; becauſe we find Kentwin, ſoon after the death of his partner in the throne, was at leiſure to lead his army againſt the Britons, whom he defeated, and obliged their king, Cadwallader, to paſs over into Bretagne to procure aſſiſtance. While Kentwin was employed in his wars with the Britons, his nephew, Ceadwalla, formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the crown; but before his plot was ripe for execution, Kentwin returned to his capital, and obliged Ceadwalla to fly for ſafety to the foreſt of Anderſwald, in Suſſex. Here he was joined by great numbers from Kentwin's army, and committed the moſt inhuman barbarities on the inhabitants of that ſmall kingdom.

A. D. 686. On the death of Kentwin, Ceadwalla was placed on the throne of Cerdic. This acquiſition of power enabled him to proſecute his brutal ravages with more ſucceſs. He invaded the Iſle of Wight, and committed ſuch cruelties as are ſhocking to human nature. He had not indeed yet embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, though he had been very liberal to the church; a ſpecies of devotion, which, in that ignorant age, was thought a ſufficient atonement for the greateſt crimes. Soon after his converſion, he repaired to Rome, where he was publickly baptized by Sergius II. who then filled the papal chair; but ſurvived the ceremony only a few days. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where his tomb may ſtill be ſeen; and, from a pompous inſcription engraven on it, we learn, that he was only in his thirtieth year when he died.

A. D. 689. When Ceadwalla departed from England, he reſigned his crown to Ina, his nephew, though he had two ſons, then in their infancy. Ina was one of thoſe princes who deſerves to be mentioned with honour amidſt a multitude of barbarous wretches, many of whom were a ſcandal to humanity. He had united in his perſon the civil and the military virtues. He was formed to ſhine either in the council or the field; to lead his people to conqueſt, or teach them to cultivate the arts of peace. His abilities were ſo conſpicuous, that he had not ſat a year upon the throne before he was elected chief of the Saxon confederacy. He compoſed a body of laws, which, in the next century, formed the baſis of thoſe enacted by Alfred the Great. After conquering the Britons in Somerſetſhire, he did not follow the inhuman cuſtom of his predeceſſors, of exterminating the people; he treated them with kindneſs, permitted them to retain their poſſeſſions, and incorporated them with his ſubjects by intermarriages, and the allurement of equal laws.

After a glorious reign of thirty-ſeven years, he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and, during his reſidence in that city, he erected the Engliſh college; and, for the ſupport of that ſeminary, impoſed a tax upon his ſubjects, afterwards called Peter's-pence. This was the laſt act of his reign. He reſigned his ſceptre, took the habit of a monk, and died in obſcurity. His wife followed his example; ſhe took the veil, and ſpent the evening of her life in a monaſtery.

A. D. 727. Ethelhard, to whom Ina had reſigned his crown, found a powerful competitor in Oſwald, a branch of the royal family. He was ſupported by many of the nobility, and appeared at the head of a powerful army. Ethelhard, who was a ſtranger to fear, led thoſe troops, who had learned to conquer under the ſtandards of Ina, againſt the uſurper. A furious battle enſued, in which the forces of Oſwald were totally defeated. Peace was immediately reſtored; and Ethelhard enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of tranquillity, till death put an end to his life in the ſeventeenth year of his reign.

A. D. 733. On the death of Ethelhard, Cutherd, his relation, was placed on the throne of Cerdic. Peace ſeemed now to have taken her flight from the territories of the Weſt Saxons; tumult and diſorder marked the whole reign of Cutherd. The ferocious nobility conſpired againſt him, and his ſon fell a victim to their envy. The ſtandard of rebellion was now diſplayed, and the army of the inſurgents was headed by Edelhun, the moſt able general of his time. The royal army was far ſuperior in numbers to that of the rebels; but, animated by the example, and conducted by the prudence of Edelhun, they attacked the forces of Cutherd with ſuch fury, that victory was on the point of declaring in their favour, when unfortunately their intrepid leader was dangerouſly wounded. Confuſion, inſtead of order, was now conſpicuous in the army of the rebels. Cutherd improved the diſorder, and drove them from the field with great ſlaughter. Edelhun was taken priſoner; but his abilities recommended him ſo ſtrongly to Cutherd, that he not only granted him his pardon, but made him general of his own forces. Headed by Edelhun, the Weſt Saxons were invincible; wherever they turned their arms, they conquered. The flames of rebellion were ſuppreſſed; and the nobles, intimidated by the power of the army, buried their animoſities in the grave of circumſpection. But it was in vain to expect tranquillity while the iſland was divided into ſo many petty kingdoms, without any barrier to prevent the incurſions of the borderers. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, one of thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits who are never contented with their fortune, entered the territories of Cutherd, and committed all the exceſſes that might be expected from ſo ferocious a leader, who had already ravaged the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Eaſt-Anglia. But his victorious forces could not intimidate the ſpirit of Edelhun; he led the army of Cutherd againſt the enemy, and, after an obſtinate engagement, obtained the victory. Ethelbald fled with precipitation to his kingdom; and Edelhun turned his arms againſt the Britons, and united part of Cornwall to the dominions of Weſſex. In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, Cutherd paid the debt of nature, and left his crown to Sigebert, his nephew.

A. D. 755. Sigebert was but a youth when he mounted the throne; and might have reigned in peace, would he have liſtened to the voice of reaſon. But he ſcorned to be directed by thoſe whom age and experience had taught wiſdom. Headſtrong, violent, and proud, he treated his nobles with inſolence, and his people with inhumanity. He trampled upon the laws, and made his own will the rule of his government. Deſtitute of merit himſelf, he became the profeſſed enemy of all who, for their ſuperior abilities, were regarded with honour by the people. Sigebert was often warned of the conſequences that muſt ſoon attend his conduct; but he was deaf to advice, and laughed at the cautious counſel of his friends. Exaſperated by continual acts of tyranny, the people flew to arms, and were joined by the nobles. Sigebert ſaw the gathering ſtorm, but wanted power to break its force. His friends had deſerted him, and he could place no confidence in his troops. He ſaw Kinewulf, a prince of the ſame family, advancing againſt him at the head of the people, and immediately abandoned a throne he wanted courage to defend. He fled to duke Cumbran, at that time governor of a large diſtrict of Hampſhire; and with him he might have ended his days in peace, had his reverſe of fortune taught him to govern his headſtrong paſſions; but this was a virtue to which Sigebert was a ſtranger. Cumbrian ſtill continued his inſeparable friend, and endeavoured to reclaim him from thoſe vices which had deprived him of his crown. Exaſperated at what he conſidered as a flagrant act of diſreſpect, Sigebert put his benefactor to death. This inhuman action rendered Sigebert deteſted by thoſe who had hitherto followed his fortunes; they abandoned him to his fate. He ſaw his danger, and fled to the foreſt of Anderſwald, and there fell by the ignoble hand of a ſwine-herd.

Kinewulf, who now filled the throne, had a genius naturally turned to war, and defeated the Britons in ſeveral engagements; but was routed by Offa, king of Mercia, and loſt all his tenetaries on the north ſide of the Thames. This reverſe of fortune encouraged Kynchard, the brother of Sigebert, to attempt the recovery of the crown, which had been uſurped by Kinewulf; but not having force ſufficient to attack him in the open field, he hovered on the borders of the kingdom, in order to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity for carrying his deſign into execution, and revenging on Kinewulf the death of his brother. Several months paſſed without the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. At laſt he was informed that Kinewulf often paid ſecret viſits to a lady at Merton in Surry; and Kynchard determined to ſurpriſe him during one of thoſe interviews. Accordingly he ſurrounded the houſe, and found means to penetrate to the door of the apartment where the king was, before his attendants were alarmed. Kinewulf was the firſt who perceived the danger; he ran haſtily to his arms, and defended the door with the greateſt bravery; but perceiving Kynchard among the aſſaſſins, he loſt his uſual preſence of mind, and ruſhed upon the aſſaſſin; but before he could diſpatch him, he fell, covered with wounds. Alarmed with the noiſe, the king's attendants ran to the aſſiſtance of their maſter, and were all of them put to death. Kynchard himſelf had been ſo deſperately wounded by Kinewulf, that he was in no condition to make his eſcape. The news of this cruel aſſaſſination reached Kingſton early the next morning, when the principal inhabitants, headed by Oſeric, flew to Merton, where they found the conſpirators had barricaded the houſe, in order to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Kynchard endeavoured to divert the ſtorm which was ready to burſt upon him, by large offers, but all his promiſes were in vain; Oſeric, at the head of his company, demoliſhed the barricadoes, and cut every one of the regicides to pieces.

A. D. 784. Brithwick, a deſcendant from the great Cerdic, was placed in the ſeat of power on the death of Kinewulf. He was a lover of the arts of peace, and cultivated them with ſucceſs. He conſidered war as one of the greateſt ſcourges of heaven, and did every thing in the world to divert it from his people. But all his virtues were tinctured with jealouſy. The order of ſucceſſion to the throne, was not at that time nicely regarded; and Brithwick was advanced to the ſeat of power, though his title was inferior in point of blood to that of Egbert, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed by his merits and his birth. Brithwick knew this, and could not behold the great talents of Egbert without envy. His increaſing popularity heightened the diſguſt, and Egbert ſoon perceived that he could not long continue in the court of Brithwick with ſafety. He knew it would be madneſs to contend ſingly with power; and wicked to involve his country in the miſeries of a civil war. He therefore privately withdrew to the court of Charlemagne, then the moſt poliſhed and polite in Europe. Under that hero he learned the art of war, his ferocious manners were ſoftened, and his talents unfolded. The misfortunes of his youth were of the utmoſt advantage to himſelf and his country.

While Egbert was thus acquiring wiſdom and experience under a foreign prince, Brithwick was employed in rendering his people happy. He married Eadburga, daughter to Offa, king of Mercia. She was inſidious, incontinent, inſolent and cruel. She ſcrupled not to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of her paſſions. A young nobleman having incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe determined to avenge the affront. Nothing leſs than the life of the offender could ſatisfy her vengeance. She kept the ſecret concealed in her own breaſt, till an opportunity offered for executing her infernal deſign. She did not wait long; the nobleman was Brithwick's particular favourite, and frequently with him. One evening as they were drinking together, the treacherous Eadburga mixed poiſon in a cup of wine and gave it to the victim of her revenge. Unfortunately for Brithwick, he drank ſome of the wine, and they both expired together. Conſcious that her crime muſt render her obnoxious to the people, ſhe fled to the continent, and, after a ſeries of misfortunes, died in miſery.

Upon the death of Brithwick, it was determined to recall Egbert from the court of Charlemagne, in order to take poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. He immediately complied with their requeſt, and, on his arrival, received the crown of Cerdic from a people that loved and honoured his virtues. This great prince, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, put a final period to the Saxon heptarchy, and became the firſt king of England; but the manner in which he acquired the ſceptre of England muſt be deferred to the ſucceeding book, where we ſhall reſume the hiſtory of this celebrated prince.

## THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

IT has been already obſerved, that a body of Saxons ſettled in this country, while Hengiſt was cloſely preſſed by the Britons; but that Ida was the firſt who aſſumed the title of king, after he had founded the kingdom of Bernicia, which was not till near one hundred years after the firſt ſettlement of the Saxons. Ida was a brave and generous prince; equally great in council and the field. As a general he was intrepid and prudent: as a governor, equitable and humane. He fought many battles with the Britons, and was at laſt ſlain by Owen, prince of the Cumbrians. But ſome years before this misfortune, another party of Saxons landed in the north, and ſubdued the ſouthern parts of Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire. Theſe formed themſelves into a province called Deïra, of which Ella, one of the Saxon leaders, aſſumed the title of king.

The Saxons were long oppoſed by the famous Arthur, who has been unfortunate enough to be celebrated by ſo many fabulous writers, that his true hiſtory can hardly be known. He was born about the year 496, and nearly related to Ambroſius Aurelianus. In the year 516, he was appointed to command an army, raiſed to put a ſtop to the ravages of the Saxons; and in order to procure him more reſpect from the ſoldiers, he was crowned king of Gwent, a name then given to the country lying between the Wye and the Severn. His generoſity, perſonal bravery, and aſſiduous care to promote the happineſs of his ſoldiers, ſoon procured him large reinforcements; and his ſucceſs againſt the invaders of his country was ſo remarkable, that the moſt ſanguine expectations of his ſubjects were fully anſwered. But though he was often victorious, he was not always ſo; nor was it in the power of any hero, however great, to drive the Saxons out of Britain. He ſtopped their progreſs, and often defeated their armies, though commanded by the moſt able generals.

During one of his expeditions againſt the Saxons of Northumberland, Madred, his nephew, whom he left guardian of his patrimonial dominions, uſurped the throne. Arthur returned, engaged him in ſeveral battles, and, at laſt, in a deciſive one fought near Camlen, ſlew him with his own hand; but he himſelf received a mortal wound, of which he died, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, and was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects.

The hiſtories of theſe times are ſilent with regard to the firſt five deſcendants of Ida, their names are indeed mentioned, but without any account of their virtues, their vices, their governments or their wars.

A. D. 586. Ethelfrid, one of the deſcendants of Ida, was a brave and active prince, but haughty and cruel; he married Acca, the only daughter of Ella, and on the death of that prince, ſeized on the kingdom of Deïra, which he united to his own dominions, forming by that means the kingdom of Northumberland. Ella left an infant ſon, called Edwin; but Ethelfrid paid no regard to equity: young Edwin himſelf would have fallen a victim to his ambiton, had not his guardians conveyed him to the court of Cadwan, king of North Wales, where he receivd an excellent education.

This acquiſition rendered Ethelfrid one of the moſt powerful monarchs in the Saxon heptarchy. His reſtleſs temper would not permit him to ſit down contented with this large addition to his kingdom. The love of conqueſt induced him to invade the territories of his neighbours. The Britons firſt felt the power of his arms. He laid great part of their country waſte, and penetrated at the head of his victorious army to the gates of Cheſter. Alarmed at the progreſs of the army, and exaſperated at the cruelties exerciſed on their countrymen, the Britons took the field, and advanced to meet the ferocious invader. A body of twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monaſtery of Bangor accompanied the army to animate the ſoldiers by their prayers and exhortations. Ethelfrid was ſurprized to ſee ſo large a body of men without arms, and aſked the reaſon for ſo unuſual an appearance. He was anſwered, that they were prieſts who were come out to pray for the deſtruction of his army. "Then", ſaid he, "they are as "much our enemies as thoſe that employ their "ſwords for our deſtruction"; and immediately detached a party, who cut their monkiſh battalion to pieces. Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected fate of their prieſts, the Romans made a precipitate flight: Cheſter was taken, and the famous monaſtery of Bangor levelled to its foundations. This religious ſtructure, according to Bede, contained two thouſand one hundred monks, who, according to the reſpectable cuſtom of religious orders in thoſe early times, maintained themſelves by their own labour, and thence a benefit, inſtead of a burden, to their country.

A.D. 616. The great abilities of young Edwin now became conſpicuous; he was admired and beloved. Theſe qualities awoke the jealouſy of Ethelfrid; he ſaw the dawning virtues of Edwin, and dreaded the conſequence of their meridian luſtre. The young prince perceived his danger, and repaired for ſafety to different princes of the Saxon heptarchy. At laſt he found an aſylum in the court of Redwald, king of the Eaſt-Angles. The great power of that prince increaſed the fears of Ethelfrid. The uſurper, conſcious of his own flagitious conduct, was alarmed when innocence had found a protector. He had recourſe to promiſes and threats, in order to induce Redwald to abandon Edwin. The Eaſt-Anglian prince, for ſome time, reſolutely rejected all his meſſages; but at laſt ſeemed diſpoſed to ſacrifice at the ſhrine of intereſt, the rights of hoſpitality. Edwin perceived his heſitation, but took no precautions for his ſafety; perſuaded that it was better to periſh at the court of Eaſt-Anglia, than become a wretched exile, without friends and without ſupport. The queen of Eaſt-Anglia was ſtruck with his generous confidence: ſhe pleaded ſtrongly in behalf of innocence in diſtreſs; and revived in the heart of her huſband the ſentiments of friendſhip and of honour. At the ſame time, Redwald well knew the implacable and cruel diſpoſition of Ethelfrid, and wiſely determined to prevent its effects. He collected a powerful army, and marched directly into the territories of Northumberland. His army was divided into three bodies, the firſt was led by his ſon Reyner, the ſecond he headed in perſon, and the third was commanded by Edwin. Reyner received orders to advance in order to ſecure a paſs; but the impetuoſity of his courage carried him too far for him to be properly ſupported in caſe of an attack. Ethelfrid, on the firſt information that Redwald had entered his kingdom, marched with the utmoſt expedition to meet him, and falling upon the advanced guard commanded by Reyner, routed them, and ſlew the prince with his own hand. Redwald, irritated almoſt to madneſs at the loſs of his ſon, attacked the Northumberland army with ſo much fury, that they were unable to ſuſtain the ſhock; they gave way and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Ethelfrid exerted all his power to rally his broken forces, and lead them once more againſt the enemy; but perceiving all his efforts were in vain, he ruſhed furiouſly into the midſt of Redwald's forces, and was ſlain. His body was found in the midſt of a heap of enemies killed by his own hand. He ſtill breathed, and his features ſtill maintained that fierceneſs of ſoul, which they had expreſſed during the vigour of his life.

A. D. 618. Edwin was now placed upon the throne of Northumberland, and ſoon became diſtinguiſhed for his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He reclaimed his ſubjects from a licentious life of rapine and diſorder, to which they had been long habited. The troops of robbers that infeſted the roads of Northumberland were diſperſed, ſo that even a woman might travel from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, without any danger of being inſulted. His people were happy; they loved him as a father, and were ready to ſacrifice their lives in his ſervice. A remarkable inſtance of this fidelity is recorded by hiſtorians. Quinchelm, prince of the Weſt-Saxons, having been defeated by Edwin, determined to deſtroy by treachery a monarch he found himſelf incapable of defeating in the open field. One Eumer, a wretch who entertained no idea of virtue, undertook to aſſaſſinate Edwin. He found means to obtain admiſſion to his preſence, and drawing a dagger to execute the deteſtable crime, Lilla, one of Edwin's miniſters, interpoſed with his body between them, received the blow, and died with the glory of having ſaved the life of his illuſtrious prince.

Soon after Edwin aſcended the throne of Northumberland, he married Ethelburga daughter to Ethelbert king of Kent. But the princeſs being a chriſtian and Edwin a pagan, it was ſtipulated in the marriage articles, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion, and be permitted to retain in her ſervice Paulinus, a chriſtian biſhop, and ſuch other attendants as ſhould be thought neceſſary for performing the offices of chriſtianity with decency. Paulinus was a perſon of great learning and parts, and well qualified for enforcing the doctrines of the goſpel with reaſon and argument. Ethelburga, whoſe life was an exemplary pattern of virtue and conjugal affection, and who poſſeſſed all the zeal and piety of her mother Bertha, exerted herſelf ſucceſsfully in eſtabliſhing chriſtianity in the kingdom of Northumberland. Struck with the amiable virtues of Ethelburga, and charmed with her humane and tender diſpoſition, Edwin liſtened, with great attention, to her exhortations; but, like a wiſe prince, he carefully examined the foundations of the chriſtian doctrine. Paulinus ſatisfied all his ſcruples: and Edwin, after mature conſideration, declared himſelf a convert. Choiſi, the pagan high-prieſt, followed his example, and was the firſt to demoliſh the idols he had ſo long worſhipped. Edwin was baptized at York, with many of his nobles, by Paulinus, in a church built on this occaſion, and dedicated to St. Peter. Among barbarians the example of the prince is always followed by the people. The Northumbrians flocked in ſuch multitudes to be baptized by Paulinus, that the church was too ſmall for the purpoſe; the prelate was obliged to perform the ceremony in the rivers Gleni and Swale.

A. D. 633. The religion of Edwin being founded on conviction, he exerted all his power to eſtabliſh it in every part of his kingdom. This greatly promoted the popularity of Edwin; he was beloved and adored by his ſubjects, they conſidered him both as their temporal and ſpiritual father. His power increaſed, which the neighbouring princes could not behold without envy. Penda, king of Mercia, a prince of a ſavage, bold, reſtleſs and enterpriſing ſpirit, who made no ſcruple of trampling on the laws of virtue, equity and honour, in order to augment his power, or gratify his brutal vengeance, joined his forces with thoſe of Cadwallon, king of the Britons, and invaded Northumberland. They had advanced as far as Hatfield foreſt in Yorkſhire, and committed the moſt dreadful outrages, before Edwin was informed of their having entered his kingdom. Penetrated with the diſtreſs of his people and enraged at the perfidy of the enemy, he marched at the head of an inferior number of troops to give them battle, in order to terminate, as ſoon as poſſible, the miſeries of his ſubjects. The conteſt was dreadful; and for ſome time fortune ſeemed inclinable to beſtow on Edwin the palm of victory. At laſt an event determined the fate of the day. Offrid, the eldeſt ſon of Edwin, was pierced with an arrow, and fell dead at the feet of his father. Edwin, who till now led his forces with coolneſs and caution, was

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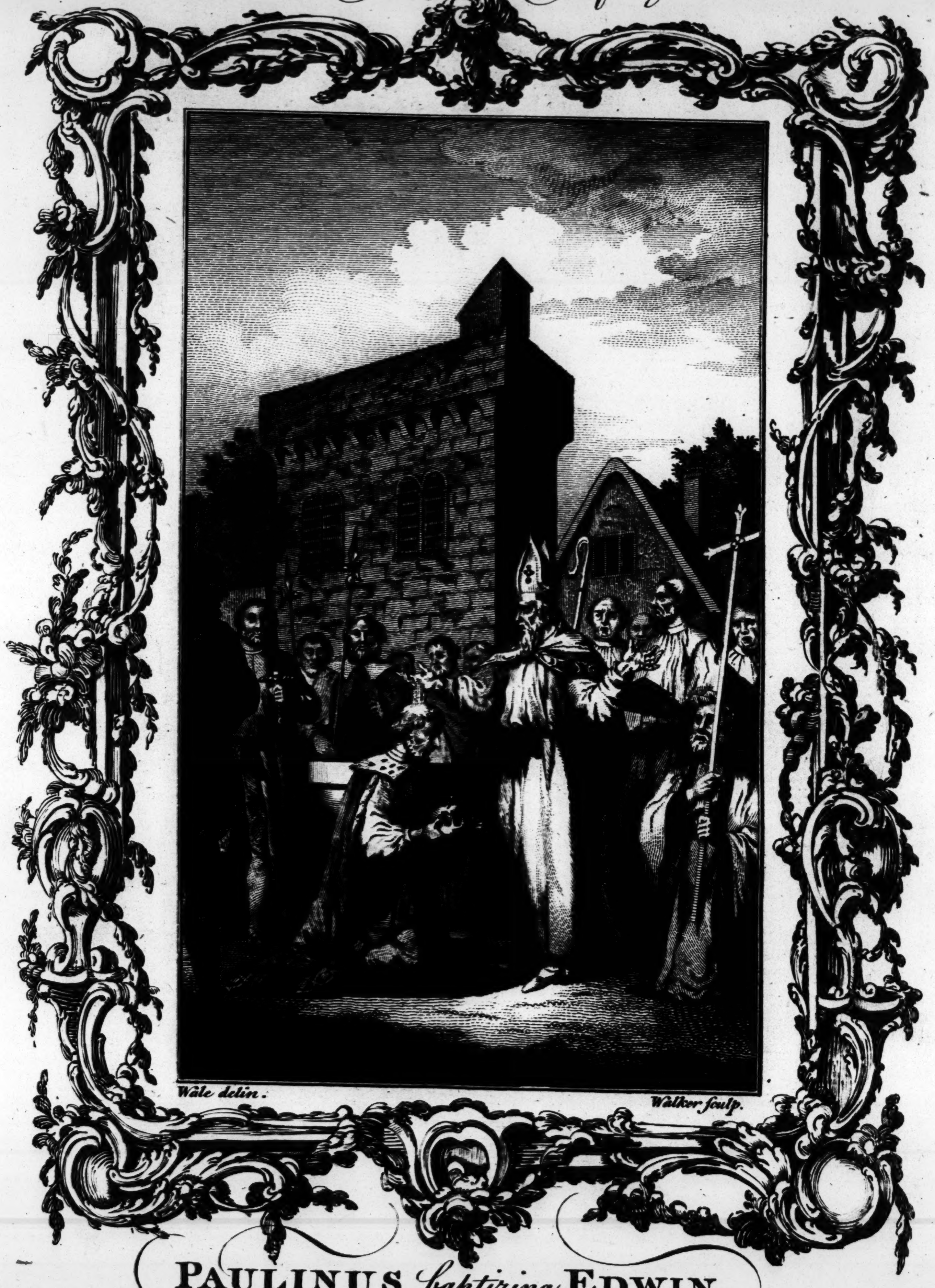

Wale delin. Walker sculp.

**PAULINUS** *baptizing* **EDWIN,**
*the first Christian King of Northumberland, at York.*

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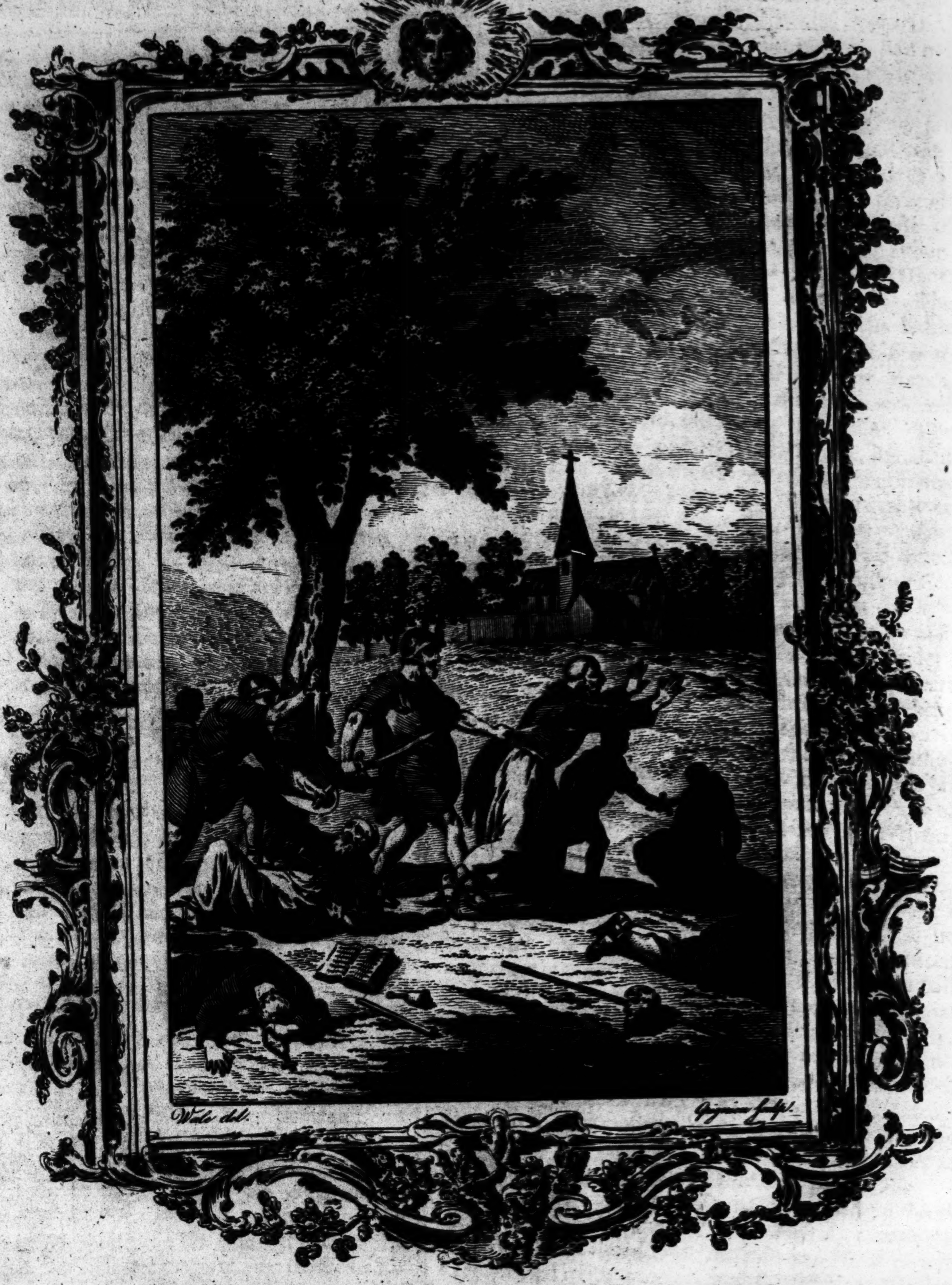
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*The* **MONKS** *of* **BANGOR** *put to the*
*Sword by Order of Ethelfrid*

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exaſperated to madneſs by this fatal accident. He loſt that ſteadineſs and preſence of mind which had rendered his forces invincible, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the enemy, and was cut to pieces. Deprived of their leader, the Northumbrians fell into confuſion, and were ſoon put to flight.

Penda had now an opportunity of ſatiating his brutal paſſion. The ſword of deſtruction was drawn, and the fields deluged with the blood of their owners. Neither the tears of age, the deprecations of youth, nor the plaintive ſupplications of the ſofter ſex, had any power to move the pity of Penda. Cadwallon, king of the Britons, catched the infection, and rivalled, if he did not excel, even Penda in acts of brutality. The barbarities of the Chriſtian were equal to the cruelties of the Pagan. Paulinus and Ethelburga fled into Kent, and the prelate was placed in the ſee of Rocheſter.

A. D. 635. This dreadful ſcene of horror and devaſtation continued till Oſwald, the ſecond ſon of Ethelfrid, born to be the deliverer of his country, put a ſtop to the effuſion of human blood. When his father loſt his life and crown by the invaſion of Redwald, he fled to Scotland, where he ſtudied the art of war with ſucceſs, and alſo embraced the chriſtian religion. The calamities of his country called him from his retreat. At the head of a handful of men, he entered Northumberland, and took poſſeſſion of a very advantageous poſt a little to the north of the wall of Severus. Here he waited the approach of Cadwallon, who deſpiſing the little army of Oſwald, marched with all the ſecurity of a general retiring to his quarters. He viewed the intrenchments of the enemy, and immediately ordered a general aſſault. The attack was furious, but not ſucceſsful; and Cadwallon, leading his forces to make a ſecond aſſault, was pierced through the heart with an arrow, and fell dead on the ground. Confuſion, inſtead of order, now reigned among the Britons. Oſwald perceived the diſorder; and iſſuing from his intrenchments at the head of his forces, put the enemy to flight, and drove them out of the kingdom with great ſlaughter.

Having thus retaliated on the inhuman tyrant Cadwallon the miſeries he had inflicted on an innocent people, he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and applied himſelf to cultivate the arts of peace. His religion and virtue were equally conſpicuous; and his mind was adorned with every acquiſition neceſſary for augmenting the luſtre of a throne. He obſerved with regret the languid ſtate into which religion was fallen ſince the death of Edwin, and the flight of Paulinus; and determined, if poſſible, to revive the dying flame. In order to this, he invited Aidan, a perſon at once reſpectable for his learning, and venerable for his virtues, from Scotland, to aſſiſt him in this generous undertaking. Aidan immediately obeyed the ſummons of Oſwald, and was received with all the reſpect due to his great merit: but as Aidan was not ſufficiently acquainted with the Saxon language to undertake the taſk without aſſiſtance, the king himſelf became the interpreter of his diſcourſes to the people. The ſucceſs was equal to their moſt ſanguine expectations. Aidan founded a biſhop's ſee at Landisfarne; and ſeveral Scottiſh monks coming to his aſſiſtance, the number of their converts amazingly increaſed. Churches were built in moſt parts of Northumberland; monaſteries were founded, and ſchools erected for the inſtruction of youth.

The great merit of Oſwald ſoon rendered him conſpicuous among the princes of the heptarchy; and he was choſen chief of their political confederacy. Penda, who ſtill ſwayed the ſceptre of Mercia, could not hear the praiſes that were laviſhed on Oſwald without envy. A rival in power was not to be ſuffered by a tyrant actuated only by the principles of ambition. A ſtranger at once to the laws of juſtice and the principles of humanity, Penda determined to carry fire and ſword among a people who had not injured him, and into the territories of a prince whoſe merits eclipſed his own.

A. D. 642. The deſigns of the malicious are dark and concealed. Penda, without the leaſt complaint of injuries received, entered the territories of Northumberland, and ruined the country through which he paſſed. Oſwald, who felt the diſtreſſes of his people, collected all the troops in his neighbourhood, and advanced to meet the inhuman tyrant, who ſo often trampled on the laws of nations. The two armies met at Maſerfelt, where a furious battle enſued. But the troops of Oſwald were too few to contend in the open field with the Mercian forces, long uſed to conqueſt: they were totally routed, and Oſwald himſelf was found among the ſlain. The whole kingdom was now expoſed to the dreadful ravages of Penda, and the diſtreſs of the inhabitants is better imagined than deſcribed. The progreſs of the tyrant was at laſt ſtopped at Bambury-caſtle, which bid defiance to his power; and Penda directed his march towards the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia.

From the death of Oſwald, the kingdom was agitated with diſſentions, under weak princes, whoſe actions are of very little importance to the reader: murders and aſſaſſinations compoſe the principal part of their hiſtory. Egfrid, indeed, who aſcended the throne of Bernicia in 670, deſerves to be remembered for the noble oppoſition he made to the papal authority. The popes had long been looked upon as ſacred and infallible; but Egfrid paid no regard to their aſſumed infallibility. He deprived Wilfrid, biſhop of York, of his biſhoprick, and ſeized all his poſſeſſions, which were very great, and prodigiouſly opulent. Wilfrid appealed to the pope: the ſynod of Rome ordered that Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored. He returned to England, and produced an authentic copy of the ſentence. Egfrid, in a full council of the nobility and clergy, treated the papal ordinances and juriſdictions, not with contempt only, but alſo with reſentment. Wilfrid, inſtead of being reſtored, or receiving any compenſation, was taken into cuſtody, and ſentenced to a cloſe impriſonment. So ſpirited an oppoſition to the ſee of Rome, in times ſo ſlaviſhly ſuperſtitious, ought to be remembered with honour. Agatho then filled the papal chair.

Few remarkable tranſactions happened in Northumberland after the death of Egfrid, except the depoſition and murder of its princes. The people were treated with cruelty, and ſuperſtitious bigotry uſurped the place of genuine religion. At laſt an univerſal anarchy prevailed; and Egbert, as I ſhall hereafter relate, ſeized the opportunity of reducing the kingdom to his authority.

# THE KINGDOM OF EAST-ANGLIA.

THIS kingdom owes its name to the Angles, a people from Jutland, by whom it was founded. They were headed by ſeveral chiefs, all independent of one another; but none of their names have been preſerved by hiſtorians. Uffa was the firſt who aſſumed the title of king, and this was not done till after he had been above forty years in Britain. But, from the time of his aſcending the throne, till he paid the debt of nature, hiſtory is ſilent with regard to his exploits. His ſon Titel, to whom he left his ſceptre, reigned in the ſame obſcurity, though he filled the throne twenty-one years. The actions of both are ſunk in oblivion.

A. D. 599. Redwald, on the death of Titel his father, aſcended the throne. The actions of this prince eclipſed not only all thoſe of his predeceſſors, but alſo moſt of the Saxon chiefs. He was placed at the head of the heptarchy, and filled the poſt with great honour and applauſe. He embraced chriſtianity, but afterwards renounced it, at the inſtigation of his wife, who was an idolater. So many examples of temporary converſions, are a proof that chriſtians, ill-inſtructed, are only chriſtians in name; and that the labours of the ignorant miſſionaries of thoſe times, if they produced their effects without difficulty, were attended with no permanent advantages. After a glorious reign of twenty years, he paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

A. D. 624. Eorpwald, who was a weak and puſillanimous prince, appeared under great diſadvantages after his illuſtrious father. Perhaps it would have been impoſſible for him to have kept the ſeat of royalty, had he not been ſupported by Edwin, king of Northumberland, in gratitude for the protection he had himſelf received from Redwald. Eorpwald embraced the Chriſtian religion at the inſtances of Edwin; but this change of religion increaſed his inactivity: he was much better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. Richbert, one of his generals, who ſtill continued a Pagan, was ſo exaſperated at the converſion and puſillanimity of Eorpwald, that he aſſaſſinated him with his own hand.

After the death of Eorpwald, a long ſucceſſion of obſcure and inactive princes, who were either expelled, murdered, or retired into a convent, filled the throne of Eaſt-Anglia. It will be needleſs to mention the names of barbarians, whoſe actions are unworthy of being recorded in hiſtory. Sigebert alone deſerves to be excepted. He eſtabliſhed the firſt literary ~~ceremony~~ seminary, and furniſhed it with able maſters for teaching the ſciences. His talents and learning would have adorned the throne, had he not been ſeized with the religious enthuſiaſm of the times, and preferred the habit of a monk to the robes of royalty.

A. D. 749. The laſt of the Eaſt-Anglian princes was Ethelbert, whoſe mind was adorned with the moſt amiable virtues. His ſubjects promiſed themſelves a long ſeries of happineſs under the government of ſo generous and benevolent a maſter; at the ſame time they wiſhed to render the ſceptre permanent in his family. Ethelbert, who made the happineſs of his people his principal care, made no oppoſition to their requeſt; and a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and Althrida, daughter to Offa king of Mercia, a princeſs equally remarkable for her piety and accompliſhments. The generous ſoul of Ethelbert was above ſuſpecting others of treachery: he repaired to the court of Mercia to conſummate his nuptials. But Offa had other views. Ambition had more charms than virtue. He was determined to annex the Eaſt-Anglian kingdom to his own, though at the price of every thing held dear by mankind. He violated the ſacred rights of hoſpitality and honour; he cauſed the innocent, the unſuſpecting Ethelbert, to be aſſaſſinated, and ſeized upon his kingdom; which, after this period, was united with that of Mercia.

# THE KINGDOM OF MERCIA.

MERCIA was, by far, the largeſt and moſt opulent kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy. It was founded by Crida, a deſcendant from Withelga, the ſecond ſon of Woden. He held the ſceptre only two years; and, on his death, Ethelbert, king of Kent, ſeized upon the Mercian territories, as the deſcendant of Hengiſt, the firſt Saxon king. Three years after, however, he reſigned the crown to Webba, one of the ſons of Crida. He was a very indolent prince; and though he held the ſceptre nineteen years, he performed nothing worthy of being recorded in hiſtory. At his death, he left his kingdom to Penda, his ſon. But Ethelbert, who ſtill filled the Kentiſh throne, fearing the reſtleſs ambition and turbulent temper of Penda would involve the whole heptarchy in confuſion and diſtreſs, ſeized the crown a ſecond time, and conferred it on Ceorl, a nephew of the late king. Ceorl reigned eight years, but left no traces of his government: his actions, whatever they were, like thoſe of his predeceſſor, are conſigned to oblivion.

A. D. 624. Penda ſeized the ſceptre of Mercia on the death of Ceorl. He was fifty years of age when he aſcended the throne, but glowed with all the fire of youth. A long ſeries of experience had not abated his ambition; the love of conqueſt was ſtill the ruling paſſion of his ſoul. His character has been already fully diſplayed in the hiſtories of thoſe kingdoms with which he was at war. He well deſerved the appellation of a ſanguinary tyrant. All the neighbouring ſtates ſufficiently experienced his injuſtice and his violence; no leſs than five Chriſtian princes fell in battle by his ſword. His whole reign was a ſcene of blood; the ſword of deſtruction always marked the route of his enemies. It reflects an honour to chriſtianity, that he always refuſed to embrace its tenets. If his portrait will admit of any ſoftening, it is his never moleſting any who became converts to the faith, provided they lived up to their profeſſion: he was an implacable enemy to all whoſe actions were a contradiction to their principles.

Time ſeemed to have no power over Penda. The flame of ambition, which generally grows languid with age, glowed with full vigour in his breaſt. He planned conqueſts when others are tottering on the brink of the grave: and, in the eightieth year of his age, marched, at the head of his army, into Northumberland, fully determined to depopulate the country, render the whole kingdom a ſmoaking deſert. But victory now forſook his ſtandards: he attacked the Northumbrian army and was ſlain.

A. D. 655. Peada ſucceeded his father in part of his dominions, and exerted himſelf nobly in propagating chriſtianity in Mercia. His labours were crowned with ſucceſs; the tender branch he planted during the reign of his father, now ſpread itſelf over the whole kingdom. But he did not long enjoy the crown; he fell a ſacrifice to malevolence, perhaps to ambition. Some writers ſay, he was poiſoned by his mother. At his death, Oſwy, king of Northumberland, ſeized upon the whole Mercian territories, which he held, till Wulpher, the ſecond ſon of Penda, wreſted them out of his hand.

A. D. 660. Wulpher, who ſeems to have inherited the reſtleſs ambition of his father, was continually engaged in war, which was his darling paſſion. Far from being contented with his own territories, though much larger than thoſe of any other prince of the heptarchy, he turned his arms againſt his neighbours. The firſt monarch that felt the power of his arms was Kenwalch, king of the Weſt Saxons, whom he defeated, and over-run great part of his territories. He next attacked the Britons, and drove them from their poſſeſſions between the Severn and the Wye. He reduced the kingdoms of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt-Angles, to a ſtate of vaſſallage, from which they never entirely recovered. But victory forſook him in the cloſe of his reign: he was defeated by Egfrid, and he paid the debt of nature after a reign of fifteen years, leaving his crown to Kenred his ſon.

A. D. 675. Kenred, who was an infant at the death of his father, wanted power to hold the ſceptre; his uncle Ethelred, celebrated for his military talents, wreſted it from his hand. He invaded the kingdom of Kent, and laid great part of it waſte. He defeated the king of Northumberland, and made himſelf maſter of Lindſey. Here he put a period to his conqueſts; determining to ſpend the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity. Reflection now painted the former ſcenes of his life in different colours from what they had appeared at the head of his army. His mind was deeply affected with the gloomy ſuperſtitions of the times. He reſtored the crown to Kenred his nephew, from whom he had unjuſtly taken it, retired into the monaſtery of Bardney, which he himſelf had founded, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 705. Kenred did not long fill the throne of his anceſtors. He had no talents for war; he was fonder of the indolence of private life, than the active ſcenes of royalty. After a reign of four years he reſigned his ſceptre to his uncle Ceolrid, and accompanied with his aunt Kiniſwintha, and Offa, king of Eſſex, repaired to Rome, where they all ended their days in a cloiſter.

A. D. 709. Ceolrid poſſeſſed very different ſentiments from his predeceſſor. He ſaw with concern the aſcendancy of the monks over the mind, when tinctured with the gloomy ſuperſtition of the age, and determined, if poſſible, to leſſen their power. Accordingly, he deprived them of ſeveral of their privileges. This was abundantly ſufficient to arm the whole fraternity againſt him. The prince, not ſuſpecting his danger, admitted them as uſual to his preſence. Their vengeance was not long delayed; they poiſoned his wine, and he died in the greateſt torments. Nor was his death ſufficient to ſatisfy their malice; they imputed the delirium occaſioned by the ſtrength of the poiſon, to his converſing with the devil, and charitably devoted his ſoul to eternal perdition. So dangerous was it in thoſe times of ignorant bigotry to moleſt a fraternity of men, who, by living on the labour of others, became a real burden to their country.

A. D. 716. This unfortunate monarch was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, the grandſon of Eoppa, brother to Penda. He poſſeſſed that reſtleſs ambition, which formed a part of the Saxon character. He invaded the territories of his neighbours, and filled the whole heptarchy with alarms. His abilities were great, and had they been confined to proper objects, his reign would have been glorious to himſelf and his people: but he deviated from the paths of honour. His manners were depraved, and a deluge of vice overſpread his kingdom. This procured him a ſevere reproof from the pope; and to avert the threatened vengeance of heaven, he had recourſe to the religious practices of the times, he founded the famous monaſtery of Croyland, which in magnificence far exceeded any then in Britain. He exempted the clergy from all taxes and ſecular ſervices, except ſuch as were neceſſary for building bridges, or repairing fortreſſes.

By theſe acts of benevolence to the church he was ſuppoſed by the clergy of that ignorant age, to have made a ſufficient atonement for the inundation of immorality which had covered the kingdom. But he did not end his days in peace. A rebellion broke out among his ſubjects, and Ethelbald fell in a battle with the inſurgents. Beornred, who headed the rebels, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but the nobles, incenſed at the inſolence of the rabble, flew to arms, ſoon hurled the uſurper from the ſeat of power, and placed Offa, the ſon of Eawa, brother of Penda, on the Mercian throne.

A. D. 758. Offa was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of all the Mercian princes. Fortune perpetually followed his ſtandards. He reduced the kingdom of Kent, after killing the prince with his own hand. He invaded Northumberland, and annexed the county of Nottingham to his own dominions. He conquered all the dominions of Weſſex to the northward of the Thames, and made them a part of his own territories.

The Britons had, for ſome time, made incurſions into the frontier provinces of Mercia, and committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. Offa marched againſt them, drove them back into their country with great ſlaughter, and to prevent their incurſions for the future, threw up a ſtrong intrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee in Flintſhire, and running along the mountains terminated at the influx of the Wye into the Severn near Briſtol. This was the moſt ſtupendous work executed during the heptarchy; part of it ſtill remains, and is known by the name of Offa's dyke.

The character of Offa was now raiſed to the greateſt height. The luſtre of his victories, added to the merit of ſome good qualities, made the world willing, for ſome time, to overlook his vices. He perceived the advantages of commerce, and gave every encouragement in his power to the merchants of his country. Charlemagne thought him worthy of his friendſhip, ſent him ſeveral preſents, and remitted his ſubjects ſome duties which had before been uſually paid. But he ſtained his laurels by baſely aſſaſſinating Ethelbert, king of Eaſt-Anglia. That young prince, allured by the invitations of the perfidious Offa, came to the Mercian court to eſpouſe his daughter. He was received with every appearance of friendſhip and eſteem, but amidſt the joy of what he fancied was his nuptial entertainment, the cruel Offa cauſed him to be put to death, and immediately made himſelf maſter of his dominions.

A. D. 792. Awakened by the ſtings of conſcience, and deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his character among his people, he had recourſe to the ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of that age to expiate his crime. He enriched the cathedral of Hereford; he gave the tenth of all his goods to the church; and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received abſolution from the pope. In return for this favour, he eſtabliſhed in his dominions an annual tax called Peter'ſpence, becauſe it amounted to a penny each family. This tax, after the union of the ſeven kingdoms, was levied all over England, and exacted as a tribute by the Roman pontiffs, till the reign of Henry VIII. who demoliſhed at once that tribute, and the pope's authority.

On his return to England, he erected the magnificent monaſtery of St. Albans, where he reſided ſome years in the quality of a ſteward, and died in obſcurity. Theſe, and other acts of piety, completely expiated all his crimes in the opinion of his ſubjects. Moral excellence or perfection was leſs regarded, in thoſe times of ignorant bigotry, than the founding of religious houſes, and the exterior practices of devotion.

A. D. 794. Egfrid, his ſon, aſcended the Mercian throne on the death of his father; and, from ſome of the firſt acts of his reign, the people promiſed to themſelves a long ſeries of happineſs: but their hopes were ſoon rendered abortive: Egfrid held the ſceptre only five months, when he paid the debt of nature, amidſt the tears and lamentations of his ſubjects.

Kenulf, deſcended from a collateral branch of the Penda family, received the ſceptre on the death of Egfrid. He was equally brave and ſuperſtitious. The kingdom enjoyed a profound peace during his whole reign; and his great beneficence to the church acquired him the character of a wiſe, courageous, active and equitable prince; though, perhaps, it would be difficult to find a ſingle inſtance in his whole reign that deſerved theſe epithets, except his munificence to the clergy. He filled the throne of Mercia twenty-four years.

A. D. 818. Kenelm was but an infant when his father Kenulf paid the debt of nature; and Quendrida, his ſiſter, was entruſted with the care of his education: but, inſtead of performing the duty ſhe owed to her father, ſhe baſely cauſed her brother to be murdered, and uſurped the throne. She did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy; ſhe was driven from the ſeat of power by another uſurper, who was, ſoon after, expelled by a third.

It will be needleſs to purſue the hiſtory of this kingdom any farther. A ſucceſſion of perfidious actions can give very little entertainment to a humane and candid reader. The ſeries of uſurpers continued till Egbert ſubdued the kingdom, and put a period to the Saxon heptarchy.

## THE KINGDOM OF ESSEX, OR, THE EAST-SAXONS.

ERKENWIN was the firſt of the Saxon chiefs who aſſumed the title of King of Eſſex; and even that prince held his kingdom as a fief of Kent. Nor has any of the ancient hiſtorians informed us at what period it became an independent monarchy. If either Erkenwin, or his two immediate ſucceſſors, performed any actions worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity, they are buried in oblivion. Their names, and the length of time they filled the throne, are the only circumſtances they have recorded.

A. D. 596. Sebert, Sibert, or Sigebert, was a Pagan when he aſcended the throne of Eſſex. The darkneſs of heathen ſuperſtition had not then been diſpelled by the light of the goſpel. Ethelbert, king of Kent, deſirous of rendering others partakers of the ſame happineſs he himſelf had received from the preaching of Auſtin, diſpatched Melitus into Eſſex, in order to plant Chriſtianity in that kingdom, and convert his nephew, Sibert, from the errors of idolatry. Melitus ſucceeded, and Sibert readily joined Ethelbert in erecting the cathedral church of St. Paul. It was built upon the foundations of a heathen temple dedicated to Diana by the Romans, when they were maſters of Britain. Melitus was the firſt biſhop, and exerted his great abilities nobly in the cauſe of true religion. The great increaſe of proſelytes to Chriſtianity, that followed on the opening of the cathedral, encouraged the two princes to rebuild the church of St. Peter at Weſtminſter, which had been demoliſhed by the Saxons. That ſtructure was erected in the time of Conſtantine the Great, on the foundations of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Apollo. The founding of theſe two churches gave a fatal blow to the idolatry of the Saxons; the temples were, in many parts of the kingdom, deſtroyed, and the images broken in pieces. But Sibert died too ſoon; he paid the debt of nature, after holding the ſceptre of Eſſex almoſt ſeventeen years.

A. D. 613. Sibert was ſucceeded by his three ſons, Saxred, Seward, and Sigebert, who formed a triumvirate, and reigned together. The piety of their father had produced very little effect on the minds of theſe three princes; they were ſtill idolaters, and endeavoured to reſtore the heathen ſuperſtition. Melitus laboured inceſſantly for their converſion: but his attempts were vain; they ridiculed the ſacred myſteries of chriſtianity, and at laſt baniſhed Melitus from the kingdom. Not long after, they led their army againſt the Kentiſh forces, and were all ſlain in the action. They reigned ſeven years. Sigebert the Little, ſon to Seward, aſcended the throne: but his actions, whatever they were, are conſigned to oblivion; even the time of his death is uncertain.

He was ſucceeded by Sigebert the Good, who again reſtored the Chriſtian religion, after it had been almoſt extinguiſhed by the triumvirate of idolaters. But we have no farther account of the actions of this pious prince, except that his people enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of peace during his whole reign. He was aſſaſſinated by two of his generals, in revenge for his having ſhewn a partiality to the biſhop, who had paſſed an eccleſiaſtical cenſure on one of them for his vices. This event happened in the year 622.

The reigns of the other kings of Eſſex are not worth a place in hiſtory. They performed no actions that deſerve to be recorded. Their reigns, like the lives of peaſants in a ſequeſtered valley, are barren of incidents; they are equally obſcure; and it were to be wiſhed they were equally innocent. After an interval of about 190 years, the kingdom of Eſſex was reduced by Egbert, who, ſoon after, put an end to the ſeven kingdoms of the Saxons.

Such is the hiſtory of the Heptarchy, a ſtructure founded on rapine and perfidy, and demoliſhed by ambition. Chriſtianity has, doubtleſs, a powerful influence in diſpoſing the mind to acts of kindneſs, benevolence, and humanity; in poliſhing the manners, and introducing a gentle and polite behaviour; but it loſt its force among the Anglo-Saxons; they were too ignorant and too ſuperſtitious to receive the benefits that reſult from its precepts. Inſtead of that ſimplicity of worſhip enjoined in the goſpel, they ſubſtituted an unbounded reverence for ſaints and relics; the practices of an abſurd devotion ſupplied the place of the evangelical virtues. Nurſed in ſuperſtition, and ſtrangers to a juſt and rational method of reaſoning, every operation of nature was conſidered as a miracle; the common accidents of life were believed to be the effects of the interpoſition of providence, and every misfortune the ſcourge of heaven. Hence they were prepared to receive, without examination, every fable, however abſurd; and every opinion, however extravagant. Religion, inſtead of enlightening their minds, involved them in the thickeſt night of ſuperſtitious bigotry. Ambitious of acquiring the praiſe of ſanctity, and deſirous of expiating crimes without ſuffering the pains of repentance, they buried themſelves in the gloomy receſſes of a cloiſter, and gave munificent donations to churches and the clergy. No leſs than ten of their kings, and eleven of their queens, retired from the world, and were loſt to ſociety. They graſped the ſhadow inſtead of the ſubſtance; and ſubſtituted the lifeleſs and gloomy devotions of a cell to the practice of juſtice, benevolence, charity, and the other virtues ſo ſtrongly recommended in the goſpel.

No diſcoveries in the arts mark this period of hiſtory: literature was little cultivated; the monks were the only people that had any tincture of letters, and their ſtudies confined almoſt entirely to theology. It is, indeed, in vain to expect the ſciences ſhould reſide in a country where the torch of civil diſcord is lighted by the hand of rapine, and diſperſes its malignant beams from one extremity to the other. Bede, indeed, was a perſon of great learning, conſidering the times in which he lived. His eccleſiaſtical hiſtory has reached our times, and diſplays a genius and aſſiduity, which, in more enlightened ages, might have conducted to the moſt important diſcoveries.

# BOOK IV.

## From the deſtruction of the Saxon Heptarchy, to the Norman conqueſt.

## EGBERT.

IT has been already obſerved, at the concluſion of the hiſtory of Weſſex, that the meſſengers diſpatched to Egbert, when Brithwic fell a victim to the paſſion of his wife, found him in the ſervice of Charlemagne. In that polite and martial court Egbert had poliſhed his manners, and learned to conquer. On his aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, a very extenſive proſpect opened to his view. The royal families, in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, except his own, were extinguiſhed; anarchy and diſorder had rendered all of them weak, and ſome of them almoſt defenceleſs. Egbert was the only deſcendant of thoſe chiefs who had conquered Britain, and boaſted their deſcent from Woden. The ſuperior qualities of his mind gave him as much advantage as his birth; ſo that he had the faireſt proſpect of extending his dominions, and of rendering himſelf the ſole monarch of the whole heptarchy.

He began with introducing among his troops the diſcipline he had learned in the armies of Charlemagne, and then turned his arms againſt the Britons. His ſucceſs over that brave and hardy people eſtabliſhed his character as a general, and he was choſen chief of the Saxon confederacy. The Mercians were the only people capable of defending themſelves againſt the power of Egbert: the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Eaſt-Anglia, were become tributary to that people. Bernulf, who then filled the Mercian throne, was alarmed at the ſucceſs of Egbert: he ſaw, that unleſs ſomething happened to blaſt his laurels, he muſt ſoon be maſter of the whole heptarchy. He therefore increaſed his army, and took the opportunity of Egbert's abſence to attack the provinces of Weſſex that bordered upon Mercia. Egbert was in Cornwall when he received the news of the Mercian invaſion; and marched, with the greateſt expedition, to put a ſtop to the ravages of the enemy. The two armies met at Ellandune, now Wilton, in Wiltſhire; a furious battle enſued, in which the forces of Bernulf were totally defeated, and the greater part of them who eſcaped the carnage of the engagement were cut off in their retreat. Another deciſive battle, fought ſoon after, finiſhed the conteſt, and made Egbert maſter of Mercia. He purſued his ſucceſs, marched towards Northumberland, and was met by the principal inhabitants, who came to do him homage. Egbert was content with reducing the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy; he ſuffered them to enjoy their former laws and cuſtoms; and to elect their own kings, who governed their reſpective provinces, but paid an annual tribute to Egbert.

A. D. 829. Thus the heptarchy was conſolidated into one kingdom, and called England, from the name of one of the Saxon tribes, who, about four hundred years before, had eſtabliſhed themſelves in this country. Egbert was ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter, and immediately iſſued an edict for aboliſhing all diſtinctions among the Saxon kingdoms.

But, though Egbert had reſtored peace throughout his dominions, and gained the affection of all his ſubjects by his humane government; yet this tranquillity was of no long duration. The northern parts of Europe were ſo overſtocked with people, that multitudes of armed barbarians were continually iſſuing from their native ſoil, in ſearch of plunder, or countries more fruitful than their own. A party of theſe wandering ravagers landed on the coaſt of England, where they were known by the appellation of Danes.

They were compoſed of different nations, many of whom being driven from the country by Charlemagne, ſettled in Jutland, before inhabited by the Angles and Saxons. By the addition of theſe refugees, the country ſoon became too populous, and they were obliged to ſeek new ſettlements in a diſtant kingdom. Great part of their country was covered with woods, which furniſhed them with timber ſufficient for building ſhips, and theſe they managed with great dexterity. But, inſtead of applying themſelves to commerce, they became pirates, and frequently landed on the coaſts of different kingdoms; and, after plundering the adjacent country, returned home with their booty. Piracy ſoon became the ſupport of their ſtate; and, inſtead of being conſidered as infamous, was looked upon as an honourable profeſſion. Their kings engaged in theſe piratical cruiſes, and became the leaders of a band of lawleſs plunderers. They made ſeveral deſcents on the Britiſh coaſt during the heptarchy, but were always repulſed with loſs.

A. D. 833. Perſuaded that their miſcarriages were owing to the ſmallneſs of their parties; and deſirous of plundering a country at once rich and fertile, they joined their fleets, and landed a body of fifteen thouſand men at Charmouth, in Dorſetſhire. So formidable a number of barbarians ſtruck the inhabitants with terror; they found themſelves unable to reſiſt their ferocious invaders, and fled for ſafety to the woods and marſhes. Egbert, on the firſt news of their landing, flew to the defence of his people: but his army was too weak to chaſtiſe the barbarians; they gained a complete victory; and Egbert himſelf was indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his ſafety. But though the Danes had been victorious, they ſuffered ſo greatly in the engagement, that they did not think proper to continue their ravages; they retreated to their ſhips, and diſappeared.

A. D. 836. The Corniſh Britons, deſirous of freeing themſelves from the Saxon yoke, invited the Danes to join them againſt the enemy. A numerous body of theſe pirates accordingly landed in Cornwall, and were joined by the Britons. This combined army immediately took the field, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Engliſh forces. But Egbert had learned wiſdom from experience; his laſt defeat had rendered him cautious: he expected the Danes would return, and kept his troops ready to receive them. He marched immediately againſt the enemy, and met them at Hengdown-hill, in Cornwall. Surpriſed to ſee the Engliſh army ſo near them, the Danes and Britons would have willingly retreated, but it was too late. Egbert attacked them with the utmoſt fury, and put them to flight. The Britons took ſhelter in their mountains, and the Danes retired to their ſhips.

A. D. 837. Egbert ſaw the neceſſity of a fleet to check the progreſs of thoſe rapacious invaders; and had even fitted out a few ſhips for that purpoſe: but he died too ſoon for his people, leaving the crown to his ſon, who was ill qualified to ſuſtain its weight. Egbert was formed both for conqueſt and government: he was intrepid, wiſe, and humane. He acquired a kingdom by his valour; and he rendered his people happy by his prudence, beneficence, and impartial diſpenſation of juſtice.

# ETHELWOLF.

A. D. 838. ETHELWOLF aſcended the throne on the death of his father, but inherited few of his qualities. His virtues were thoſe of a monk, rather than a king. He received his education in the monaſtery of Wincheſter, where he contracted the indolence and inactivity ſo general in a cloiſter. The Danes did not fail to take advantage of his weakneſs; they landed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, plundered the adjacent country, and retired with their booty, leaving behind them ſuch dreadful marks of their brutality as are ſhocking to humanity. Their ſmall veſſels ran eaſily up the creeks and rivers; where, after drawing them aſhore, they ſurrounded them with entrenchments; and ſpreading themſelves in every part of the adjacent country, they carried off whatever they thought valuable, retreated to their ſhips, and diſappeared. Driven from one place, they appeared in another. The alarm was ſpread through the whole kingdom; terror became general; every ſeaſon of the year was dangerous.

A. D. 840. But hitherto they had attempted no ſettlement; the intention of their deſcents reached no farther than plunder. They landed in ſmall parties, and were oppoſed by the militia of the county. The reſiſtance they met with had no effect to diſcourage their incurſions; their inſatiable thirſt of booty ſupported them under every misfortune; defeats, as well as victories, incited them to greater enterprizes. They had now diſcovered the fertility of the country, and were determined, if poſſible, to fix themſelves in the iſland. They landed a numerous body of forces at Charmouth, where Egbert had, ſome years before, been defeated. The danger that now threatened his country, rouſed Ethelwolf from his lethargy. He marched at the head of his army, gave battle to the Danes, and was defeated. But the barbarians were convinced, from the oppoſition they had met with, that a ſettlement could not then be attempted with any hopes of ſucceſs. They abandoned the deſign; and, after ravaging the country, retired to their ſhips.

The fatigues of military duty were not at all agreeable to Ethelwolf. He ſaw that a continued courſe of activity was neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of theſe reſtleſs invaders, and determined to diveſt himſelf of part of his dominions, in order to procure that indolent tranquillity which he valued much more than power. He reſigned to Athelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex. This prudent expedient contributed greatly to the ſecurity of the ſouthern coaſt; but the other parts of the kingdom were ſtill expoſed to the dreadful ravages of thoſe barbarous invaders. A large detachment landed near the mouth of the river Parret, in Somerſetſhire; but they did not long continue their ravages; they were attacked by the militia of thoſe parts, and defeated, with ſuch terrible ſlaughter, that the kingdom was, for ſome years, free from their attacks.

A. D. 851. But this interval of tranquillity proved nothing more than a prelude to more general attempts. The Danes landed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, but were every where defeated, though not till after they had committed the moſt dreadful ravages. A fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail landed their forces in the iſle of Thanet, great part of which they laid waſte, burnt the cities of London and Canterbury, and penetrated into Surry. Ethelwolf was now once more rouſed from his lethargy: he led his army againſt the invaders, and obtained a complete victory. But, notwithſtanding their loſs was prodigious, they took up their winter quarters in the iſle of Thanet.

A. D. 853. Alarmed at the barbarians making a ſettlement in the iſland, the militia of Kent and Surry attacked their camp with great intrepidity; but were repulſed with loſs, and obliged to abandon the deſign. The Danes being thus left at liberty, added new fortifications to their ſettlements, and determined to wait for freſh reinforcements.

But even theſe alarming circumſtances could not divert Ethelwolf from the reſolution he had taken, of making a pilgrimage to Rome. Such power have the deluſions of ſuperſtitious bigotry over the human mind, when unaſſiſted by the force of reaſon. He immediately diſpatched his youngeſt ſon, Alfred, to inform the pope of his pious intentions, who received confirmation from the hands of the holy father. Alfred was received with the greateſt marks of eſteem by Leo the fourth, and obtained every thing he requeſted.

A. D. 854. But this mark of his eſteem for the Roman pontiff was not ſufficient to ſatisfy a perſon of Ethelwolf's bigotry; he perſiſted in his former reſolution, and ſet out for Rome. He continued a year in that city, where he ſpent his time in exerciſes much better adapted to edify the inhabitants of that metropolis, than comfort his own oppreſſed ſubjects. He rebuilt the Engliſh college, which had been burnt down: he promiſed to extend the tribute of Peter's pence over the whole kingdom; and to pay his holineſs three hundred mancuſes (about thirty-eight pounds ſterling) two-thirds of which were to ſupport the lamps in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other third was a preſent to the pope himſelf. Nor were his religious exerciſes leſs remarkable. He viſited every ſhrine, paid his devotions to every relic, and viewed every place that had been rendered remarkable by ſome event in the firſt ages of chriſtianity.

A. D. 855. After taking leave of his holineſs, Ethelwolf ſet out for his own dominions; but ſtopping at the court of France, he fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the bald. She was a widow, though very young, and adorned with all the charms of the ſofter ſex. Ethelwolf, notwithſtanding the great diſparity of their years, married that princeſs, and indulged himſelf for ſome time in the pleaſures of the French court, without paying the leaſt regard to the diſtreſſes of his country.

But theſe imprudent actions of Ethelwolf occaſioned diſturbances in his kingdom. Athelſtan had paid the debt of nature before his father left the kingdom, and Ethelbald, his ſecond ſon, now determined to ſeize a ſceptre which the weakneſs of Ethelwolf ſeemed to offer to his ambition. Many of the nobles joined him; and the torch of civil diſcord was on the point of being lighted when Ethelwolf returned to his dominions.

Ethelbald was not intimidated by the arrival of his father; he proſecuted his deſign with the ſame vigour as before. And Ethelwolf made preparation for reducing him to reaſon. The nobles perceived the dangers that threatened their country; and interpoſed their good offices to bring about a reconciliation. Ethelwolf conſented to cede the ancient kingdom of Weſſex to his ſon, reſerving the other parts of the iſland to himſelf. By this ſacrifice the internal peace of England was reſtored, and Ethelwolf ſpent the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

His paſſion for augmenting the power of the church, however, did not forſake him. He beſtowed on the clergy a donation, for which they had contended during ſeveral centuries. They maintained that the Moſaic law, which gave to the Levites the tenth part of all the produce of the land, was obligatory upon chriſtians; and notwithſtanding the obvious abſurdity of this application of the Jewiſh law, they were deſirous of extending it to the tenth of all induſtry, merchandize, wages of labourers, and pay of ſoldiers. This doctrine they had preached up with the utmoſt aſſiduity, but hitherto the intereſt of the laity had been too ſtrong for their arguments. The power of Ethelwolf effected what all their eloquence had attempted in vain; and the ſtates of the kingdom at his requeſt, conſented to the eſtabliſhment of tithes throughout all the kingdom. Perhaps the Engliſh were perſuaded that this remarkable benevolence to the church, would procure them the aſſiſtance of heaven againſt the Danes. It is natural for people in diſtreſs to be willing to pay liberally for deliverance.

A. D. 857. Ethelwolf now found his end approaching, and was deſirous of preventing any domeſtic diſputes between his own children, from diſturbing the tranquillity of his ſubjects. In order to this, he bequeathed all the territories he governed himſelf to his ſon Ethelbert, but in caſe of his death they were to deſcend to Ethelred, and for want of male iſſue, entailed upon Alfred. He gave his perſonel eſtate to charitable uſes, and ordered that all his ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one perſon out of every tenth family. Having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, Ethelwolf gave himſelf up entirely to the exerciſes of religion, and died in peace, after ſwaying the Engliſh ſceptre nineteen years.

# ETHELBALD AND ETHELRED.

A. D. 857. NO oppoſition was made to the will of Ethelwolf. Ethelbald had for ſome time been ſeated upon the throne of Weſſex, and Ethelred took poſſeſſion of the dominions of his father. The king of Weſſex followed not the ſteps of Ethelwolf; he was not fearful of breaking the laws of his maker: almoſt the firſt action of his reign, was the inceſtuous marriage with Judith, his father's widow. His government was arbitrary and cruel; he was at once both indolent and perfidious, and practiſed every vice that ſollicited his depraved appetite. Swithin, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſaw with grief the enormous actions of his maſter, and exerted all his power to make him ſenſible of his crimes. He at laſt ſucceeded: Judith was divorced, and a change of government immediately followed.

A. D. 860. But Ethelbald did not long enjoy the crown of Weſſex. His people were hardly ſenſible of the happy alteration in their condition, before the king paid the debt of nature, and left the crown to Ethelbert his brother. The diſpoſitions of theſe two princes were directly oppoſite; Ethelbert was as remarkable for his virtues, as Ethelbald had been for his vices. Humanity and moderation formed the principal characteriſtics of his reign. No civil commotion diſturbed the tranquillity of the ſtate; no complaints of injuſtice were heard from the people. Happineſs ſeemed to have taken up her abode in the kingdom, while the olive wand of peace was extended over the whole iſland.

But this interval of undiſturbed enjoyment, lulled the people into a fatal ſecurity. They had, for ſome time, been free from the barbarous ravages of the Danes, and made no preparations to prevent their being again afflicted with the like misfortunes. A naval force, the only bulwark that could defend them from the inroad of a piratical enemy, was neglected; the coaſts were unguarded, and the whole kingdom expoſed to the invaſion of every embarkation of marine freebooters. The natural conſequences of this indolent ſecurity were felt too ſoon. The Danes landed at Southampton, and meeting with no oppoſition, they extended their ravages to Wincheſter, plundered the city, and reduced it to aſhes. Their route was marked with deſolation and ruin. Their armies were preceded with terror. No reſiſtance was made to their progreſs; the inhabitants thought of nothing but flight to ſave themſelves from their ſhocking brutalities. But the ſpirit of their Saxon anceſtors was not yet wholly loſt. Ofric and Ethelwolf, the two generals of the Engliſh forces, marched with the utmoſt expedition againſt the lawleſs invaders of their country. The flight of the inhabitants had filled the Danes with an inſolent confidence. They feared no oppoſition; and ſpread themſelves in a very diſorderly manner over the country for the ſake of plunder. In this fatal ſecurity they were overtaken by the Engliſh generals, and eaſily defeated. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and the few barbarians that eſcaped the ſword, were glad to eſcape to their ſhips without their booty.

A. D. 865. This defeat did not, however, deter their countrymen from their piratical cruiſes. A conſiderable number of them landed in the iſle of Thanet, and filled the adjacent country with terror. Their horrid maſſacres, which ſhock humanity, intimidated the people from making any reſiſtance. Recourſe was therefore had to negotiation; and the inhabitants agreed to pay them a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to ſave their eſtates from inevitable ruin. But little confidence can be placed in the promiſes of thoſe who live by rapine, and daily trample upon the laws of juſtice and humanity. Perſuaded that they could gain more by pillage than the ſum ſtipulated in the treaty, they perfidiouſly took the advantage of the truce to carry deſtruction among an unſuſpecting people. They commenced their ſhocking ravages in the night, and laid waſte the whole eaſtern part of the county.

A. D. 866. Theſe dreadful diſorders greatly affected the mind of Ethelbert. He ſaw with grief the miſeries of his country which he could not prevent. The barbarians ſpared neither age nor ſex; a total deſtruction marked the paths of the invaders. The churches were deſtroyed, the monaſteries reduced to aſhes, and the religious treated with the moſt inhuman brutality. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes Ethelbert died, and was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, who loved his perſon and revered his virtues. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Ethelred his younger brother, purſuant to his father's will, though he left behind him two ſons, Adelheim and Ethelwould.

# ETHELRED I.

A. D. 866. THE reign of Ethelred is marked with victories and misfortunes. Fluſhed with conqueſt, and grown inſolent by ſucceſs, the Danes extended their ravages, and threatened the deſtruction of the whole country. The continual deſcents of theſe invaders had greatly weakened the authority of the kings of Weſſex over the provinces of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland. Their tributary kings had almoſt thrown off their allegiance, and were on the point of aſſuming the ſame authority they poſſeſſed during the heptarchy.

Soon after the acceſſion of Ethelred, a difference happened between him and his brother Alfred, on account of ſome territories which had been given them. Ethelred violated the contract, and Alfred appealed to the nobles who had been witneſſes to the deed. The diſpute became violent, but was at laſt amicably determined; and the two princes agreed to act in concert againſt the invaders of their country. Perhaps there never was a time when unanimity was more neceſſary: the ſtrongeſt union only could repel the attempts of the enemy.

Bruern Brocard, a nobleman of Northumberland, in order to revenge an affront he had received, in the perſon of his wife, from Oſbert, who then filled the throne, invited the Danes into that kingdom. He ſacrificed to a perſonal injury the lives of thouſands, and involved his country in miſery and diſtreſs. Under the conduct of Ivar and Hubba, two bold and warlike princes, the Danes landed in Eaſt-Anglia, and took up their quarters in that country till the ſpring.

A. D. 867. Oſbert kept his court at York when the Danes entered Northumberland; and, had he ſatisfied himſelf with defending that city, the Danes would, in all probability, have been defeated. But the impetuoſity of his courage gained the aſcendant over his prudence. He ſallied out to meet the enemy, and was ſlain in the action. The whole army was defeated; and the inhabitants, to prevent the dreadful ravages of theſe lawleſs invaders, entered into a treaty with Ivar, by which he was left in quiet poſſeſſion of that kingdom.

A. D. 878. But the kingdom of Northumberland was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the Danes. They marched through Lincolnſhire, where, among other inhuman acts of cruelty, they levelled to the ground the monaſtery of Bardney, and put all the monks to death. The monaſteries of Peterborough, Ely, and others that lay near their route, ſhared the ſame fate. The cataſtrophe of the nuns of Coldingham abbey was very deplorable; the abbeſs, to prevent their charms from exciting the luſt of theſe lawleſs ſons of rapine, propoſed, that they ſhould disfigure their faces, by cutting off their noſes and upper lips. The propoſal was embraced; and the abbeſs, in order to inſpire her nuns with courage, began with herſelf. This expedient ſaved their virtue. The Danes, diſguſted at their appearance, and incenſed at their diſappointment, ſet fire to the monaſtery, and the whole ſiſterhood periſhed in the flames.

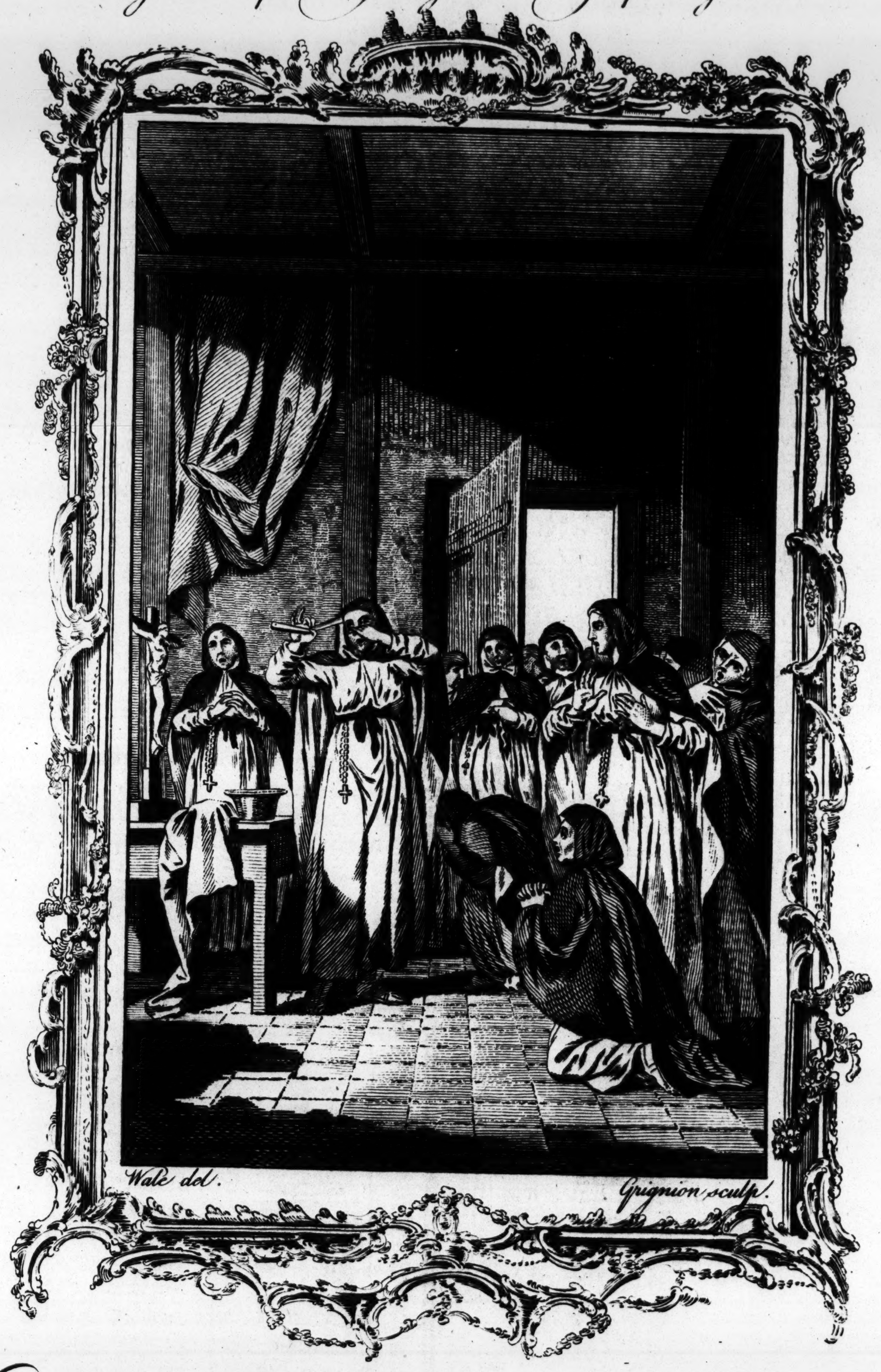
After committing theſe inhuman outrages, the Danes divided themſelves into two bodies. Ivar led his forces into Eaſt-Anglia, and Hubba continued his march towards the territories of Weſſex. The Eaſt-Anglians met the forces of Ivar at Thetford, but were totally defeated. Edmund, the tributary king, was taken priſoner; and, after having ſuſtained a thouſand indignities, was transfixed with arrows, and afterwards beheaded.

A. D. 871. Ivar purſued his conqueſts with great rapidity, but found it neceſſary to re-join Hubba's forces, in order to attack the kingdom of Weſſex, the only country that ſeemed able to put a ſtop to their victories. The two princes marched in conjunction, to Reading, in Berkſhire; a town, from its ſituation on the confluence of the Kennet and Thames, very capable of being defended with a ſmall force. Here the Danes fixed their head quarters; and, to render the poſt more difficult of acceſs, they connected the two rivers by a deep trench, which they fortified with ramparts.

A few days after their taking poſſeſſion of Reading, one of their foraging parties was cut off by Ethelwolf, earl of that county, and their leader ſlain. This gleam of ſucceſs encouraged Ethelred and Alfred, who had joined their forces, to advance near the enemy. Nor did they continue idle in their camp; they cut off all the advanced parties of the Danes, and made preparations for attacking the fortreſs itſelf. The Danes perceived their danger, and, collecting all their force, ſallied out upon the Britiſh forces, and, after an obſtinate engagement, obtained the victory. The intrepid Ethelwolf fell in the conteſt.

Exaſperated at the loſs of ſo able a leader, and deſirous of retrieving the honour they had loſt by their late defeat, the Engliſh once more advanced againſt the barbarians, who determined to meet them in the open field. Accordingly they marched to a plain near Aſhdown, where they waited the approach of the Britiſh forces. The troops of the invaders were divided into two bodies; one of them headed by their princes, and the other by their nobles. This diſpoſition rendered it neceſſary for the Engliſh to divide their army. Ethelred placed himſelf at the head of one diviſion, and Alfred at that of the other. The attack was begun by Alfred with incredible fury, and he nobly ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole Daniſh army. His brother being engaged in hearing maſs when Alfred charged the Danes, refuſed to ſupport him till the ſervice was over. As ſoon as Ethelred advanced, the Danes, who had ſtood firm againſt the charge of Alfred, gave way; a dreadful carnage enſued, and the enemy were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight. One of their princes, and a vaſt number of their nobles, were found among the ſlain. Soon after this victory, the two brothers engaged another party of the Danes, and were defeated. Ethelred was mortally wounded, and died ſoon after, leaving his crown to his brother Alfred, who was born to ſupport the tottering throne, and eſtabliſh the happineſs of his people.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.



Wale del. Grignion sculp.

The ABBESS of Coldingham Monastery cutting of her nose & upper Lip
as an example for her Nuns to follow, to prevent being Raviſhed by the Danes

BRITISH
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# A L F R E D, ſurnamed THE GREAT.

A. D. 871. THOUGH Ethelred left ſeveral children, yet Alfred was placed on the throne of his anceſtors. The voice of the people, the diſtreſſed ſituation of the kingdom, and the teſtament of Ethelwolf, all conſpired in calling this prince to the exerciſe of royalty. He was only twenty-two years of age when his brother Ethelred paid the debt of nature; but had given ſo many convincing proofs of his valour, and the genuine goodneſs of his heart, that, perhaps, no prince ever aſcended the throne with more happy preſages of being the darling of his people; but he was ſurrounded with difficulties, and expoſed, on every ſide, to the moſt imminent dangers. Nothing leſs than a genius and abilities equal to his own could have been ſufficient to have reſtored ſtability to the throne, and happineſs to his ſubjects. Which ever way he turned, the proſpect was diſmal; a few gleams of hope only cheered the dreary gloom. The cities and religious ſtructures were levelled in the duſt; the farms were deſtroyed; agriculture was neglected; and the dejected peaſant pined for want of bread, in the midſt of fields that lately waved with all the beauties of a golden harveſt. He wanted ſubjects to recruit his armies; many of them had periſhed by the ſword and famine: ſome, diſpirited by the toils of war, had ſubmitted to the yoke of ſlavery; and others had fled to the mountains and foreſts for protection againſt a rude and barbarous enemy.

Alfred alone viewed this ſcene of complicated diſtreſs with unſhaken firmneſs; his ſoul ſeemed ſuperior to misfortunes. His penetrating genius pointed out reſources, which ſupported him in this alarming criſis. He did not deſpair of ſurmounting every difficulty, and of changing this ſcene of melancholy dejection into happineſs and joy. The firmneſs of the monarch revived the drooping ſpirits of the ſubject. The ſoldiers caught the noble infection; they promiſed themſelves, that under ſo able and intrepid a leader, they ſhould attack the brutal enemy with ſucceſs; that victory would follow the ſtandards of Alfred.

Secure of the affections of his people, and the unſhaken confidence of the army, Alfred applied himſelf, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to correct every abuſe which had crept into the civil adminiſtration; and revive among his troops that diſcipline which always leads to conqueſt, and without which the moſt numerous armies would attempt it in vain. He knew that great difficulties could only be ſurmounted by great efforts; and that the utmoſt activity is neceſſary to prevent the moſt alarming miſfortunes. He purſued theſe maxims, and ſucceeded; and left an example to poſterity, that if the natural ſtrength of the iſland be properly exerted, Britain has nothing to fear from the attempts of a foreign enemy.

The ravages committed by the Danes called his attention from the affairs of government to the field. It is a misfortune to ſociety, and to mankind, that it is the indiſpenſible duty of great and enlightened princes to engage in war. Awakened by the cruelties of the barbarians, Alfred took the field at the head of a ſmall body of forces, and engaged the Daniſh army at Wilton. The action was ſevere, and the enemy were obliged to retreat; but gaining an eminence near the field of battle, and perceiving that Alfred's army was far inferior to their own in numbers, they returned to the charge, and Alfred was obliged, in his turn, to retreat. The Engliſh, however, were far from being intimidated: they were perſuaded, that, under the banners of Alfred, they ſhould at laſt conquer; they ſaw the power of the enemy was much ſuperior to their own, and imputed the advantage they at firſt gained, and even their being able to face ſo numerous an army, entirely to the good conduct and intrepidity of their beloved monarch.

Alfred ſoon perceived, that it would be impoſſible to conquer an enemy whoſe armies were continually reinforced with freſh troops; and therefore wiſely applied himſelf to prevent, if poſſible, this perpetual inundation of barbarians. He fitted out a fleet of ſhips, in order to guard the coaſt. The advantages reſulting from this prudent meaſure were ſoon apparent: Alfred's ſquadron defeated a Daniſh fleet, took one of their ſhips, and obliged the reſt to retire.

A. D. 876. Halfden, one of the Daniſh kings, ſurpriſed Wareham-caſtle, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Weſſex. Alfred immediately marched againſt them; and Halfden, not thinking it prudent to engage the Engliſh, ſued for peace, and offered to give hoſtages for the faithful obſervance of the treaty. Alfred liſtened to his propoſals; a treaty was concluded, by which the Danes engaged to quit the kingdom. Alfred, that he might engage them not to break their oaths, leſt heaven ſhould puniſh their impiety, made them ſwear to obſerve the treaty on the holy relicks, and alſo on a bracelet, which they conſidered as ſacred. But it was in vain to expect, that men who had never ſubmitted to laws, ſhould pay any regard to an oath: the precaution of Alfred had no effect on the barbarians: they ſwore to obſerve the treaty, and broke it immediately. They continued quiet, indeed, for two or three months, and ſeemed to make preparations for their departure; but waited only for an opportunity of attacking his army to advantage. It was not long before the fortunate moment arrived. The Britiſh cavalry, confiding in the faith of the barbarians, diſperſed themſelves into ſmall parties, in order to procure forage with more facility. The Danes perceived it; and iſſuing from their camp in the night, attacked the parties of cavalry, ſeized their horſes, and mounting their own men, fled to Exeter. The ſudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy ſtruck the inhabitants with deſpair: they flew to arms, but it was too late; the Danes entered the city without oppoſition, increaſed the fortifications, and there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 877. Convinced that no treaty made with an enemy, who trampled upon all the laws of juſtice, could be binding, and that force only could bring them to reaſon; Alfred applied himſelf to put his navy on a more reſpectable footing, in order, if poſſible, to deſtroy their naval force. A formidable fleet was ſoon fitted out, and ſailed immediately to block up Exeter by ſea, while Alfred attacked the city by land. In their paſſage to Exeter, the Engliſh ſquadron fell in with the grand fleet of the Danes, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty ſail, and having on board a ſtrong reinforcement for Halfden's army. A furious fight enſued, in which the Daniſh fleet was totally deſtroyed.

Terrified at the loſs of their ſquadron, the Danes had again recourſe to negotiation: they renewed their oaths; they gave freſh hoſtages; and engaged to quit the iſland immediately. Alfred had now learned caution from experience: he concluded a treaty with them, but would not ſuffer them to remove from Exeter, till they embarked for their own country.

Soon after their departure, the fleet of the famous Rollo appeared on the Engliſh coaſts. He expected no oppoſition, and was aſtoniſhed when the fleet of Alfred approached. The engagement which enſued convinced him that the attempt would be attended with danger, and thought it not prudent to make the experiment: he ſtood over to the French ſhore, and made himſelf maſter of Normandy.

Another army of the Danes had, ſome time, before, made themſelves maſters of Mercia, and driven Burhead from his throne, who fled to Rome, and took ſhelter in a cloyſter. That prince was the laſt that bore the title of king of Mercia. Alfred gave him no diſturbance; he obſerved religiouſly the terms of his treaties. The barbarians, however, were not charmed with this rigorous obſervance of public faith; the laws of virtue were unknown to the Danes. The country they had conquered was very fruitful, and, by a little aſſiſtance from agriculture, would have ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary to render life agreeable; but they had been ſo long uſed to rapine, that they deſpiſed every other employment: they had been nurſed in the lap of violence, and early initiated into the practice of brutal cruelty. From ſuch an enemy nothing but perfidy could be expected. While Alfred's fleet guarded the coaſt, they remained quiet; but, on the landing of a new reinforcement, they joined their countrymen, and immediately renewed their dreadful ravages. Oppoſition was now in vain; their numbers were ſo greatly increaſed, that it would have been temerity to have met them in the open field. Aſtoniſhed and intimidated at this inundation of barbarians, the Engliſh abandoned their habitations, and ſought their ſafety in a ſpeedy flight. Some paſſed over to the continent, and others took up their reſidence in mountains and foreſts. Alfred alone continued ſuperior to misfortunes: he laid aſide the enſigns of royalty, but he was ſtill the father of his people. He diſmiſſed his attendants; and, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, concealed himſelf in the cottage of a cow-herd, whoſe wife put his patience to the ſevereſt trial, by requiring his aſſiſtance in her domeſtic affairs. He had not continued long in this humiliating retreat, before he found an opportunity of collecting a number of his friends; and with theſe he retired to an inacceſſible moraſs in Somerſetſhire, formed by the waters of the Parret and Thone. In the center of this moraſs he built a fortreſs, and often ſallied out upon the barbarians, who felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter they received the blow. They never ſuſpected that Alfred was ſo near their camp; they were perſuaded he had fallen among the ſlain.

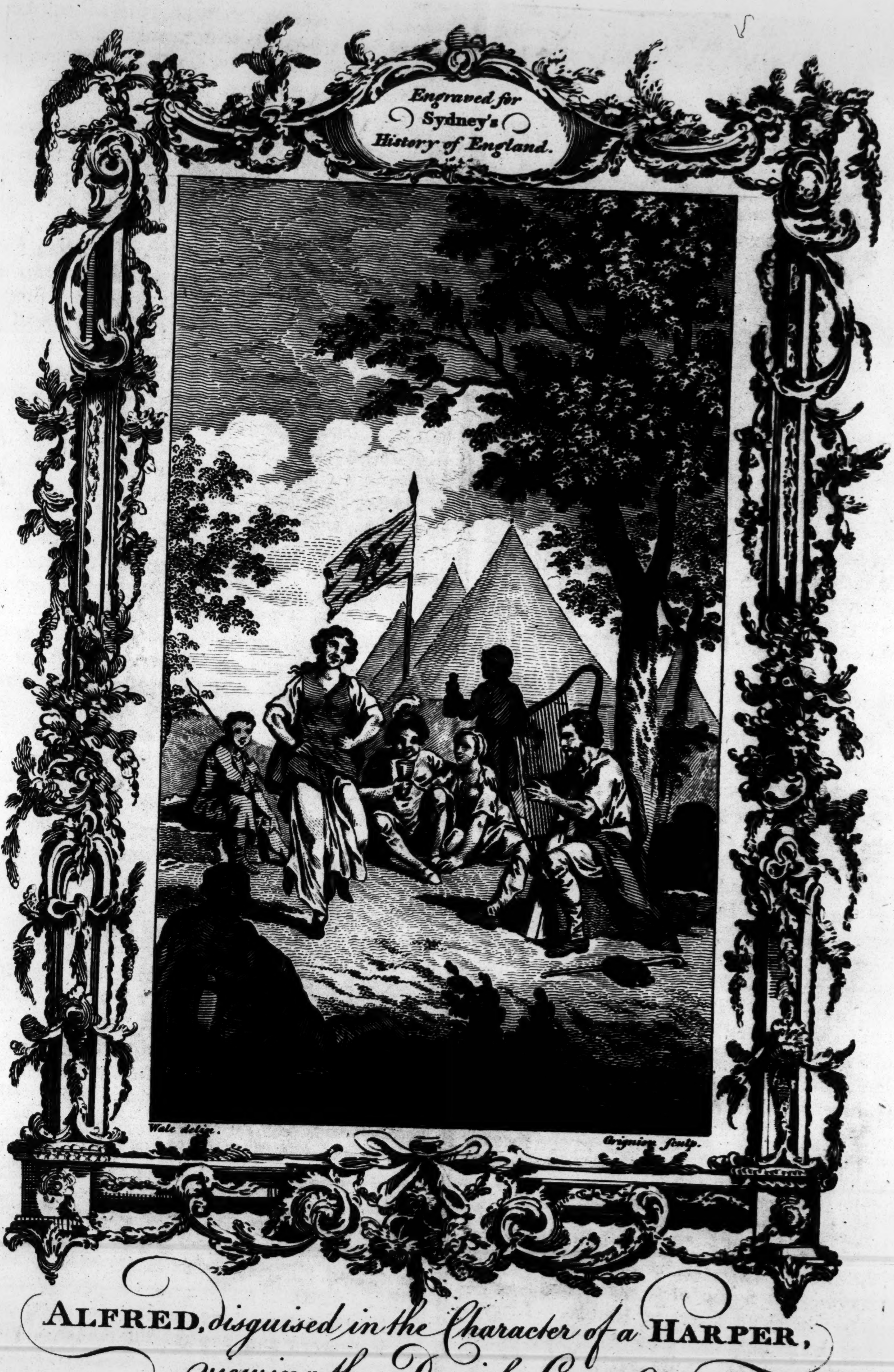
A fortunate event drew Alfred from his retreat. Hubba, a Daniſh prince, having landed at the mouth of the Taw, in Devonſhire, laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Kenwith. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, at the head of twelve hundred men, advanced towards the barbarians. A battle enſued, when Hubba was totally defeated, and Odun took the famous magical ſtandard of the Danes. This ſtandard was called Reafan, from its having the figure of a raven embroidered upon it, by the three ſiſters of Hubba. Magical incantations had alſo been uſed to render it proſperous; and the Danes, fully perſuaded, that the army, where it was diſplayed, would be invincible, aſcribed to it a miraculous virtue. Alfred now perceived a gleam of hope, and determined to take the advantage that offered. The camp of the enemy was at no great diſtance, and Alfred was deſirous of diſcovering what diſcipline they obſerved in this period of ſecurity. He took the diſguiſe of a harper; and penetrating into their camp, entertained them ſo highly with his muſic and facetious humour, that he was introduced into their general's tent, where he continued ſeveral days, and even gained the favour of that ferocious leader. Alfred, though his time ſeemed to be wholly devoted to mirth, did not forget the intention of his viſit: he obſerved their ſupine negligence and ſecurity; riot had uſurped the place of order, and diſcipline was loſt in intemperance.

Animated by theſe diſcoveries, he returned to his friends, and raiſed their drooping ſpirits with the hopes of an eaſy and certain victory. Diſpatches were immediately ſent to the moſt conſiderable of his ſubjects with this favourable intelligence, ordering them to aſſemble all their forces, and rendezvous at Brixton, in the foreſt of Sherwood. He was readily obeyed; the hopes of meeting their king, whom they had long regarded as dead, revived their hopes; the dangers of war now appeared far leſs terrible than the dominion of the Danes. The ravages of the barbarians had rouſed them to vengeance; they were deſirous of retaliating the cruelties they had ſuffered on the brutal invaders of their country. Alfred drew a favourable preſage from the alacrity of his ſubjects, who flocked to the ſtandard of a king they adored, and led them immediately againſt the enemy.

The Danes had advanced to Yatenden, on the borders of Hampſhire, in a confuſed, irregular manner: they dreaded no oppoſition; they imagined they had no enemy to fear. Aſtoniſhed and confounded when attacked by the Engliſh, their oppoſition was feeble; they were terrified at the name of Alfred, and ſought their ſafety in flight. A fortreſs was near, and thither they fled for ſhelter. Alfred ſurrounded their retreat, and famine ſoon forced them to ſurrender. Lenity ſtill glowed in the breaſt of Alfred; he could not be cruel, even to an enemy that had ruined his country. Perſuaded that the practice of agriculture would ſoon give them a diſtaſte to pillage and rapine, eſpecially if they became converts to the doctrines of the goſpel, he offered to eſtabliſh them in Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, which they had depopulated, provided they would undertake to defend thoſe countries againſt any future enterprizes of their countrymen, and alſo embrace the tenets of chriſtianity. The conditions were joyfully accepted: they had little religion of their own; and, when their intereſt pleaded, they had no objection to be Chriſtians. The event juſtified the policy of Alfred. Guthrun, the Daniſh chief, with thirty of his principal officers, were immediately baptized: Alfred was ſponſor, and gave Guthrun the name of Athelſtan.

This change of religion had the expected effect on the conduct of the Dane; he contracted a much greater regard for the ſacred nature of an oath: he poliſhed the ferocious manners of his countrymen. They had now a more tender regard for the lives of their hoſtages. They admired the abilities and virtues of Alfred, and ſeemed to have abandoned their former brutality with their former religion. Houſes were erected in the country aſſigned them; the lands were cultivated; virtue and induſtry were encouraged; and Alfred preſented the Daniſh chief with a ſhort code of laws for the government of his ſubjects.

A. D. 880. Ever attentive to the happineſs of his ſubjects, Alfred employed this interval of tranquillity in reſtoring order in the ſtate, and in eſtabliſhing meaſures which tended to prevent a return of ſimilar calamities. He had ſeen the effect produced by his navy, and applied himſelf to augment its force. At the ſame time, he took every precaution to prevent any miſunderſtanding between his Engliſh and Daniſh ſubjects. He governed them by equal laws; he made no difference between them in the adminiſtration of civil or criminal juſtice: an injury committed on a Dane was puniſhed with the ſame ſeverity as if the ſufferer had been an Engliſhman; the ſatisfaction, the fine was the ſame. The country again wore the aſpect of plenty; the fields again waved with golden harveſts: the cities were rebuilt; and London once more became rich and opulent; commerce again took ſanctuary within her walls.


Engraved for
Sydney's
History of England.

Wale delin. Grignion sculp.

ALFRED, disguised, in the Character of a HARPER,
viewing the Danish Camp.

BRITISH MUSEUM
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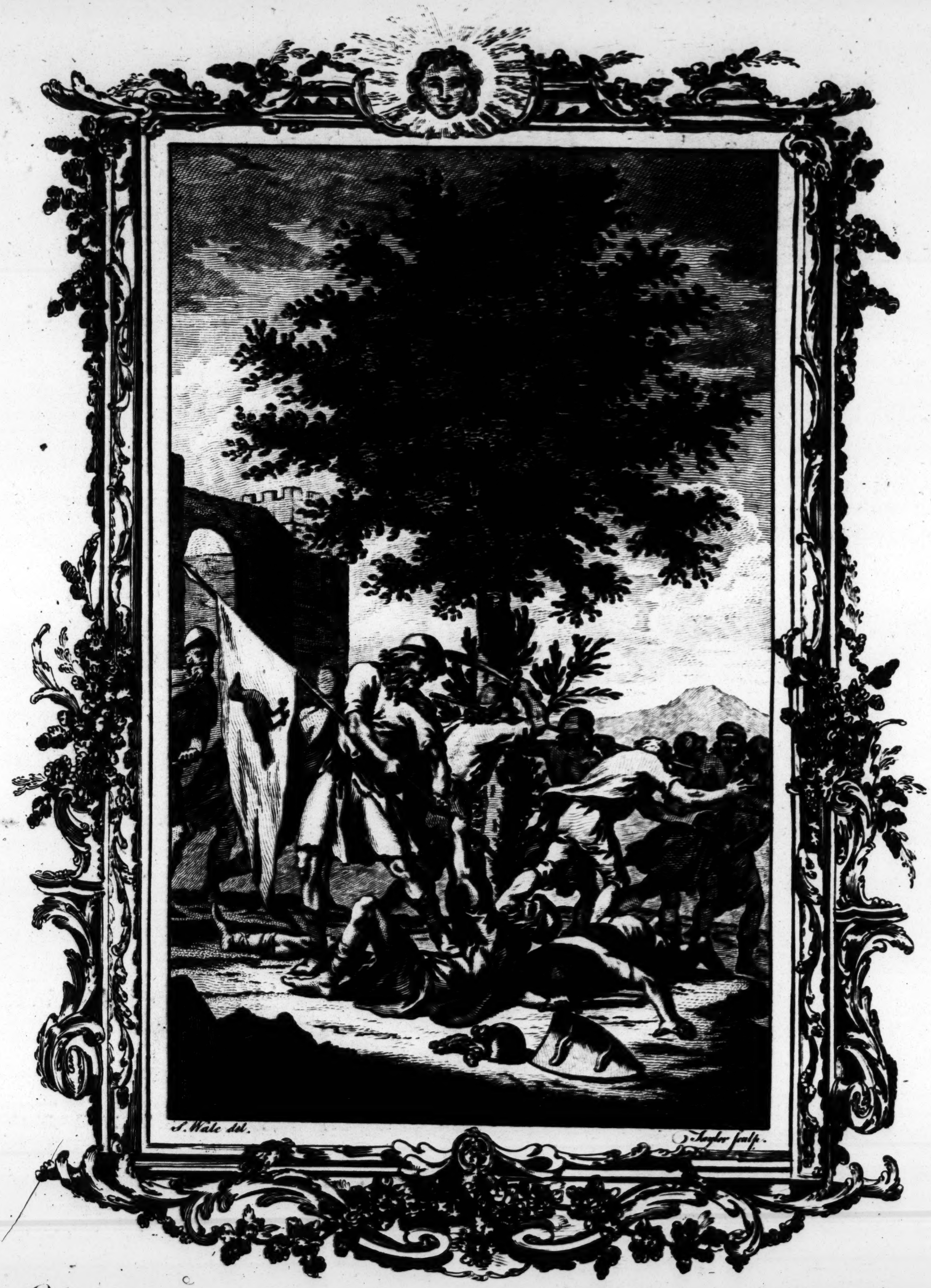
*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



S. Wale del.
Taylor sculp.

*Odun,* **EARL of DEVON** *taking the Danish Standard.*

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Alfred had experienced the difficulties that attended the raiſing of an army on any ſudden emergency: to this principally he attributed all the miſeries ſuffered by his people. He therefore formed a regular and formidable militia for the defence of the nation. Every perſon in the kingdom, capable of bearing arms, was obliged to do military duty in his turn: ſtrong bodies of forces were thus always in readineſs to act againſt the common enemy. Part of theſe were ſtationed in garriſons; others were encamped in different parts of the kingdom; and others employed in cultivating the land, till an appearance of an enemy called them to arms. The kingdom was by theſe wiſe regulations always capable of oppoſing any invaſion; the fields were properly tilled; no individual had a right to complain that his burden was heavier than that of his neighbour. Content appeared in every countenance: the late interval of ſorrow was changed into an interval of joy.

But among all the eſtabliſhments of Alfred, thoſe relating to his navy were the moſt uſeful and advantageous. The very ſituation of the country, its being an iſland, pointed out a maritime force; though it had hitherto been unaccountably neglected. Alfred ſaw its neceſſity; he was convinced that while the Engliſh are maſters of the ſea, they have nothing to fear from the attempts of a foreign enemy. He ſtationed one hundred and thirty veſſels of war at proper diſtances along the coaſt. He inſtructed his ſubjects in the art of navigation; and invited the moſt expert ſeamen from different nations to ſerve in his marine. The cruiſes of the pirates, ſo injurious to trade, now received a ſevere check; they hardly dared to venture out of their harbours.

Nor did he neglect to put the ſea coaſt into a proper ſtate of defence. He built caſtles and fortreſſes in places moſt expoſed to the attempts of an enemy. They were well garriſoned, and furniſhed with every requiſite for making a noble defence. Beacons were erected on the ſummits of the moſt conſpicuous hills, and in the moſt proper places for ſpreading an alarm. Wherever any enemy appeared, the beacons were lighted, and a proper number of diſciplined forces, under the lieuteuant of the county, were ready for immediate action.

A. D. 892. By theſe wiſe meaſures and precautions, Alfred had, in appearance, ſecured the tranquillity of his kingdom, when Haſtings, a celebrated Daniſh pirate, after ravaging great part of France, made preparations for invading England. He was no ſtranger to the great abilities of Alfred; and well knew that the wiſeſt precautions had been taken to render any attempt of that kind abortive. But he perſevered in his deſign; not to make ſettlements, but to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of a trading people. He fitted out three hundred ſail of ſhips, and embarking all his forces, ſtood over to the Engliſh coaſt. This powerful fleet was divided into two ſquadrons, one of which, conſiſting of two hundred and twenty ſail, entered the harbour of Rye in Suſſex, where they landed their forces, and ſeized the caſtle of Appledore. The other, commanded by Haſtings himſelf, entered the mouth of the Thames, and landed at Milton, where the Danes threw up an intrenchment. They afterwards erected a caſtle at Middleton, and another at Beamfleet. The dreadful ravages which had ceaſed for ſeveral years, were now again commenced; and an emulation ſeemed to exiſt between the two chiefs, who ſhould excel in acts of outrage and cruelty: the country was again filled with blood and ſlaughter.

A. D. 893. Theſe acts of barbarity augmented the glory of Alfred. That prince was in Eaſt-Anglia, employed in ſettling the affairs of that province, Guthrun having lately paid the debt of nature, when Haſtings landed his forces. On the firſt information of this deſcent, Alfred flew to the defence of his people, and marched immediately to attack the armies of the enemy. The advance of Alfred was terrible to the Danes. The party from Appledore, had carried deſtruction through the counties of Suſſex and Surry, and were now returning to their fleet loaded with plunder. Alfred met this powerful band of lawleſs pillagers at Farnham, where he attacked them with the utmoſt fury, obtained a complete victory, and took all their baggage. The few that eſcaped the ſlaughter fled to their ſhips, ſailed up the Colne, and fortified themſelves at Brickelſey in Eſſex.

A. D. 894. This victory would have put an end to the ravages of the Danes, had not their perfidious countrymen, who had received ſo many marks of kindneſs from Alfred, taken up arms in favour of the invaders. Regardleſs of oaths, and ſtrangers to gratitude, the Danes of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia renounced their allegiance, fitted out a numerous fleet, and landing in Devonſhire, beſieged the city of Exeter. Alfred marched with the utmoſt expedition to the relief of the inhabitants, and arrived in the neighbourhood, when the inſurgents imagined he was employed in the eaſtern parts of the kingdom. The approach of Alfred ſtruck them with terror; they immediately embarked, and joined Haſtings at Beamfleet. Encouraged by this powerful reinforcement, the pirate extended his ravages into Mercia, waſting the country through which he paſſed. Alfred had left a ſtrong body of troops in London, for the ſecurity of that city: theſe were not idle. They took advantage of the abſence of Haſtings, attacked his fort at Beamfleet, and carried it by ſtorm. The plunder of many ſucceſsful cruiſes, during a courſe of ſeveral years, were depoſited in this fortreſs. The conquerors returned loaded with riches, and among the priſoners were the wife and two ſons of Haſtings. Theſe were ſent to Alfred, who generouſly returned them to the pirate, with this remarkable meſſage, “That he did not make war upon women and chriſtians.” Struck with the noble generoſity of Alfred, and terrified by the power of his arms, Haſtings ſued for peace; which was granted him, on condition of his immediately departing the kingdom. Haſtings accepted the ſtipulation; but obſerved it no longer than ſuited his own intereſt: he embarked his forces, and joined his countrymen on the other ſide of the Thames. But the vigour and alacrity of Alfred, rendered all their attempts abortive; they were driven from one end of the kingdom to the other; and expoſed to the miſeries of famine. At laſt, in deſpair, they forced a paſſage to their ſhips, and abandoned the iſland, without being able to carry with them any part of the plunder they had wreſted from the inhabitants.

A. D. 896. Alfred found no difficulty in reducing the Danes of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia to their duty, after the departure of the pirates. But he was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquillity in his country. He had long perceived that peace was incompatible in a kingdom divided into petty ſtates, and governed by feudatory princes. He wiſely aboliſhed that form of government, and took the people under his immediate authority and adminiſtration. The Welſh, who had hitherto preſerved their independence, acknowledged the authority of Alfred. Peace was again eſtabliſhed in the iſland, and the great genius of Alfred was once more at liberty to purſue the wiſeſt meaſures for promoting the happineſs of his people.

Nothing leſs than the prodigious talents of Alfred were equal to the amazing taſk of reſtoring government and order in a kingdom reduced to the moſt dreadful ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The laſt ravages of the Danes had obliterated all order and ſubordination. The people were reduced to ſuch a ſtate of miſery and want, that they were obliged to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence by committing the greateſt crimes. The whole country was infeſted with bands of robbers, whoſe dreadful incurſions rendered all property precarious; nor were the lives of the inhabitants ſafe from their rapacious attempts. The execution of a very ſevere juſtice only could put an end to thoſe alarming enormities, and eſtabliſh order in the ſtate. Alfred ſaw all the difficulties, but was not intimidated: he applied himſelf to regulate theſe crying abuſes, and he could not confer a greater favour on his people. He began with dividing the kingdom into counties; theſe he ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. By this regulation every man in the kingdom became a member of ſome tything; the houſholders became mutual pledges for one another; and each was anſwerable for his children, his ſervants, and his gueſts. Every youth, at the age of fourteen, was obliged to regiſter himſelf in ſome tything, when all the houſeholders immediately became anſwerable for his conduct. Nor could any perſon change his habitation, without a certificate from the head of the tything to which he belonged. As the tything was anſwerable for the conduct of each individual, ſo the hundred was anſwerable for the different tythings, and the county for its different hundreds. The county, the hundred, and the tything, had each its particular court. The aldermen, biſhop, and ſheriff, preſided in the firſt, the conſtable in the ſecond, and the tythingman in the third. By theſe admirable inſtitutions, rendered abſolutely neceſſary by the circumſtances of the times, every houſholder was obliged to watch over the actions of his neighbour; nor could any crime be long concealed, or long unpuniſhed. Smaller injuries were puniſhed in the tything court, but the larger were heard in that of the hundred. Twelve freeholders were choſen, who, upon oath, enquired into the crime of the accuſed, and he was either condemned or acquitted, according as they thought him guilty or innocent. This was the origin of juries, who ſtill determine all civil and criminal matters in the Engliſh courts. Perhaps it is not poſſible to deviſe an inſtitution better calculated to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, or the equal diſpenſation of juſtice.

But the people had ſtill a greater confidence in the impartiality and integrity of their king, than in a jury of their neighbours. They perpetually appealed to him from the ſentence of the inferior courts. Alfred ſuſpected that the judges wanted either abilities or honeſty in their proceedings, and was determined to remove the complaint. He took particular care that his nobles and judges ſhould be well acquainted with the laws of their country; and, that none might plead ignorance, he formed a new code, which ſerved at once to inſtruct and direct his magiſtrates. This body of laws is now unhappily loſt, but is ſtill regarded as the foundation of the common law of England. It muſt, however, be remembered, that Alfred was not the ſole author of this code of laws; he collected them from the ſcripture, from the laws of Ina, Offa, Ethelbert, and the cuſtoms of the various nations that inhabited Britain; but in many places he reformed and extended previous inſtitutions. A body of new laws would have been dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

But it was not enough to procure a body of excellent laws; it was neceſſary alſo to put them ſtrictly in execution. Alfred was equally diligent in this particular: he examined very ſtrictly the conduct of all his miniſters and judges, reviſed their deciſions, and ſeverely puniſhed all who were guilty of partiality. By purſuing theſe prudent meaſures, all violences and oppreſſions were baniſhed from a country where they had ſo long reſided. Robberies were no longer feared: a breach of the peace, a public offence, or a private injury, were almoſt unknown. He ordered gold bracelets to be ſuſpended in the highways, and no man ventured to take them down; and if a purſe of money was dropped on the road, no perſon dared to touch it but the owner. Nor was Alfred leſs attentive to the liberty of his people than to the execution of juſtice. He ordered that the ſtates of the kingdom, or general aſſembly of the nation, ſhould meet twice a year in London; and that the members ſhould owe their admiſſion to their own quality or virtue, independent of the king's pleaſure. He never invaded, he never wiſhed to invade the rights of his people. And we find in his teſtament this remarkable expreſſion, "That it was "juſt the Engliſh ſhould for ever remain as free as "their own thoughts."

It is, perhaps, impoſſible to reform and poliſh the manners of a rude, ferocious people, without the aſſiſtance of literature. Alfred was not to learn this truth: he knew that the rays of learning would diſpel the gloomy night of Gothic ignorance, at once the parent of vice and ſuperſtition; and therefore neglected not this noble object, whoſe advantage he well knew from his own experience. The education of Alfred had been greatly neglected, through the indulgent tenderneſs of his father. His mind had not received the leaſt tincture of knowledge when he had attained his twelfth year. His genius was firſt awakened by the peruſal of ſome Saxon poems, but they had no tendency to improve his mind. The Latin language opened to him inexhauſtible ſources of inſtruction and improvement; and the early taſte he diſcovered for works calculated at once to inform his underſtanding, and inſpire him with the noble ſentiments of honour and virtue, prognoſticated his future greatneſs. The whole kingdom was involved in a dreadful night of ignorance. There was hardly a perſon in the iſland that underſtood the Latin ſervice; many of the prieſts could not even read with propriety. Alfred laboured inceſſantly to diſpel this darkneſs. He erected ſchools in various parts of the kingdom; and obliged all freeholders, who poſſeſſed two hides of land, to keep their ſons at theſe ſeminaries till they reached their ſixteenth year. He invited learned men from every part of the continent. He founded, or at leaſt rebuilt, the univerſity of Oxford. Perſons of merit and learning only were appointed to offices of truſt; the ignorant and indolent gained not the favour of Alfred. His own example was a powerful incentive to the induſtry of his ſubjects; a noble emulation was excited, and emulation is the parent of improvement. He divided the natural day into three equal parts; and meaſured the time by burning wax-tapers, of equal lengths, in lanthorns. The keeper of his chapel had the care of theſe tapers; and it was his buſineſs to give him notice of every hour. The firſt of theſe portions of time was devoted to ſtudy, and acts of piety; the ſecond to the diſpatch of buſineſs; and the third to the relaxation and refreſhment of his body. By thus huſbanding every moment of his time, he became one of the moſt learned perſons of his time. He underſtood the Latin perfectly; and tranſlated the fables of Æſop, the hiſtory of Bede, and ſeveral other works, for the uſe of his ſubjects. He underſtood architecture and muſic, and was the beſt mathematician of that age. He compoſed ſeveral fables, parables, and ſhort poems, in the Saxon language, adapted to the capacities of a rude and ferocious people. How unjuſtly do we complain of our want of time to purſue the paths of knowledge! Alfred, who was afflicted with many bodily infirmities; who, during the greater part of his life, was ſurrounded with enemies, had fought thirty-ſix battles in perſon, and omitted nothing that had a tendency to increaſe the happineſs of his people, was maſter of every ſpecies of learning then cultivated. The fact is aſtoniſhing; we are but little acquainted with the powers of the human mind, when fully exerted.

The ſame œconomy prevailed with regard to the public revenues. Alfred divided theſe into two parts; one he dedicated to ſacred, and the other to civil uſes. The former he ſubdivided into four parts; the firſt was diſpenſed to the poor in general; the ſecond to the ſupport of religious houſes founded by himſelf; the third to the public ſchools; and the fourth to the building and repairing churches, monaſteries, and other public foundations. The moiety devoted to civil uſes was ſubdivided into three parts; the firſt was deſtined to the ſupport of his houſhold; the ſecond to the payment of his workmen; and the third to the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers who reſorted to his court.

The happineſs and advantage of his ſubjects formed one of the principal cares of Alfred. His court was the reſort of all who were eminent in their profeſſion; and Alfred omitted not this opportunity of enriching his country with all the improvements made in various countries. Agriculture, navigation and commerce, engaged his attention. He lent both ſhips and money to merchants of character, many of whom extended the trade of their country to Alexandria, and imported from thence the rich commodities of the Indies.

In private life he was great and amiable. His temper was even; his diſpoſition chearful; his converſation agreeable. He was temperate, charitable, beneficent, and generous; at once the prince and father of his people; poſſeſſed of every talent, of every acquiſition that adorns the human mind; without one vice to ſully the luſtre of his virtues. No prince had ever a better title to the ſurname of Great.

A. D. 900. He died on the ſixth of October, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign; leaving the nation to lament his death. The tears of a grateful people watered the tomb of Alfred. He left five children, two ſons, and three daughters; who all inherited a conſiderable ſhare of their father's talents and virtues.

# EDWARD THE ELDER.

A. D. 900. EDWARD, who aſcended the throne on the death of his father Alfred, obtained the ſurname of Elder from his being the firſt prince of that name who held the Engliſh ſceptre. The Danes were in poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, and had continued quiet during the latter end of Alfred's reign; they were afraid to provoke a prince of his abilities. But when Alfred paid the debt of nature, they formed a deſign for ſhaking off the yoke of ſervitude, and rendering themſelves independent of the Engliſh crown. They were perſuaded that Edward was not poſſeſſed of the great talents of his father, and that a fair opportunity now offered for breaking the ſhackles of obedience, and, perhaps, of becoming maſters of the whole iſland. Edward, doubtleſs, appeared to great diſadvantage, after ſo illuſtrious a father; but he was far from being unable to wield the ſceptre with honour to himſelf, and advantage to his people. He was, indeed, inferior to Alfred in capacity and knowledge; but he equalled him in military ſkill and conduct. The Danes were, however, fearful of the event; and, under a pretence of ſubmitting chearfully to the government, continued quiet in their territories, till an unforeſeen event called them to action.

A. D. 901. Ethelwald, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelbert, laid claim to the throne of his father. The Danes ſupported his pretenſions; and theſe barbarous people, who ſtill retained their native ferocity, ſent out bands of robbers, who laid waſte the country through which they paſſed. How feeble are the foundations of the wiſeſt ſyſtems of government, till the minds of the people are reclaimed from their vices, and are acquainted with the principles of religion and virtue! Inveterate evils muſt be deſtroyed by degrees; a conſiderable length of time is neceſſary to change the diſpoſitions of the human heart.

Ethelwald, at the head of a Daniſh army, made himſelf maſter of Wimborn, in Dorſetſhire, and Chriſtchurch, in Hampſhire; but, on the approach of Edward, he abandoned his conqueſts, and fled to Normandy, from whence he was afterwards conveyed to Northumberland, and acknowledged king of all the Daniſh territories in Britain. Edward, who followed the example of his father in giving the enemy no time for preparations, marched directly into Northumberland, reducing all the towns that lay near his route, and laying the whole country waſte. Aſtoniſhed at the expedition of Edward, and finding themſelves in no condition to defend their territories againſt the victorious army of Edward, they baniſhed from their kingdom the prince they had undertaken to protect, and ſubmitted entirely to the clemency of the conqueror.

A. D. 904. Deprived of a ſceptre he had hardly received, Ethelwald again returned to Normandy, where he ſollicited and obtained aſſiſtance. He immediately embarked his forces, and landed in Eaſt-Anglia. The Danes laid aſide their fears at the appearance of a Norman army, and declared openly for Ethelwald. But the abilities and alacrity of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive. He marched, indeed, into Glouceſter, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the peaceable inhabitants; but was obliged to fly into Eaſt-Anglia on the approach of the Engliſh army. Edward carried his arms into the enemy's country, and laid the frontiers waſte; but thinking it would be imprudent to penetrate into the heart of Eaſt-Anglia, retreated at the head of the main body of his army. A conſiderable body of Kentiſh forces, either to revenge themſelves on the perfidious Danes, or to acquire a larger ſhare of plunder, did not follow Edward, notwithſtanding repeated orders for that purpoſe. Ethelwald perceived the imprudence of the Kentiſh forces, and reſolved to take advantage of their temerity: they were accordingly ſurrounded, and cut to pieces. But the advantage was purchaſed too dear; both Ethelwald and Eric, the Daniſh leader, fell in the action.

A. D. 911. But the death of this pretender to the crown eſtabliſhed not the public tranquillity. The Danes continued their ravages, and the country again became a ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs. Exaſperated at the cruelty and perfidious behaviour of the Danes, Edward led his army againſt the inſurgents, totally defeated them, recovered all the booty they had taken, and ſuffered his army to lay waſte the country of theſe reſtleſs infringers of domeſtic peace.

Edward was nobly aſſiſted in his wars by Elfleda, his ſiſter: her maſculine ſpirit greatly contributed to his ſucceſs. This intrepid princeſs diſdained the occupations of her ſex, as unworthy of her care; the happineſs and peace of her country engaged her attention, and ſhe ſucceſsfully laboured to procure the one and eſtabliſh the other. Her prudence and virtue were equal to her courage; ſhe ſeemed to poſſeſs the ſoul of her father Alfred.

A. D. 913. Having, by the aſſiſtance of his heroic ſiſter, procured an interval of tranquillity, Edward applied himſelf to works of public utility, and the encouragement of learning. He rebuilt the city of Hereford, which the Danes had laid in aſhes; fortified Witham; repaired ſeveral churches and monaſteries; and erected the ſeminary of Cambridge into an univerſity.

A. D. 917. But this interval of peace was terminated too ſoon. Ever reſtleſs, and ever perfidious, the Danes again began their inroads. They delighted in a deſultory war; their ferocious ſouls rejoiced in cruelty; the unſettled occupation of a robber was more agreeable to the brutality of their nature than the placid labours of domeſtic life. Defeat ſucceeded defeat: in one part of the kingdom the inſurgents were cut to pieces by Elfleda, and routed by Edward in another. But they ſtill continued their depredations: an inſatiable love of plunder induced others to follow their example, though common prudence might have told them, that the ſame crimes would undoubtedly occaſion the ſame puniſhments.

A. D. 918. Theſe ſmall incurſions were, however, nothing more than a prelude to much greater misfortunes. A ſtorm was gathering which required all the abilities of Edward and his intrepid ſiſter to break its force. The Danes in Britany were now ſo prodigiouſly increaſed, that the country was unable to ſubſiſt them: an emigration became abſolutely neceſſary. A numerous body under the command of Otar and Rohault, embarked from the ſouthern coaſt of Britany, entered the mouth of the Severn, and ravaged the country both on the Welſh and Engliſh ſides of the river. Encouraged by their firſt ſucceſs, they extended their incurſions as far as Erchenfield, laying the whole country waſte. Alarmed at their danger, and exaſperated at the cruelties of the enemy, the inhabitants joined the forces of Edward, and marched againſt the invaders. A battle enſued, in which the Danes were totally defeated, and all the ſpoil they had taken fell into the hands of the conquerors. Rohault and a brother of Otar were ſlain in the action; and the fugitives obliged to take ſhelter in a wood, which was immediately inveſted by the Engliſh. The invaders had now no other method than that of negotiation to avoid inevitable deſtruction. They ſued for peace, and offered hoſtages for the performance of the conditions of the treaty, and promiſed to depart the kingdom immediately. But no promiſes, no treaties, no hoſtages, have power to bind barbarians, who live by plunder, and continually trample upon the laws of virtue and humanity. They embarked, indeed, and ſailed from the mouth of the Severn, but they landed again on the coaſt of Somerſetſhire, and again fell to plundering the country. They did not, however, long continue their depredations before they were attacked by the militia of the county, who put the greater part of them to the ſword, and the few that eſcaped fled to Ireland.

A. D. 920. But Edward ſoon perceived that the Danes were not the only enemies he had to fear. Leofrid the Dane, who was ſettled in Ireland, aſſiſted by Griffith ap Madoc, brother to the prince of Weſt Wales, landed on the coaſt, and penetrated as far as Cheſter. Edward flew at the head of a few forces to the defence of his people, and met the invaders at Sherwood, where a deſperate battle enſued. During the action Leofrid encountered hand to hand with Edward, and the conteſt continued equal for ſome time, till Edward in giving the Dane a violent blow, broke his ſword at the hilt, and he muſt have fallen a victim to Leofrid had not his ſon Athelſtan flew to his aſſiſtance. That prince was more fortunate than his father; he wounded Leofrid ſo deſperately in the arm, that he dropped his ſpear, and ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. The forces of the enemy were totally defeated, and forced to abandon the kingdom.

A. D. 921. A general inſurrection of the Danes now threatened the Engliſh with all the horrors of ſavage barbarity. But the activity of Edward baffled all their deſigns; they were defeated in every attempt, and forced to abandon every enterprize. They were driven from one part of the country to another: their caſtles were taken, and their towns laid in aſhes; they felt the ſame diſtreſs they had ſo often inflicted upon the Engliſh. Submiſſion now became their only reſource: they accordingly laid down their arms, and readily embraced the terms offered by the victor. Edward, who knew from experience, how little confidence could be placed in the promiſes and oaths of the Danes, applied himſelf to render his conqueſts laſting, by fortifying ſeveral towns, and erecting caſtles in various parts of the kingdom. He even carried his arms beyond the former limits of his territories, and the princes of the Cumbrian and Strathcluyd Britons ſubmitted to his government. The Scots alſo ſued for peace, and their king conſented to hold his dominions in vaſſalage of the Engliſh crown.

A. D. 925. Edward had now attained the ſummit of human glory. He ſaw tranquillity eſtabliſhed in every part of his dominious. He ſaw his ſubjects happy under his government, and cultivating with the utmoſt aſſiduity, the arts of peace. But how ſhort are the periods of human felicity! Edward had hardly ſubdued his enemies, and terminated the calamities of war, when death put a period to his life in the twenty-ſixth year of his ~~age~~. Reign

Edward was a worthy ſucceſſor to his father: he imitated his conduct; he imitated his virtues. He was reſpected by his neighbours; and the ferocious Danes revered his abilities. Intrepid, vigilant and cautious, he was dreaded by his enemies; he never loſt a battle. Kind, generous and humane, he was beloved by his people; he laboured for their happineſs. He was an enemy to injuſtice; an implacable ſcourge to the ſons of rapine and violence. He was a friend to learning, and encouraged it to the utmoſt of his power; perſons of merit were ſure to meet with protection and encouragement at his court. His people revered his virtues while he lived, and watered his grave with the tears of affection.

# ATHELSTAN.

A. D. 925. ATHELSTAN ſucceeded his father in the throne, by the unanimous voice of the people. A conſpiracy was, however, formed to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand, before he was fixed in the ſeat of power. Alfred, a nobleman of conſiderable authority, was at the head of this faction. But before the deſign was ripe for execution, the ſecret was diſcovered, and Alfred ſent to priſon. Strong ſuſpicions of guilt only appeared againſt the incendiary; no direct proof could be produced. Alfred reſolutely denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by an oath before the pope. In theſe times of ſuperſtitious bigotry it was thought, that ſuch a perjury could not eſcape the vengeance of heaven: the offer was therefore accepted, Alfred repaired to Rome, and the oath was adminiſtered by John X. who then filled the papal chair; but Alfred was immediately ſeized with violent convulſions, and in a few days after expired in the greateſt agonies. Whatever might be the cauſe of this tragical event, which bears a very ſuſpicious aſpect, the conſpirator was conſidered as guilty; Athelſtan confiſcated his eſtate, and gave it to the monaſtery of Malmſbury.

But the danger of the conſpiracy of Alfred did not terminate with his death. Perſuaded that a ſtrong party was formed againſt Athelſtan, the Danes of Northumberland revolted: they hoped to be joined by a powerful faction, and enabled to regain their independence. They penetrated as far as the city of York. Their army was led by their two chiefs Sithric and Inguald; and for ſome time ſucceſs followed their ſtandards. But Athelſtan marched with ſuch expedition, that the inſurgents were ſurprized, and Sithric was obliged to ſue for peace, which was

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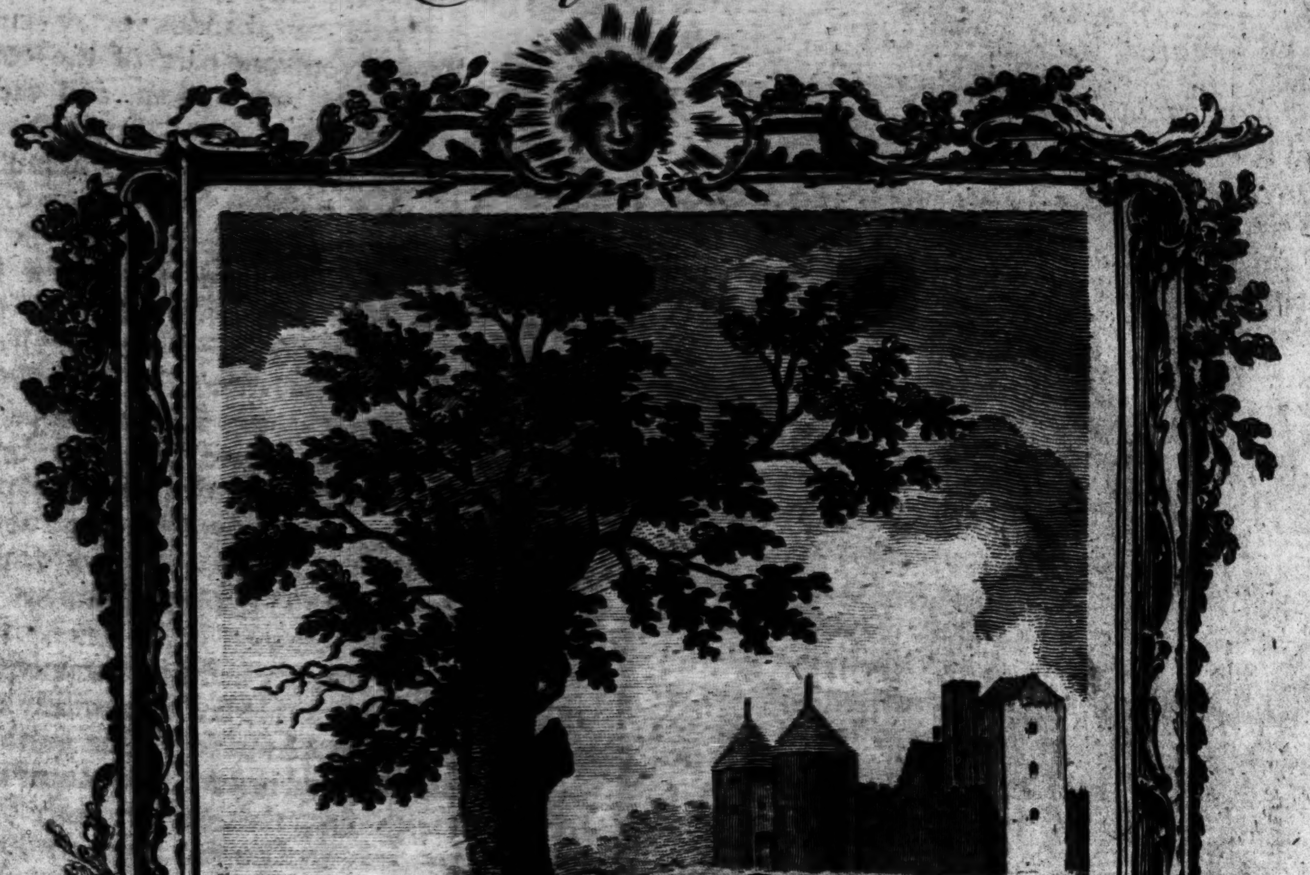

Wale del. Walker sculp.

*Athelstan Saves his Father's Life by taking* **LEOFRID** *the Dane* **PRISONER.**

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granted. Athelſtan, who perceived that it would be impoſſible to eſtabliſh a laſting peace with the Danes in Northumberland, imagined, that by attaching Sithric firmly to his intereſt, an union might be effected between the two people. He therefore made Sithric king of Northumberland, and gave him his ſiſter Edgitha in marriage. This political ſtratagem might poſſibly have been attended with very happy effects, had not an unforeſeen event rendered the ſcheme abortive. Sithric unfortunately died a few months after his acceſſion to the throne, before the projected union could take place.

A. D. 926. Two of his ſons, whom he had by a former marriage, thought themſelves entitled to the ſeat of their father, and took poſſeſſion of the throne, without waiting for the conſent of Athelſtan, who reſented the inſult offered him, and drove them from the kingdom. One of theſe princes eſcaped into Scotland, and took refuge in the court of Conſtantine, who then filled the Scottiſh throne. Athelſtan demanded the fugitive; which being refuſed, he marched a ſtrong army into Scotland, and reduced the kingdom to ſuch diſtreſs, that, in order to preſerve his crown, Conſtantine was obliged to make the moſt humble ſubmiſſions. It is generally ſaid, that Conſtantine did homage to Athelſtan for his dominions; but this is diſputed.

A. D. 934. Ambitious of recovering the honour he had loſt, Conſtantine joined in a confederacy with Anlaff, a Daniſh prince ſettled in Ireland; and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, in order to attack Athelſtan, and reduce his power to narrower bounds. Owen accordingly marched, at the head of his Britons, to join Conſtantine; and Anlaff came from Ireland with a numerous army, in a fleet of two hundred and ſixteen ſail of large ſhips. The forces of Anlaff were landed on the north ſide of the Humber, and marched immediately to join the allies. It was ſome time before Athelſtan could raiſe an army ſufficiently powerful to chaſtiſe the invaders of his country; and, during the interval, the troops of the enemy committed many diſorders in Northumberland: they even imagined that Athelſtan did not dare to meet them in the open field; and this opinion rendered them inſolent and careleſs. But they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken; Athelſtan appeared, and a deciſive battle became inevitable.

For ſome days the two armies continued quiet in their camps; no acts of hoſtility paſſed between them. During this interval of inaction, Anlaff formed a deſign of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating Athelſtan in his tent. He accordingly entered the Engliſh camp in the dreſs of a harper, and was well received by the ſoldiers. At laſt he was introduced to Athelſtan, who was ſo delighted with his muſic, that he rewarded him nobly. A ſoldier, who had formerly ſerved under Anlaff, had ſome ſuſpicion that it was his old general concealed in this diſguiſe, and determined to obſerve all his actions. Anlaff, who ſcorned to carry away the reward he had received from Athelſtan, was no ſooner beyond the limits of the Engliſh camp, than he cut a hole in the ground, and hid the money. The ſoldier was now convinced that it was Anlaff, and immediately informed Athelſtan of the diſcovery. The king, ſuſpecting ſome treacherous deſign, ordered his tent to be removed; and the ſpot being left vacant, was occupied by a biſhop, who had that evening joined Athelſtan with a reinforcement of troops. Every thing continued quiet till midnight, when Anlaff, at the head of a choſen body of troops, broke into the Engliſh camp, repaired immediately to the ſpot where he had obſerved the king's tent, and ſlew the biſhop, with all his followers. This action gave the alarm, and Anlaff eſcaped, with difficulty, to the allied army.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, the Engliſh attacked the enemy; and the action ſoon became general. The victory was, for ſome time, doubtful, but at laſt declared for the Engliſh. The allies were driven from the field of battle with prodigious ſlaughter; and the few that eſcaped, ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. Anlaff and Owen, with a ſmall number of their followers, reached their ſhips with the utmoſt difficulty. Conſtantine was wounded, and taken priſoner: But unable to recover his ſpirits after this defeat, or determined not to do homage for his dominions, he reſigned his crown, and retired into a convent.

A. D. 941. Athelſtan now reſted from the toils of war, and applied himſelf to a taſk more agreeable to his nature, the cultivation of the arts of peace. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to promote the happineſs of his people, and render it laſting. But while he was labouring for the good of his country, he paid the debt of nature, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign.

Athelſtan was one of the greateſt princes among the Saxons. His valour and affability were equally great, and equally admired. Though ſucceſsful in war, he was naturally a lover of peace. He was at once intrepid, prudent, beneficent, and religious. He was learned himſelf, and a generous friend to the learned; reſpected by his enemies; and beloved by his friends. Convinced that commerce is the true ſource of riches, he encouraged it to the utmoſt of his power. He enacted a law, by which every merchant, who had made three long voyages to the Mediterranean, on his own account, was advanced to the rank of nobility. The ſame honour was conferred on a farmer who had acquired, by his own induſtry, five hides of land, and who poſſeſſed a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell. His deſire of ſpreading the knowledge of the goſpel among his ſubjects, ſhould be mentioned with honour. He cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon language, that every perſon might enjoy the advantage of being acquainted with the ſacred writings.

# EDMUND I.

A. D. 941. EDMUND was not eighteen years of age when he aſcended the throne, on the death of Athelſtan his brother; but had given ſo many proofs of his valour againſt the enemies of his country, that the greateſt expectations were juſtly conceived of his reign.

The Danes, however, conſidered his youth as a favourable circumſtance, and that an opportunity now offered for recovering their independence, and placing one of their own countrymen on the throne of Northumberland. They conſidered Anlaff as a perſon well qualified for leading their armies, and ſupporting himſelf againſt the whole power of Edmund. Meſſengers were accordingly diſpatched to Ireland; and Anlaff, pleaſed with an opportunity of wiping out the ſtain of his late defeat, readily embraced the offer. But not thinking his own army ſufficient to oppoſe Edmund, he formed an alliance with Olaus, king of Norway, and received from that prince a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips and men. With this additional force he invaded Northumberland; and the Danes, who were governed by the ſpirit of revolt, joined his ſtandards. He found means to carry on a ſecret correſpondence with the principal inhabitants of York, and was admitted into that city on his firſt appearance. Many towns opened their gates to the invaders; and others were eaſily reduced; ſo that Anlaff was ſoon in poſſeſſion of the chief places in Northumberland. But his ambition increaſed with his acquiſitions; the crown he came to receive was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the deſires of Anlaff. He advanced into Mercia, at the head of his army, and was very favourably received by his countrymen, who joined his ſtandards, and aſſiſted him to reduce ſeveral places that had been wreſted from that kingdom by Edward.

The inſolence of Anlaff fired young Edmund with a deſire of revenging the inſults offered to his country. He aſſembled his army with the utmoſt expedition, and marched immediately againſt the enemy. The two armies met at Cheſter, where a very obſtinate battle enſued, and continued till night put an end to the conteſt. The victory ſtill continued doubtful: neither appearing to have gained any advantage over the other. Both armies encamped upon the field of battle, in order to renew the fight as ſoon as the morning appeared. But Odo and Wulſtan, archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, laboured the whole night to put a ſtop to the further effuſion of human blood, and had the good fortune to ſucceed. A peace was concluded, by which all the country north of Watling-ſtreet was ceded to Anlaff, who now ſat down on the throne of Northumberland without oppoſition.

A. D. 943. The Danes ſoon perceived they were ſtrangers to their own intereſt, when they called Anlaff to the throne. He had agreed to pay Olaus, king of Norway, a very conſiderable ſum for his aſſiſtance, and ſoon after he received the ſceptre, laid a very heavy tax on his ſubjects to fulfil his engagements. The impoveriſhed ſtate of the country rendered this impoſt doubly ſevere. They complained, but obtained no redreſs: Anlaff was inexorable. The natural conſequences followed: the affections of the people were alienated from their king; they conſidered him as an uſurper whom they had invited to the throne. The inhabitants of Deïra went ſtill farther: they ſent for Reinald, the nephew of Anlaff, from Ireland, and crowned him at York. Anarchy ſucceeded unanimity: the kingdom was divided into parties, and each endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own power on the ruin of others.

A. D. 944. A favourable opportunity now offered to reduce the inſurgents, and Edmund was careful to embrace it. He made preparations for invading Northumberland, but carried them on in ſo ſecret a manner, that the Danes never ſuſpected that their country would ſoon become a ſcene of war and deſolation. They were wholly employed in haraſſing one another, when Edmund entered Northumberland, and laid it waſte with fire and ſword. The Danes were confounded: they had made no preparations for a defence, and were therefore obliged to ſubmit to the clemency of the Engliſh monarch. The ſoul of Edmund was too generous to inſult a fallen enemy. He even permitted each of them to wear the crown they had received from the people, but inſiſted on their embracing the chriſtian religion. The Daniſh princes made no difficulty of complying with the terms of the treaty. It was no uncommon thing for them to be pagans or chriſtians, as they were induced by circumſtances or conjunctures: they were always ſwayed by intereſt: they were too ignorant to comprehend, and too ferocious to embrace the tenets of the goſpel.

A. D. 945. The Cumbrian Britons having aſſiſted the Northumbrians in their late revolt, Edmund marched into their country at the head of his army; drove their prince from the throne, and beſtowed his dominions on Malcolm, king of Scotland; who undertook the defence of the northern border, and did homage to Edmund, as lord paramount of the ſoil.

A. D. 946. The ſucceſs of Edmund reſtored the tranquillity of England. Diſappointments and misfortunes had taught the Danes that oppoſition only accumulated diſtreſs; and that there was no other method of acquiring happineſs, than that of ſubmitting quietly to the government. The Engliſh, freed from the ravages of the ferocious Danes, applied themſelves to cultivate the arts of peace. They were happy under the government of a prince, whoſe valour had reduced their enemies to ſubjection, and whoſe generoſity and humane government, encouraged them to improve the advantages that reſulted from the tranquillity of their country. But while they were pleaſing themſelves with the hopes of enjoying, for a long interval of time, the bleſſings of uninterrupted happineſs, a tragical event blaſted all their hopes, and put a final period to all their expectations. While the king was celebrating the feaſt of St. Auguſtine in the church of Puckle in Glouceſterſhire, he obſerved at one of the tables a notorious robber called Leoff, whom he himſelf had baniſhed for his crimes. Provoked at his inſolence, he commanded the ſteward to apprehend the villain. But Leoff being too ſtrong for the officer, refuſed to quit the place. Exaſperated at ſeeing his orders diſobeyed even in his preſence, Edmund leaped from his ſeat, ſeized Leoff by the hair and threw him on the floor. Perceiving his death inevitable, the villain drew a dagger, and plunged it into the monarch's breaſt. Death followed the wound, and Edmund fell by the ignoble hand of a robber. His nobles, exaſperated to madneſs, fell upon the regicide and cut him to pieces with their ſwords.

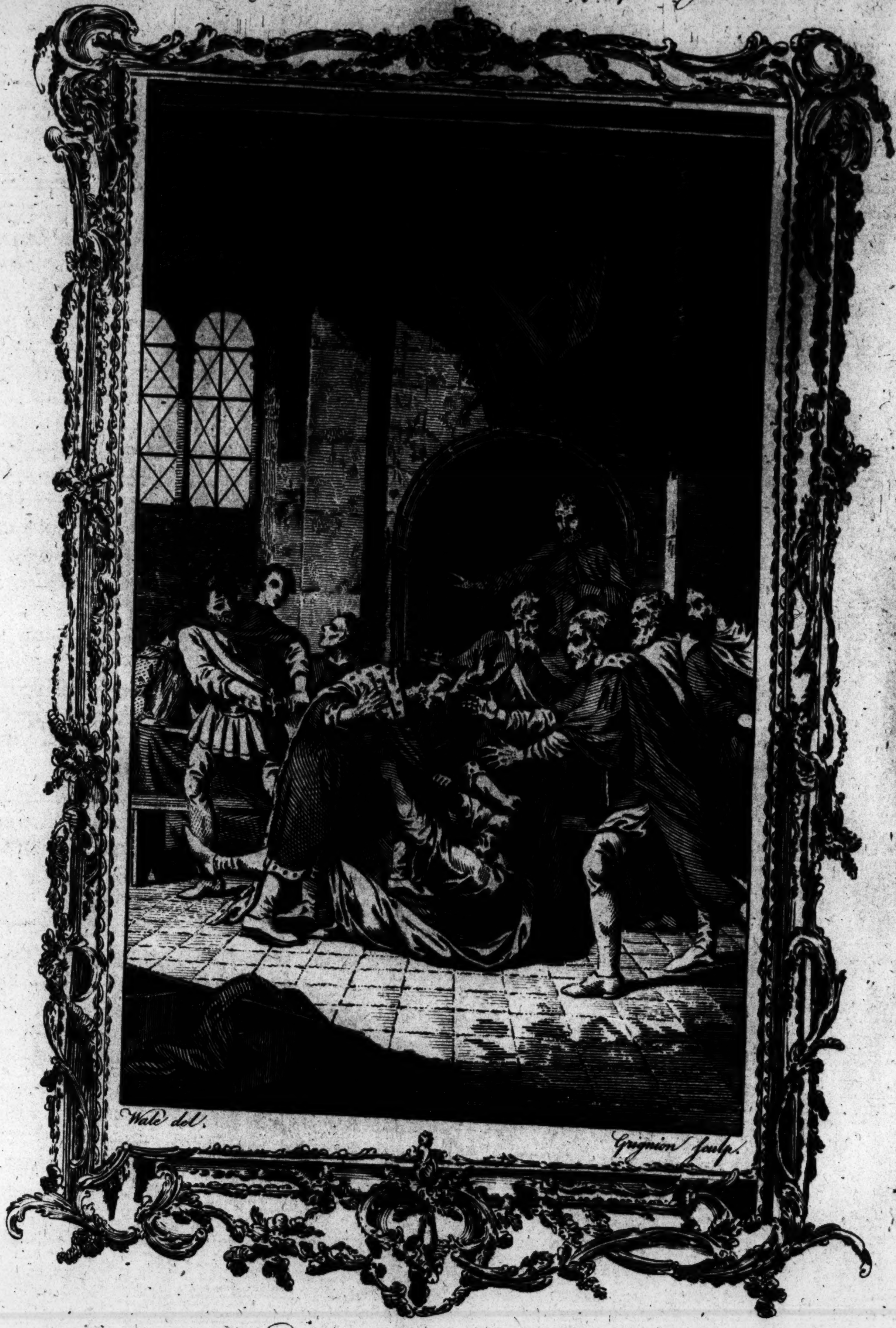
The youth of this prince, and the ſhort time he ſat upon the throne, render it impoſſible to draw his character with juſtice and with truth. Too young to diſplay the talents which time would have unfolded, it can only be obſerved, that the imperfect ſpecimens he gave of his prudence ſeemed to indicate that he would have caſt no diſhonourable ſhade on the illuſtrious virtues of his father. Equally valiant with his immediate predeceſſors, he reduced the enemies of his country to obedience; he huſhed the jarring paſſions of different people into peace. His victories in the field are irrefragable proofs of his courage; the pains he took to render his people happy are demonſtrations of his humanity.

# EDRED.

A. D. 946. EDMUND left two ſons, but being both infants, and therefore incapable of holding the reins of government with that ſteadineſs which the complexion of the times rendered neceſſary, they were ſet aſide, and Edred, brother to the deceaſed monarch, placed upon the throne.

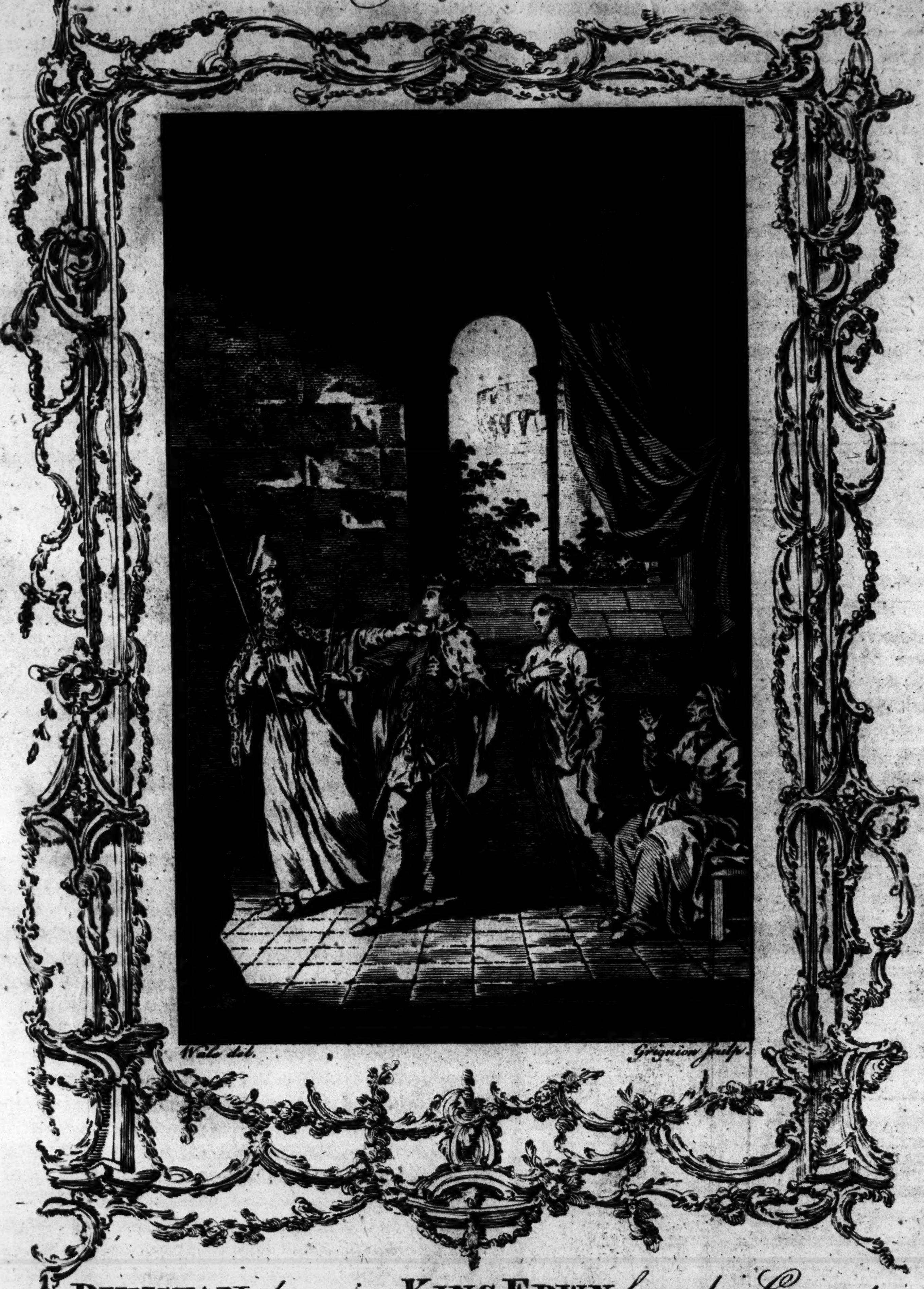
A change of government was a ſignal of rebellion to the Northumberland Danes. They renounced their allegiance on the death of Edmund, and flew to arms to defend their independence. Edred, who was no ſtranger to their turbulent diſpoſitions, marched immediately into Northumberland, and waſted the country with fire and ſword. Terrified at the progreſs of the Engliſh army, the Danes had recourſe to their uſual method of negotiation: they ſued for peace in the moſt abject manner. Edred granted their requeſt; but to prevent any inſurrections for the future, he placed garriſons in all the fortreſſes of ſtrength, under an able governor, who was charged to watch the motions of the reſtleſs Danes, with the greateſt circumſpection.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

**EDMUND I** *Stabbed by* **LEOLF** *the Robber.*

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

**DUNSTAN** *dragging* **KING EDWY** *from his Consort*
**QUEEN ETHELGIVA** *on his Coronation Day.*

A. D. 953. Peace being thus reſtored, Edred applied himſelf to exerciſes more agreeable to his inclinations than thoſe of war. Religion, or rather ſuperſtition, formed the chief feature in the character of Edred; and Dunſtan, the famous abbot of Glaſtonbury, was his adviſer, his director, and, in reality, the ſole governor of the kingdom. Dunſtan was one of thoſe bold and enterprizing men, whom pity cannot ſoften, and whoſe ſtubborn prejudices frequently interrupt the tranquillity of nations. He had no merits but thoſe of a churchman; as an Engliſhman, they were execrable. He was zealous without diſcretion; artful without wiſdom; profuſe without elegance; and open without ſincerity. The ſuperſtitious monarch was, however, deceived; he even ſubmitted to receive corporal puniſhment from his hands. The great object Dunſtan had in view, and which he purſued with the moſt unwearied diligence, was the celibacy of the clergy, which he was deſirous of extending over the whole kingdom; and, to effect this, he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice the lives of the innocent, or the peace and harmony of his country. Before this period, the monks in England lived without any other reſtraint than that of virtue; they were even at liberty to marry. The kingdom was full of prieſts and monks, who lived publickly with their wives. Celibacy was little known in England; the rule of St. Benedict principally prevailed. The new monks, under the patronage of Dunſtan, attracted the veneration of the people by the auſterity of their lives: they declaimed with warmth againſt the ſecular clergy, whoſe lives were immoral and offenſive. Provoked at this attack, and more at the loſs of their benefices, of which they were deprived to make way for the preferment of the new monks, the ſecular clergy inveighed againſt them in the moſt violent manner; their harangues were plentifully ſeaſoned with invective and abuſe. Theſe diſputes diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom; they excited very alarming commotions among a ſuperſtitious and bigotted people.

A. D. 955. But heaven thought proper to ſtop, for a ſeaſon, this unchriſtian contention. Edred was ſeized with a quinſey, and expired on the twenty-third of November, in the tenth year of his reign; lamented by Dunſtan and his monks, who loſt a powerful friend, and a generous benefactor.

The flatteries of the monks, and the ſervile applauſes of a deluded multitude, have given a falſe luſtre to the character of Edred. His valour was unqueſtionable; his virtue was never impeached. But ſuperſtition, the parent of miſery and diſorder, blaſted his fame, and tarniſhed his reputation. He diſcarded his reaſon, to follow the dictates of a blind enthuſiaſm; and expoſed his people to contentions and diſtreſs, to indulge the caprice of a blind and headſtrong zeal.

# E D W Y.

A. D. 955. EDWY, who aſcended the throne on the death of his brother Edred, was not above ſeventeen years of age when he was placed in the ſeat of power by the unanimous ſuffrages of the people. His ſoul was very ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions; and the charms of Ethelgiva, a beautiful princeſs of the royal blood, had made a ſtrong impreſſion on his heart. She was related to him in the third or fourth degree; but his paſſion was too ſtrong to ſubmit to the eccleſiaſtical rules of conſanguinity; he married the princeſs without publiſhing his nuptials. Edwy did not tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor; he was no ſlave to ſuperſtition. He had a piercing genius of his own, and dared to follow the dictates of his reaſon. Dunſtan ſaw that he ſhould no longer be truſted with the rod of power, and declaimed violently againſt the vices of Edwy. The whole fraternity of monks joined their leader, and concerted the diſgrace of the monarch. An opportunity ſoon offered for putting their ſcheme in execution. On the day of his coronation, Edwy, fatigued with the tedious ceremony, and willing to avoid the exceſſive drinking then univerſally practiſed, retired from table to the apartment of Ethelgiva. The nobles looking upon the abſence of their king as an affront offered to themſelves, complained of the inſult. Dunſtan ſaw their diſguſt with a ſecret ſatisfaction, and ſtarting from his ſeat, ruſhed into the apartment of Ethelgiva, reproached the king for his behaviour in the harſheſt terms, and dragged him forcibly back to the company of the nobles.

Exaſperated at this outrage of the inſolent monk, Edwy determined to reſtrain his power, and convince him, that a polite behaviour at leaſt is due to a monarch of England. His friends, who hated Dunſtan, cheriſhed the flames of reſentment, and made uſe of every method in their power to inſtigate Edwy to revenge. The prince accordingly called upon Dunſtan to render an account of his adminiſtration of the treaſury during the reign of Edred; Dunſtan refuſed to comply; upon which he was declared guilty of malverſation in his office, and baniſhed the kingdom.

This exertion of the royal authority rouſed the attention of the whole clergy. Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of the moſt virulent fanatics of the age, ſuſpecting that the reſentment of Ethelgiva had been the principal cauſe of Dunſtan's baniſhment, determined to take a ſevere revenge on that innocent princeſs. His ſoul was a ſtranger to compaſſion; he cheriſhed not the virtue of humanity. He ſent into the royal palace a company of ſoldiers, who, with more than brutal violence, dragged the fair Ethelgiva from the arms of her royal conſort, branded her face with a red-hot iron, and conveyed her into Ireland. Happily for Odo, and unfortunately for his country, the blind ſuperſtition of the times ſupported his inſolence. The monks had filled the minds of the people with a falſe, ridiculous terror; they pretended that chriſtianity itſelf muſt ſtand or fall with their order; they conſtrued the juſt reſentment of offended majeſty into an act of the higheſt impiety; they repreſented Dunſtan as one of the vicegerents of heaven, and his baniſhment as a prelude to the total deſtruction of the religion of the goſpel.

Exaſperated at the inſolence and barbarity of Odo, and afraid of his power, Edwy turned all his rage againſt the monks, whom he baniſhed from the kingdom. Had he purſued the blow, and drove Odo alſo out of the iſland; had he employed the ſame reſolution in ſecuring his throne, as in vindicating his honour; the wreath of royalty would, probably, have flouriſhed on his brow, and an interval of tranquillity ſucceeded the clamours of diſappointed bigotry. But the popularity of Odo intimidated Edwy: he ſuffered the inſolent prelate to enjoy his power unmoleſted, and loſt his crown by the very method he took to preſerve it.

A. D. 957. There is no difficulty in arming a ſuperſtitious people againſt their prince, when they are perſuaded he is an enemy to religion. The virulence of diſappointed malice had blackened the character of Edwy; he was conſidered as a monſter of impiety, whoſe actions cried to heaven for vengeance. The inhabitants of Mercia and Northumberland flew to arms; placed Edgar, a younger brother of Edwy, at their head, and proceeded to acts of violence. Dunſtan was recalled from baniſhment, and Edgar put himſelf wholly under his direction. The ſtandard of rebellion was changed into the ſtandard of religion, by the ſanction of a miracle. It was aſſerted that a voice was heard from heaven, commanding the nobles to ſet the crown on Edgar's head. Edwy was abandoned by all his ſubjects, except the Weſt Saxons, and finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent of oppoſition, ſhut himſelf up in the city of Glouceſter. About this time the lovely Ethelgiva, having been cured of her wounds, was returning from Ireland to enjoy once more the happineſs of her huſband's company. But the heart of Odo was ſteeled againſt the ſoft pleadings of compaſſion: his emiſſaries intercepted her in her journey, and Ethelgiva fell a victim to the fury of unrelenting bigotry.

The civil war ſtill raged with unrelenting violence, till at laſt both parties, ſatiated with blood and ſlaughter, and perhaps feeling ſome compaſſion for the miſeries of their country, agreed to terminate their quarrel by a treaty of peace; by which Edgar was permitted to enjoy all his conqueſts, with the title of king; and Edwy obliged to content himſelf with the kingdom of Weſſex. Odo paid the debt of nature during theſe unhappy diviſions: he died without ſeeing the triumph of the monks over the ſecular clergy. Dunſtan was promoted to the biſhopric of Worceſter, to that of London, and to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury. The conſcientious monk ſcrupled not to enjoy all theſe three benefices at the ſame time.

A. D. 959. Robbed of his amiable Ethelgiva, ſtripped of his kingdom by an unnatural uſurpation, and conſidered by his ſubjects as a monſter of impiety, Edwy became a prey to melancholy. He had loſt every thing that was dear to him, and life itſelf became a burden. He pined in ſecret, and at laſt paid the debt of nature; but not without ſome ſuſpicions of treachery. Several monks have related, that his ſoul having been carried into hell, one of thoſe malignant ſpirits flew immediately to Dunſtan with the news; but that the ſaint, inſtead of giving himſelf up to a cruel joy, prayed ſo fervently for the deceaſed, that the deity granted his ſalvation. Very little confidence ſurely can be placed in the veracity of writers, who ſcruple not to propagate ſuch abſurd relations.

The characters of few princes have ſuffered more from monkiſh malevolence than that of Edwy. They have loaded him with almoſt every vice, though they have not been able to bring a ſingle inſtance to ſupport the calumny. His ſeverity to Dunſtan has been repreſented as a crime of the deepeſt dye; a crime againſt the majeſty of heaven. But ſurely the inſolence of that reforming monk deſerved a ſeverer chaſtiſement. Whatever power the harangues of pretended ſanctity might, in that age of ſuperſtitious bigotry, have over the minds of an ignorant people, they have long ſince loſt their force. Reaſon has reſumed her throne, and ſtripped hypocriſy of the flimſy robe woven by the hand of monkiſh ſubterfuge to conceal her deformity; and expoſed to the deteſtation of the humane and the virtuous, the deteſtable vices that ſo long lurked under the cloak of religion. It is not, however, intended to repreſent the character of Edwy as perfect. Frailties form one of the characteriſtics of humanity. A prince abſolutely faultleſs muſt be more than man. His youth, however, may be urged as an apology for all his failings. Had he, like his predeceſſors, ſubmitted to the government of Dunſtan, all his faults had been forgotten, and his virtues diſplayed with all the powers of monkiſh eloquence.

# EDGAR.

A. D. 959. COULD any excuſe be offered for rebellion, the merits of Edgar would have exculpated the inſurgents. Deſirous of cultivating the arts of peace, he took the moſt prudent methods to ſecure tranquillity. He was too well acquainted with the turbulent diſpoſition of the Northumbrian Danes to truſt them with any power. He divided their country into two governments, and ſtationed a ſtrong body of troops on the northern borders, that they might be always at hand to ſtop the inroads of an enemy, and quell any inſurrection that might happen among the reſtleſs inhabitants.

But what rendered him far more formidable, and will tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity, was his powerful navy, which was far ſuperior to any thing enjoyed by his predeceſſors. His fleet was ſuperior to all the marine forces in Europe. Authors are not agreed with regard to the number of his ſhips: Malmſbury ſays, that his navy conſiſted of no leſs than four thouſand eight hundred veſſels; others, that their number was not more than three thouſand ſix hundred. But however that be, this powerful navy was divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt was conſtantly ſtationed on the eaſtern, the ſecond on the weſtern, and the third on the northern coaſts of the kingdom.

Nor did he ſuffer this powerful navy to be idle and rotting in different harbours; he kept them cruiſing during the ſummer months, and always in readineſs to attack an enemy on his firſt appearance. He himſelf ſailed round the iſland conſtantly once a year. His cuſtom was to go on board the eaſtern ſquadron immediately after Eaſter, and ſailing to the weſtward ſcoured all the channel from the mouth of the Thames to the Land's-End in Cornwall. This being the limit of their cruiſe, he went on board the weſtern fleet, and ſtanding to the northward he looked into every bay and creek, on the Engliſh and Scottiſh coaſts, and alſo of Ireland and the Hebrides. Then going on board the northern ſquadron he viſited all the harbours in that quarter, and landed at the mouth of the Thames. Theſe and other regulations conceived with prudence and executed with vigour, preſerved his own ſubjects in a due ſubordination, and rendered him the terror of his enemies. But the favour he ſhewed the monks was the moſt powerful method he employed to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. It is not, however, eaſy to determine, whether theſe indulgences flowed from his inclination, his gratitude, or his policy. This, however, is certain, that Dunſtan and two other biſhops, who were equally devoted to him, were conſulted in all the affairs of government; they may even be ſaid to have directed every meaſure of importance. The ſecular clergy were ignominiouſly expelled from the monaſteries, and their places filled with Benedictine monks, who were equally zealous in promoting the intereſts of their own order, and in expoſing the vices, and loading with obloquy the members of other religious eſtabliſhments. They were ſupported by the hand of power, and all arguments urged againſt them were in vain. Edgar convened a general council of the eccleſiaſtics of his kingdom, and pronounced in that aſſembly a long diſcourſe againſt the ſecular clergy. He painted their vices in the moſt glaring and odious colours. This ſpeech, which was then conſidered as a maſter-piece of eloquence, is deeply tinctured with the ſpirit of the times. Among a multitude of grave accuſations, there occurs a ridiculous charge againſt the ſecular clergy, on account of the ſmallneſs of their treaſure, which in that ſuperſtitious age, was conſidered as an accuſation of no ſmall importance.

This harangue procured him the moſt unbounded adulation of the monks. But their endeavours to change crimes into virtues have now loſt their force; their eulogiums are obnoxious to ſuſpicion, and their panegyrics to ridicule.

Edgar was remarkable for the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. The virtue of no lady was ſafe, if celebrated for her beauty. Even the ſacred receſſes of devotion were not ſufficient to protect innocence, nor ſeclude from the amorous monarch the votaries to religion. He carried off and raviſhed a nun, though oppoſed by the whole convent. Dunſtan, indeed, reproached him for this attrocious crime, but no other puniſhment was inflicted on him, than a prohibition from wearing his crown during ſeven years. Edwy, who had not been half ſo criminal, was deprived of his ſceptre. But Edwy oppoſed, and Edgar ſupported Dunſtan.

A. D. 961. But, among all the amorous adventures of Edgar, that by which he obtained the beautiful Elfrida is the moſt ſingular, and therefore muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Elfrida was the daughter and heireſs to Ordgar, earl of Devon, one of the firſt and richeſt noblemen in the kingdom. Deſirous of fixing in her mind the principles of virtue, Ordgar cauſed his daughter to be educated privately in the country; but the fame of her beauty could not be confined; it filled the whole kingdom. Edgar often heard the praiſes of Elfrida, and conceived a deſign of making her his partner in the throne. But, deſirous of knowing whether her charms were really equal to the portrait delineated by fame, Edgar diſpatched Athelwold, his favourite and firſt miniſter, into Devonſhire, with directions to pay a viſit to her father, in order to obtain a ſight of Elfrida, and bring him a certain account of her beauty. Athelwold himſelf was young, and very ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions; ſo that the charms of Elfrida ſtifled in his breaſt every ſentiment of duty, and inſpired him with a reſolution of attempting to gain her for himſelf. He returned to Edgar, and made a falſe report of the charms of Elfrida: he repreſented her as a perſon of ordinary beauty; and convinced Edgar, that ſhe was not an object proper for his affections. He, however, artfully inſinuated, that though ſhe was unworthy to be the conſort of a king, ſhe would be an advantageous match for a ſubject; and that the vaſt eſtate of her father would be to him a ſufficient compenſation for the want of beauty in her perſon. Edgar readily gave his conſent, and Ethelwold, ſoon after, married Elfrida. Conſcious of the danger that muſt attend him, ſhould Edgar diſcover the treacherous part he had acted, Athelwold took every precaution in his power to conceal the beautiful Elfrida from obſervation. But his perfidy was not long concealed. Edgar, either by chance, or the information of ſome enemy to Athelwold, was informed of the whole tranſaction. Exaſperated at the treachery of his favourite, Edgar determined to take a ſevere revenge; but, in order to render the blow more certain, he diſſembled his rage, and told Ethelwold, in a very careleſs manner, that he intended to hunt in the neighbourhood of his ſeat, and propoſed to pay him a viſit. The favourite, alarmed at the king's deſign, and being incapable of making any plauſible excuſe to elude the royal viſit, ſet out a few hours before the king, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations. On his arrival, he diſcovered the whole to Elfrida, conjuring her to uſe her utmoſt addreſs to conceal from the amorous monarch thoſe charms which nature had ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon her, leſt they ſhould prove the deſtruction of their domeſtic peace. But his requeſt was made to a woman conſcious of the power of beauty, and enflamed with the ambition of ſeeing a monarch at her feet. Inſtead of purſuing the advice of her huſband, ſhe ſtudiouſly diſplayed all the graces of her perſon. Love and fury took poſſeſſion of the inſulted monarch's breaſt; but he concealed the gathering ſtorm from the eyes of his perfidious favourite. He carried him with him to hunt in the foreſt of Harewood, and ſtabbed him with his own hand. Elfrida, to expiate the guilt of being acceſſary to the murder of her huſband, erected a monaſtery on the ſpot where he was ſlain, and was, ſoon after, married to Edgar.

A. D. 974. But theſe ſallies of irregular paſſion did not divert the attention of Edgar from promoting the happineſs of his people. The whole kingdom had hitherto been infeſted with wolves, and Edgar nobly exerted his authority to extirpate that ravenous ſpecies of animals from the kingdom. But, on being cloſely purſued, they took ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales. Edgar, therefore, changed the tribute, which had been impoſed upon the Welſh princes, into an annual tax of three hundred heads of wolves. This produced the deſired effect; that creature, in a little time, was no longer to be found in any part of the kingdom.

The monks, who have given us the hiſtory of Edgar's reign, have ſhamefully neglected the chronology, in order to dreſs up every period of his government in the tinſel robe of flattery. The whole is rather a panegyric on his perſon and character, than a regular ſeries of his actions. It was, however, about this time, that Edgar gave an inſtance of his vanity, which it would have been no reproach to their endeavours to add a luſtre to his character, had his hiſtorians ſuffered it to glide down the current of time neglected and forgotten. Edgar ſummoned the tributary princes to attend him at Cheſter, and going on board his barge, they rowed him down the river Dee to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, while he himſelf ſat at the helm.

A. D. 975. The peaceable reign of Edgar now drew towards a cloſe. Few princes, in thoſe turbulent times, ever enjoyed a longer interval of tranquillity; indeed, few ever took ſuch prudent methods to obtain it. He was feared and reſpected by his enemies, from his acceſſion to the throne, till he paid the debt of nature, which happened in the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

It is no eaſy taſk to draw a juſt character of Edgar. The monks, not ſatisfied with diſplaying his virtues as a king, have been ambitious of making him paſs for a ſaint. But ſurely it is difficult to reconcile his actions and the diſſoluteneſs of his manners with the chriſtian perfections that conſtitute that character. If the enriching churches and monaſteries be conſidered as the greateſt virtues, Edgar may be juſtly conſidered as a ſaint. This was indeed the opinion in that age of ignorance and bigotry; and on that baſis the ſanctity of Edgar is founded. The ages of ſuperſtition are not the ſame with the ages of morality.

But though Edgar has no claim to the title conferred upon him by the pen of adulation, his political talents for government add a real luſtre to his character. Notwithſtanding his youth, he was a conſummate politician, a wiſe legiſlator, a patriot king. The prudent methods he purſued for preventing invaſions, do him the higheſt honour. His laws for the preſervation of civil happineſs are equally admirable. Ever attentive to the trade of his ſubjects, he regulated the coin of the kingdom, and took care that it ſhould be of a proper degree of fineneſs, in order to ſupport the credit of the nation in foreign markets. He alſo reduced the weights and meaſures to one ſtandard. In a word, he exerted himſelf ſo nobly to procure the happineſs of his people, and maintain the honour of his crown, that it were to be wiſhed his failings had been leſs, or that they had been for ever buried in the gulph of forgetfulneſs.

# EDWARD, ſurnamed THE MARTYR.

A. D. 975. DISCORD, and all the horrors of a civil war, threatened the nation on the death of Edgar. The great power of Dunſtan had alarmed the nobles, and they were now deſirous of preventing the mitre from giving laws to the crown. The ambitious Elfrida was no ſtranger to their ſentiments, and determined, if poſſible, to obtain for Ethelred, her own ſon, the ſceptre of his father, and exclude Edward from his birthright. She fanned the flame of ſuſpicion in the breaſts of the nobles, by placing the tyrannical deſigns of the monks in the moſt odious point of light. Succeſs at firſt attended the labours of Elfrida: the nobles were alarmed at their danger; the monks were driven from their benefices in many parts of the kingdom, and the ſecular clergy reſtored to their poſſeſſions. This ſucceſsful beginning encouraged Elfrida, whoſe credit increaſed in proportion as that of the monks declined. Some doubts had long ſubſiſted with regard to the former marriage of Edgar, and Elfrida loſt not the advantage: ſhe urged them, with all the force of female eloquence, as a ſufficient reaſon for ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion of Edward. Dunſtan ſaw his danger, and, by vigilance and activity, rendered the ſcheme of Elfrida abortive. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates, and met them in all the pomp of eccleſiaſtical greatneſs. He knew the power of Elfrida's party, and feared the majority would declare for Ethelred. No time was therefore given for debate: the archbiſhop, inſtead of explaining the intention of this general meeting, led Edward into the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſet the crown on his head. The members were aſtoniſhed at his arbitrary proceeding, but the great power of Dunſtan ſilenced every complaint. The reſentment of the people, who conſidered that prelate as a prophet, and one of the vicegerents of heaven, extorted a general conſent. Edward was placed upon the throne of his father.

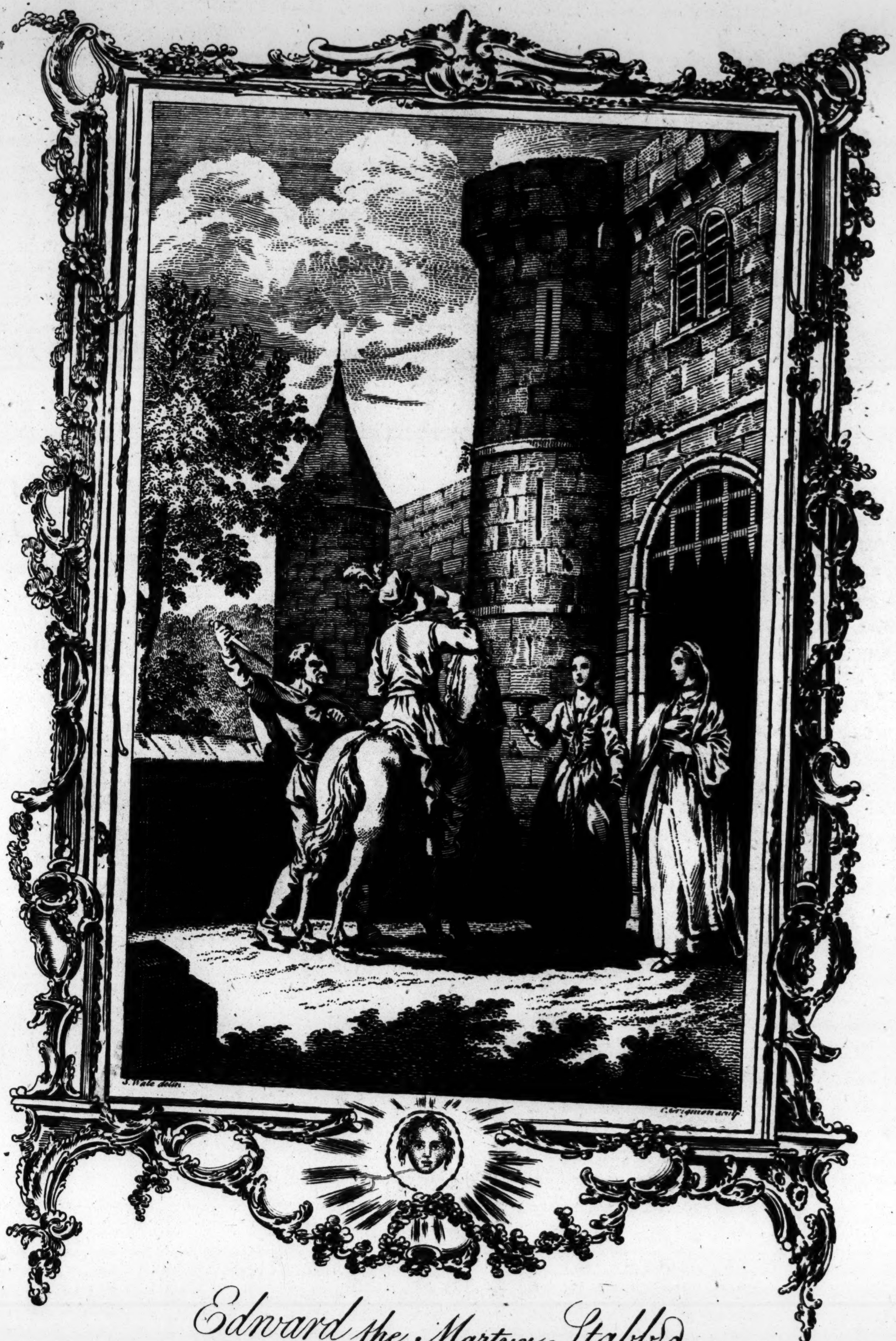
The reins of government fell into the hands of Dunſtan on the acceſſion of Edward, who was only fourteen years of age when he received, from the hands of that prelate, the ſceptre of Edgar. The ſecular clergy were now expoſed to all the fury of monkiſh reſentment. But as the declarations of a prince in his minority, and wholly at the devotion of Dunſtan, would carry the moſt glaring marks of ſuſpicion, recourſe was had to miracles and revelations in behalf of the monks. A general council was held at Wincheſter, where a voice iſſuing from a crucifix declared in favour of the order of St. Benedict. But this pretended miracle was performed in too blundering a manner to extort conviction; the monks only aſſerted it was real. Dunſtan was exaſperated at the obſtinacy of his opponents, and took care his next miracle ſhould be attended with more alarming conſequences. A general council was held at Calne, in Wiltſhire, where, before the major part of the members were arrived, Beornholm, an Iriſh biſhop celebrated for his learning, offered to undertake the defence of the ſecular clergy; but Dunſtan declined the conteſt, under pretence that he was old and infirm; adding, that it would be the higheſt degree of impiety to diſpute on a ſubject which had been determined by a miraculous voice from heaven. Beornholm conſidered this anſwer as a mere ſubterfuge, and determined to maintain his theſis before the whole aſſembly; but a dreadful cataſtrophe prevented his deſign. He had hardly begun the debate, before the floor of the room, in which the aſſembly was held, fell down, and great numbers were cruſhed to death; but the beam which ſupported the ſeat of Dunſtan, ſtood firm, and the prelate remained unhurt amidſt the general ſlaughter. Theſe pious frauds, conſidered as miracles in theſe times of ignorant bigotry, put an end to the conteſt. It was thought that the Deity had viſibly interpoſed in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, and no farther oppoſition was made to the ſcheme for extending it over the whole kingdom.

Soon after Edward's acceſſion to the throne, Elfrida retired, with her ſon, to Corf-caſtle, in Dorſetſhire. All animoſities between her and the reigning prince ſeemed to be entirely forgotten, and the former peace and harmony to be reſtored. On the part of Edward, this reconciliation was real; but Elfrida nurſed in ſecret the fury of revenge, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to execute her horrid deſign.

A. D. 978. Edward, who harboured no ſuſpicion of treachery, left his attendants in the adjacent foreſt, where he was hunting, in order to pay a viſit to his mother-in-law. He was received with all the external marks of affection by Elfrida; but while he was drinking a cup of wine, he was treacherouſly ſtabbed in the back by one of her ſervants, whom the ambitious Elfrida had prevailed upon to execute her horrid purpoſe. Edward, on receiving the wound, immediately ſet ſpurs to his horſe, to eſcape a ſecond blow, and reach his companions; but the ſtroke was mortal. He fainted with the loſs of blood, fell from his horſe, and one of his feet catching in the ſtirrup, he was dragged a conſiderable diſtance along the road, and expired. The ſervants of Elfrida followed Edward, took up the body, and threw it into a well, to conceal, if poſſible, the horrid murder. But their attempts were in vain; the body was found a few days after, and buried at Wareham. Elfrida, either ſtung with remorſe for the horrid crime ſhe had committed, or to prevent the effects of the ſtorm which threatened to overwhelm her, retired into one of the monaſteries ſhe erected to expiate her guilt, and paſſed the remainder of her days in penitence and obſcurity.

The ſmall time the unfortunate prince Edward filled the throne, his youth, and the few civil events that happened in his reign, render it impoſſible to draw his character. The monks, who were the only hiſtorians of theſe times, have repreſented him as a ſaint, but without giving any reaſons for conferring the appellation upon him. They have, however, furniſhed us with the only plauſible reaſon that can be given for his acquiring the ſurname of martyr. They tell us, that miracles were wrought at his tomb. The peculiar favour conferred by the Deity on the ancient martyrs, was, if we believe the monks, extended to Edward.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.


J. Wale delin.
C. Grignion sculp.

Edward the Martyr Stabb'd
by Order of his Step Mother ELFRIDA.

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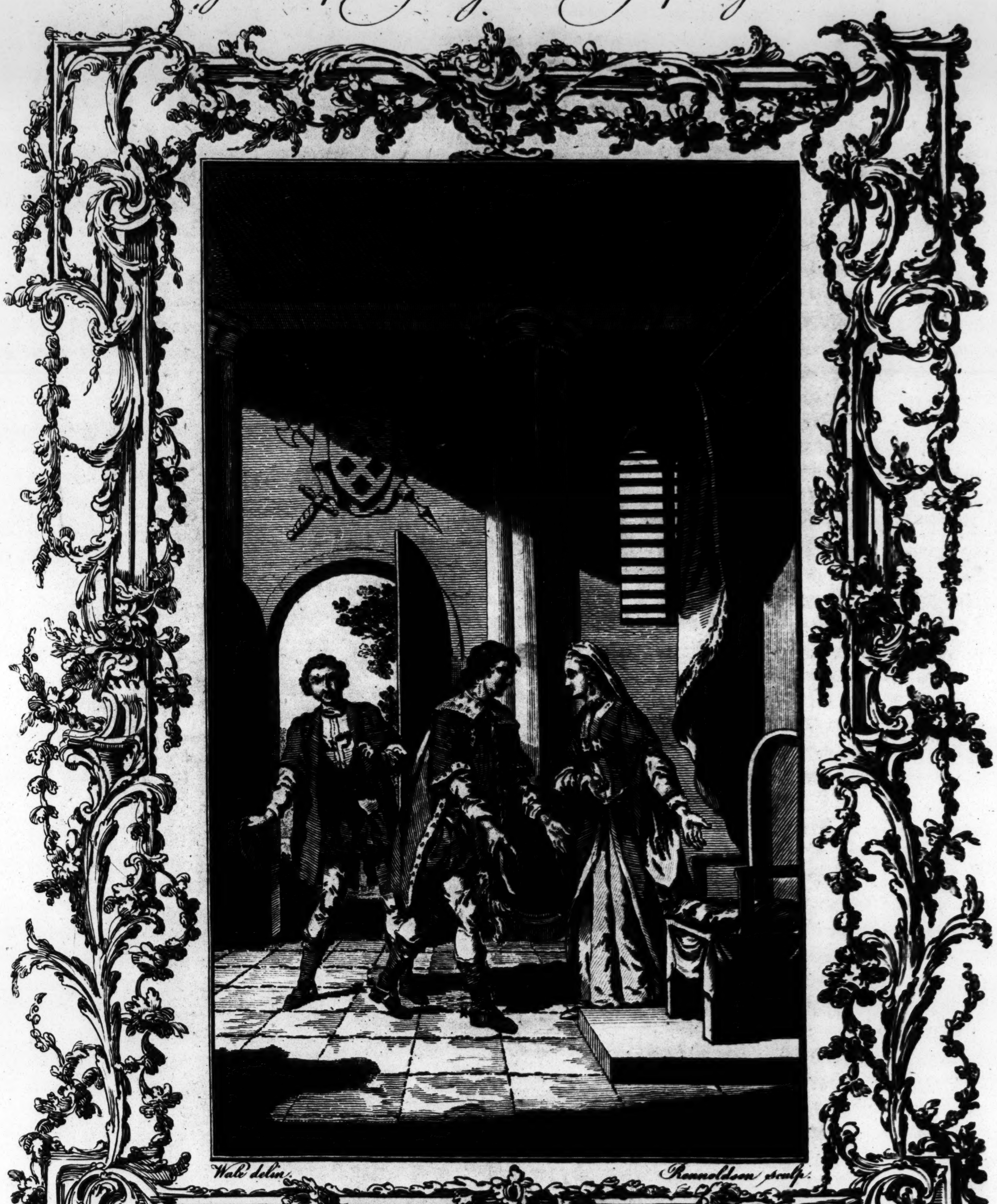

Wale delin. Rennoldson sculp.

*The first interview of* EDGAR *and* ELFRIDA

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# ETHELRED II.

A. D. 978. ETHELRED was now the lawful heir to the throne of England. The crime of Elfrida, which ſecluded her from the world, procured the ſcepte for her ſon. Dunſtan ſaw it would be in vain to oppoſe his acceſſion, and therefore anointed Ethelred, and placed the crown upon his head. He knew the diſpoſitions of Ethelred were never favourable to the monks, and ſuſpected that his own behaviour in the conteſt between him and his brother had not rendered them more propitious. But he hoped that time might efface the injury, and the ſanctity of the monks recommend them to his protection.

Ethelred was only in the twelfth year of his age, when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors. He was without experience, without learning, without knowledge. He had no capacity, no genius, no courage. His abilities were unequal to the taſk of governing a kingdom in the midſt of a profound peace, much leſs in times of danger and diſtreſs. The nation was rent into two factions, both courted the favour of Ethelred, and both endeavoured to blacken the character of each other. He wanted penetration to diſtinguiſh the careſſes of fidelity from thoſe of adulation, and became fluctuating and irreſolute: hence his whole conduct was a ſeries of timidity, indolence, perplexity and diſtruſt. The nobles had taken advantage of his brother's weakneſs, to render their power almoſt independent of the crown. The royal authority had, in a great meaſure, loſt its force, and the ſafety of the nation, which depended on the union of the nobility, was deſtroyed.

A. D. 987. The monks had more than once experienced that Ethelred was not a friend to their order. He beſieged the biſhop of Rocheſter in the capital of his own dioceſe; and the prelate was obliged to purchaſe his ſafety with a conſiderable ſum of money. But the oppoſition they met with from Ethelred, was only a prelude to their misfortunes; Dunſtan now paid the debt of nature, and left them expoſed to the malice of their enemies. A ſtrong conteſt enſued with regard to a perſon qualified to fill the ſee of Dunſtan. The monks were at laſt victorious, and Ethelgar, a monk of Glaſtonbury, was elected archbiſhop of Canterbury. He did not, however, long enjoy the archiepiſcopal dignity; and on his death, the ſee was occupied by Siricius, originally a monk of the ſame ſeminary. But he was not equal to Dunſtan either in abilities or affection for the monks.

Sixty years had elapſed ſince the kingdom had been deſolated by the ravages of the Danes. The navy of Edgar had ruined their fleets, and confined their pyratical cruiſes to the ſhores and harbours of the continent. But the feeble adminiſtration of Ethelred, and the deſtruction of the Engliſh ſhips, which had been ſuffered to rot in their harbours, encouraged that northern people to renew their ravages. They did not, however, attempt a general invaſion till by ſeveral previous trials they were aſſured of the weakneſs of the government. Having thus obtained ſufficient knowledge of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, Guthmund and Juſtin, two Daniſh generals, landed with a powerful army at Ipſwich in Suffolk. But neither the calamities of his country, nor the danger of loſing his crown, could rouſe Ethelred from the couch of indolence. Inſtead of taking the field in perſon, or endeavouring to excite the courage of his ſubjects, he liſtened to the timorous counſel of Siricius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and procured a reſpite from the horrors of devaſtation by a method calculated rather to ſtimulate their avarice, and augment their confidence of ſucceſs, than to procure a laſting peace to his ſubjects. He purchaſed the departure of the Danes, at the price of ten thouſand pounds. This infamous treaty was attended with the conſequences that muſt have been expected. The Danes employed the money they received from Ethelred in fitting out a more powerful fleet, not to ravage but to conquer the iſland.

A. D. 993. This formidable armament was commanded by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway. They ravaged Durham and Yorkſhire without oppoſition. At laſt the Engliſh army appeared, and the Danes would have paid dearly for their plunder, had not three of their leaders, all of Daniſh extraction, betrayed the cauſe they had undertaken to defend. They baſely went over to the enemy, and left their troops to be cut to pieces by the ſwords of the barbarians. Fluſhed with ſucceſs, and animated with avarice, the Danes advanced againſt London, but the citizens oppoſed the enemy with ſo much ſpirit and reſolution, that the invaders, after loſing a great number of men, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and make a precipitate retreat. This diſappointment raiſed the fury of the Danes to the higheſt pitch; they laid great part of Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire waſte, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the innocent inhabitants. In this diſtreſs, recourſe was again had to negotiation, and the Danes agreed to quit the country on receiving ſixteen thouſand pounds. The treaty was concluded and the enemy returned to their own country. Olaus, who embraced chriſtianity in England, and who is regiſtered among the ſaints, religiouſly obſerved the conditions of the agreement. He never more attempted to interrupt the tranquillity of England.

A. D. 999. The interval of peace purchaſed by this infamous treaty, was of no long duration. New armies of barbarians under different leaders ſoon returned, and ſpread the horror of war and devaſtation over various parts of the country. The cowardly indolence of the king, and the treacherous behaviour of his ſubjects, increaſed the dreadful calamities, and threatened the iſland with inevitable deſtruction. In this alarming criſis, an unexpected event ſaved the kingdom. The Danes whom the famous Rollo a century before had ſettled in Normandy, and who had always ſupported their countrymen in their deſcents on the Engliſh coaſt, now ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Robert, king of France, had defeated the army of Richard II. duke of Normandy, and threatened to drive him out of his dominions. The Danes in England flew immediately to the aſſiſtance of Richard, and the Engliſh enjoyed a ſhort reſpite from the miſeries of war.

A. D. 1000. But Ethelred was too indolent to make a proper uſe of this interval of tranquillity; the Danes when they returned from Normandy, found the kingdom as defenceleſs as before. They again commenced their ravages, and, if poſſible, exceeded their former acts of barbarity. Ethelred had now recourſe to his uſual expedients, in order to purchaſe a peace for a people he wanted courage to defend. He agreed to pay the enemy twenty-four thouſand pounds, provided they would immediately depart the kingdom. The money was raiſed by a tax levied on the people, under the denomination of Danegeld.

A. D. 1002. Ethelred was now convinced, that unleſs ſome expedient could be found to prevent the Danes from invading England, the whole kingdom muſt ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. He had no generals to lead his armies, no admirals to command his fleets, but thoſe of Daniſh extraction, and theſe always deſerted the cauſe of the Engliſh, and went over to the enemy in the day of battle. He therefore determined to ſtrengthen himſelf by forming an alliance with ſome foreign power, capable of aſſiſting him to repel the invaſions of the enemy. He knew the duke of Normandy capable of ſending him the ſuccours he wanted, and the Danes themſelves muſt deſiſt from their ravages, if deprived of his protection. Ambaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to Richard II. duke of Normandy, to demand his ſiſter Emma in marriage for Ethelred. The propoſals were accepted by Richard, and that princeſs, who was remarkable for her beauty, was conducted to the court of Ethelred, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence.

This alliance might have anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectation of Ethelred: he might have governed his kingdom in peace, had not he liſtened to the advice of perſons, who had often betrayed him, and under the pretence of inviolable attachment to his perſon, laboured to complete his ruin. Ethelred wanted capacity to perceive the tendency of their advice: he was prevailed upon to engage in a project that overwhelmed his people with miſery, and entailed eternal infamy on his memory.

Though the principal part of the Daniſh army had retreated to their own country, yet a very conſiderable number of them ſettled in England, and treated the inhabitants with every ſpecies of inſolence. Their ravages and perfidy drew on the hatred of the Engliſh. Stimulated to revenge, and with a cruelty incident to weak princes, Ethelred embraced a propoſal for making a general maſſacre of that turbulent people. Letters were diſpatched, with the utmoſt ſecrecy, to every part of the kingdom, ordering the Engliſh to put this horrid deſign in execution. The day on which the Danes uſually bathe themſelves, was choſe as the moſt proper to render it effectual. The orders were punctually obeyed: the Danes were maſſacred with ſuch circumſtances of brutality, as ſhock the ear of human nature. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared. The chriſtian and the pagan ſuffered the ſame fate. Even the famous Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, fell a victim to barbarous brutality. She had long lived in England, had embraced the chriſtian religion, and was married to Paling, an Engliſh nobleman. When her brother Sweyn withdrew his forces from England, ſhe became an hoſtage for his duly performing the conditions of the treaty. She had always behaved with the greateſt prudence; her actions were conformable to the precepts of the goſpel. But the goodneſs of her heart had no effect to ſave her: the ſhield of virtue was held up in vain. She was devoted to periſh with her friends by the barbarous orders of a timorous monarch. Nor was her death ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of barbarity. Cruelty was added to increaſe the horrors of execution. Her huſband and children were murdered before her eyes, and then ſhe herſelf ſuffered the ſame fate. But the fortitude with which ſhe underwent this horrid maſſacre, does honour to her memory. She betrayed neither fear nor timidity: not a feature in her countenance was diſtorted; ſhe was calm amidſt this ſcene of horror; and with her laſt breath told her inhuman murderers, that her death would involve the kingdom in the moſt dreadful diſtreſs.

A. D. 1003. Sweyn, who had impatiently waited for a pretence to renew hoſtilities, was now impelled to invade England from a motive of revenge; the death of his ſiſter filled his breaſt with the moſt implacable fury. He threatened to retaliate the miſeries ſuffered by his countrymen, and even devoted the whole iſland to deſtruction. He ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and embarked his forces on board three hundred ſail of ſhips. The whole nation of Denmark was animated with revenge.

Cornwall firſt felt the fury of the Danes. Great part of the country was laid waſte, with ſuch complicated ſcenes of horror and diſtreſs, that the intention of Sweyn was ſufficiently evident. Deſtruction, not conqueſt, was the intention of the exaſperated Danes. The city of Exeter next became the victim of vengeance. The whole place was laid in aſhes, and the inhabitants treated with all the rage of Gothic barbarity. The alarming progreſs of Sweyn had rouſed Ethelred from his indolence. He aſſembled an army, and determined to march in perſon againſt the enemy. But he was intimidated at the approach of danger. He conferred the command of his forces on Edric Streon, duke of Mercia, and returned to his palace. The life of Edric was compoſed of a ſeries of treachery; he ſeemed born for the deſtruction of his country. He married Edgitha, daughter to Ethelred, who was rich, powerful, and inſinuating. He had more than once betrayed the ſecrets of his maſter, and even deſerted to the enemy. The late inhuman maſſacre of the Danes was principally owing to his infernal counſel. This traitor to his country was again entruſted with the command of the Engliſh army, by the weak and puſillanimous Ethelred; and even at a time when the liberties of Engliſhmen, and the exiſtence of the kingdom, depended upon the ſucceſs of this body of forces. Such prepoſterous conduct was followed by its natural conſequences: the attempts of the Engliſh to free their country from the dreadful ravages of a barbarous enemy, were rendered abortive. The ſoldiers, indeed, advanced towards the enemy with amazing intrepidity, and, with an enthuſiaſm of valour which gave every indication of ſucceſs, demanded to be led immediately againſt the Daniſh army. But Edric never deſigned to wreſt the ſtandard of victory from the enemy. He pretended to be taken ill ſuddenly, and ordered a retreat, which was conducted in ſo careleſs a manner, that the Danes fell upon the rear of the Engliſh, and put the whole army to flight.

This cheap victory, obtained by the treachery of the Engliſh general, increaſed the inſolence of Sweyn. He looked with contempt upon the forces of Ethelred. He ravaged the country without oppoſition, till his thirſt for vengeance was ſatiated with blood, and the mercenary diſpoſition of his ſoldiers gratified with plunder. He turned the country, through which he paſſed, into a deſart; and, embarking on board his ſhips, returned to his own country.

A. D. 1004. The Danes, who had acquired riches by their deſcent on England, encouraged their countrymen to make the ſame attempt. The love of booty rouſed the Danes to action. Sweyn himſelf made a deſcent in the country of the Eaſt-Angles, and laid the city of Norwich in aſhes. He met, indeed, with a noble oppoſition from Ulfketel, governor of Eaſt-Anglia. The diſtreſs of his country rouſed that patriotic nobleman to vengeance: he diſpatched a ſtrong party to burn the Daniſh fleet, while he himſelf attacked their army, diſperſed over the country in ſearch of plunder. Had his orders been executed, Sweyn would not, in all probability, have returned to his country, nor the Danes again invaded England. But the officers charged with the order for burning the Daniſh fleet, wanted ſpirit to conduct the enterprize; timidity rendered the attempt abortive. Ulfketel himſelf attacked the Daniſh forces; and, had he not been overpowered by numbers, would have obtained a complete victory. He expected to have found them in the utmoſt conſternation for the loſs of their fleet, and to have improved the opportunity to their deſtruction. He was unfortunately diſappointed; but his attacks were ſo well conducted, and made with ſuch fury, that great numbers of the Danes were ſlain in the action; and Sweyn, to avoid a ſecond engagement, embarked his forces, and returned to Denmark.

But the invaſion of the Danes was not the only diſtreſs experienced by the Engliſh: a long drought ſucceeding the ravages of the enemy, occaſioned a moſt dreadful famine. Many who had eſcaped the ſwords of the Danes, now periſhed for want. The Engliſh never experienced a more dreadful misfortune: they were driven to the brink of deſtruction; they ſunk under the weight of complicated misfortunes. Theſe were, indeed, the days of England's mourning.

A. D. 1006. This ſcourge of heaven was hardly removed, before the Danes again appeared, and renewed their ravages with their uſual brutality: they waſted the country, they laid the towns and villages in aſhes, and murdered all the inhabitants that fell into their hands. Treachery among the Engliſh officers rendered every attempt to oppoſe the enemy abortive. The country was ruined by the perfidy of the nobles. Reduced to this extremity, recourſe was again had to the only expedient that ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, that of purchaſing a peace from the enemy. But the Danes, grown inſolent by ſucceſs, refuſed to abandon the iſland till they had received the enormous ſum of thirty thouſand pounds.

The Engliſh ſeemed now to be rouſed to a ſenſe of their danger, and applied themſelves to provide the only defence capable of rendering the attempts of the enemy abortive. A powerful fleet was fitted out, and the pirates were ſoon obliged to fly to their own harbours for protection. But this noble armament, abundantly ſufficient to protect the nation from inſult, was rendered unſerviceable by the diſſentions that prevailed among the officers: they were ſtrangers to the virtue of forgiveneſs; they ſacrificed not their private animoſities to the ſafety of their country; they even betrayed the navy into the hands of the Danes.

The loſs of their fleet ſtruck the Engliſh with deſpair. The enemy returned, and renewed their ravages with more brutality than before. Canterbury experienced the utmoſt rage of brutal ferocity. The city had held out nineteen days againſt all the aſſaults of the enemy; but they having entered the city by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, exerciſed the moſt inhuman cruelties on the innocent citizens. Tortures, before unknown, were now exerciſed upon all without exception; neither age nor ſex were ſpared. Alphage, the archbiſhop, and the principal citizens, expired under tortures that depreſs human nature far below the brute creation. We wiſh, for the honour of religion, that truth did not oblige us to add, that the wretch who betrayed the city into the hands of the barbarous enemy, was a monk belonging to the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine; and whoſe life, a ſhort time before this event, had been ſaved by Alphage.

A. D. 1014. A total revolution in the Engliſh government now ſeemed inevitable. Every method had been tried to ſupport the ſinking ſtate of the kingdom, without effect. The treachery of the Engliſh commanders rendered every attempt abortive. It was in vain to purchaſe a peace with money. Regardleſs of promiſes, and regardleſs of oaths, the Danes broke through the moſt ſacred ſanctions; they paid not the leaſt regard to equity, to the laws of war, or to the laws of nations. In this deplorable diſtreſs, the nobles ſubmitted to Sweyn, ſwore allegiance to him, and delivered hoſtages for their good behaviour. Ethelred retired with his family to Normandy, where he was received with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and affection by Richard II.

The Daniſh monarch began his reign of uſurpation with levying heavy taxes on his ſubjects. This increaſed their misfortunes; but it was uſeleſs to complain. The Dane was a ſtranger to compaſſion; the ſoft whiſpers of humanity pleaded in vain the cauſe of a people ſinking under the burden of diſtreſs. They brooded in ſilence over their misfortunes, and gave themſelves up a prey to dejection. But fortunately for them, and fortunately for their country, this ſeaſon of calamity did not long continue; Sweyn died ſuddenly, in leſs than ſix weeks after Ethelred had left the kingdom.

The Danes immediately declared Canute king of England on the death of Sweyn his father, and imagined that no oppoſition would be made to his aſcending the throne; but they ſhould have remembered, that the exactions of Sweyn had rendered his memory deteſtable; and that a brave and hardy people, driven to deſpair, will make the moſt violent efforts for their liberty. Unanimity ſeemed now to preſide in the Britiſh council. The nobles, convinced of their error, declared for Ethelred. Canute was declared an out-law; and a deputation diſpatched to Ethelred, requeſting his return to take poſſeſſion of the throne, which had been uſurped by the enemy. Pleaſed with this teſtimony of the affection of his people, Ethelred promiſed to redreſs all their grievances, to pardon every offence which had been committed againſt his perſon and government, and to exert his whole power in the defence of his country.

On his return, he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. The people imagined, that having learned wiſdom in the ſchool of adverſity, he would govern them with more wiſdom and courage; and that the nobles, convinced of the fatal conſequences of diſcord among themſelves, would unite in oppoſing the attempts of the enemy, and ſoon reſtore the kingdom to its former ſplendor.

A. D. 1015. Canute perceived the defection of the Engliſh, and made preparations for ſeizing by conqueſt the crown he could not obtain by the ſuffrages of the people. But before he was ready to take the field, Ethelred appeared at the head of a numerous army. Surpriſed at this expeditious march of the Engliſh monarch, Canute declined an engagement, and retreated precipitately to his fleet. Nor did he continue long on the Engliſh coaſt; an event of importance called him to Denmark. His brother Harold had ſeized the throne on the death of his father, and ſeemed determined to keep poſſeſſion of it by force.

The departure of Canute removed the fears of Ethelred, who now forgot all the promiſes he made to his people. He diſcovered the ſame incapacity for government; and blindly delivered himſelf over to the counſels and directions of the traitor Edric, who had ſo often overwhelmed him with miſery and diſgrace. He even liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of that perfidious incendiary againſt two of his faithful adherents, and the firſt noblemen of his court. Edric pretended that they held a correſpondence with the Danes, and had even formed a deſign againſt his life. The timorous Ethelred believed the traitor; the noblemen were aſſaſſinated, and Ethelred confiſcated their eſtates.

But the attention of that monarch was ſoon diverted from meaſures which rendered him obnoxious to his people, by an event which threatened to put a period to his power. Canute having terminated the troubles in Denmark, embarked his army, and landed, without oppoſition, on the coaſt of Weſſex. The ravages of the Danes ſpread a general alarm through the nation. Edmund, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, raiſed a conſiderable body of troops in the north, while Edric levied a number of forces in Mercia. The junction of theſe forces formed a conſiderable army, and the two generals led them directly againſt the enemy. The ſoldiers placed the greateſt confidence in the great abilities of Edmund; and marched, under his banners, with the utmoſt intrepidity, againſt the invaders of their country. Had Edric been faithful, in all probability, Canute had been totally defeated. But ſincerity reſted not in the boſom of Edric: he formed a deſign to take away the life of Edmund, or deliver him into the hands of the enemy. Fortunately for himſelf and his army, the prince diſcovered the infernal contrivance juſt as the troops were making preparations for an engagement. A retreat now became abſolutely neceſſary; and Edric, finding his perfidy detected, went over to the enemy.

Canute now ravaged the country without oppoſition. The diſtreſs of the people was augmented by inſolence, and barbarity was added to deſtruction. The heart of Edmund was pierced by the miſeries of his country, but treachery prevented his affording them any relief. In the midſt of theſe dreadful ſcenes of adverſe fortune, Ethelred paid the debt of nature, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign.

Few of the virtues that add luſtre to a crown fell to the ſhare of Ethelred. His cruelty in maſſacring the Danes has ſtained his character with infamy. His indolence, at the beginning of his reign, involved his country in misfortunes; and his attachment to the traitor Edric completed its diſtreſs. The moſt conſummate abilities would, indeed, have been hardly ſufficient to ſave the nation at this dangerous criſis, when diſſentions prevailed among the counſellors, and treachery among the generals. The timorous diſpoſition of Ethelred was ill adapted to hold the reins of government in thoſe times of danger and diſtraction. He wanted that fortitude which was neceſſary to ſupport him amidſt ſuch complicated ſcenes of national diſtreſs; and that intrepidity which would have animated him to puniſh treachery, and retaliate on the invaders of his country all the miſeries they had inflicted upon an innocent people.

Ethelred was not, however, wholly deſtitute of virtues. He enacted ſeveral excellent laws, by which the property and ſafety of the ſubject were ſecured, both from the oppreſſive power of the great, and the illegal innovations of the artful.

# EDMUND II. ſurnamed IRONSIDE.

A. D. 1016. IF valour and intrepidity, blended with compaſſion, and directed by prudence, could have ſaved the nation from the yoke of ſlavery, Edmund would have accompliſhed the noble deſign. But the power of the enemy, and the treachery of pretended friends, rendered the taſk ſuperior to human abilities. Canute, at the head of a victorious army, threatened the deſtruction of Engliſh liberty. Unanimity was abſolutely neceſſary at this alarming criſis; but Edmund had reaſon to fear, that both his nobility and prelates were deeply tinctured with perfidy. The ſoul of Edmund, however, was ſuperior to fear: he nobly exerted all his abilities in the cauſe of his country; and having raiſed an army in Weſſex, took the field againſt the invader.

London had always continued faithful to the family of Edgar, and repelled every attempt that had been made againſt it. Canute well knew the importance of that city; he conſidered it as the principal ſupport of Edmund, and that both muſt ſtand or fall together. He therefore attempted to inveſt the city in the abſence of Edmund; but he ſaw no hopes of ſucceſs, unleſs he was maſter of the river both above and below the bridge, in order to prevent proviſions from being carried into the city by boats from the country. To effect this deſign, he dug a deep canal on the Surry ſide, through which he turned the current of the river, and, by that artifice, drew his ſhips above the bridge. He was now maſter of the ſtream, both above and below the city, which he ſurrounded with his works. But the Londoners defended the place with ſuch obſtinacy, and made ſo many ſucceſsful ſallies, that Canute was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after loſing a conſiderable part of his army.

Edmund was advancing to the relief of his capital, when Canute abandoned the undertaking. At laſt the two armies met at Penne, in Somerſetſhire, and a bloody battle enſued. The victory was long doubtful, but at laſt declared in favour of Edmund; and Canute was obliged to retire to Wincheſter, to recruit his army.

The two kings now ſeemed determined to put an end to the war by a deciſive battle. They met at Sceorſtan, on the borders of Glouceſterſhire. The battle was fought with the utmoſt intrepidity by both armies; and night put an end to the conteſt, before any advantage had been gained on either ſide. As ſoon as the morning appeared, the battle was renewed with the ſame fury as before. Edmund flew from rank to rank, was preſent in every danger, and marked his tracks with ſlaughter. Victory hovered over his ſtandard, and was on the point of declaring in his favour, when the traitor Edric, by a ſtratagem, changed the fortune of the day. He cut off the head of one Oſmer, whoſe countenance greatly reſembled that of Edmund, fixed it upon the point of a ſpear, and ſhewing it in triumph, called out to the Engliſh, “Behold the head of your king! Edmund is no “more!” The forces of Edmund were ſeized with conſternation; and he was obliged to raiſe his helmet, before he could convince them of their miſtake; but he could not, by all his efforts, regain the advantage he had loſt. The victory was again doubtful, when night put an end to the ſcene of ſlaughter.

Edmund waited impatiently for the morning, not doubting but he ſhould ſoon obtain a complete victory over the Daniſh forces: but the firſt bluſhes of the dawn convinced him that no enemy was near. Canute, dreading the conſequence of a third engagement, had taken the advantage of the night to retreat from the field of battle, and was then at too great a diſtance for Edmund to fall upon his rear.

The infamous Edric now returned to Edmund's camp, and, with all the marks of ſincere contrition, implored his pardon for his former conduct. The ſoul of Edmund was too ſuſceptible of compaſſion; he believed the traitor's repentance to be real, and again admitted him into his favour. Succeſs, for ſome time, attended the ſtandards of Edmund; ſeveral parties of the Danes were defeated, and Canute was determined to riſk his fortune on one deciſive action. Edmund attacked the enemy with an irreſiſtible fury; and the Daniſh army muſt have been cut to pieces, had not the traitor Edric once more defeated the efforts of Edmund. Inſtead of charging the Daniſh army, he fled from the field of battle, at the head of the wing under his command. The flight of ſo large a part of the army ſtruck the Engliſh with a pannic; nor were all the attempts of Edmund ſufficient to rally the broken ſquadrons, and lead them once more againſt the enemy. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and Canute triumphed over the ſtandards of Edmund.

But the courage of that prince was not to be depreſſed by misfortunes. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt alacrity, to recruit his forces, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army ſufficient to diſpute the palm of victory with the enemy. Canute was aſtoniſhed to ſee Edmund again approaching with the utmoſt intrepidity, and was alarmed for the conſequences. He had purchaſed the laſt victory with the blood of many of his beſt officers, and even owed his ſucceſs to treachery. He, however, led his forces againſt the Engliſh; but both armies ſeemed unwilling to engage. The two princes acted, on this occaſion, with the utmoſt caution; they ſtood oppoſite to each other, but neither gave the ſignal to engage. During this dreadful interval of inaction, a captain in the Engliſh army advanced, and, in a florid ſpeech, diſplayed the diſtreſs which this fatal war had brought upon the innocent inhabitants, in the moſt pathetic manner; and obſerved, that as the

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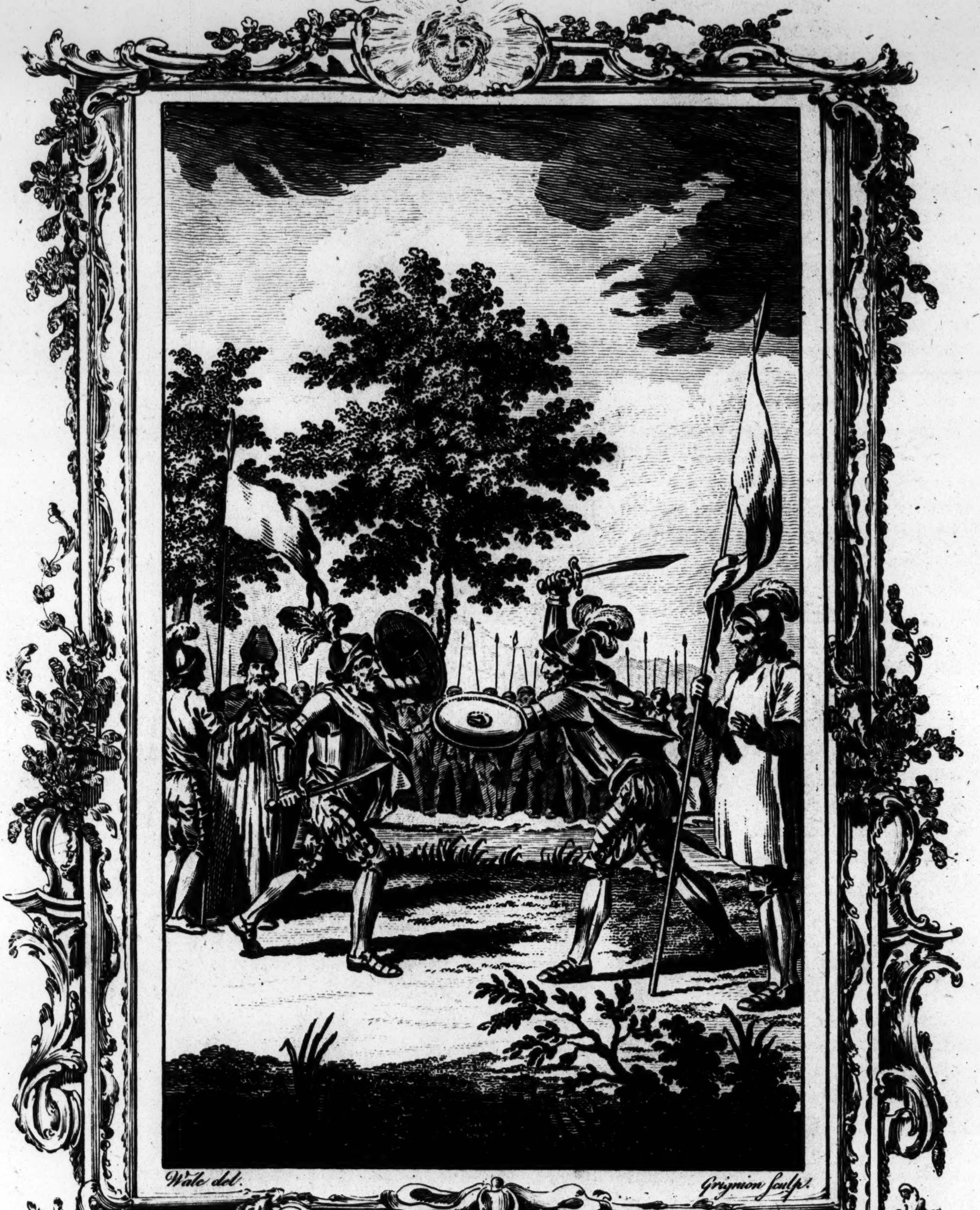
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Combat between Edmund Ironside and*
**CANUTE** *the* **GREAT.**

two kings were equal with regard to perſonal courage, it would be an act of humanity, by preventing the total depopulation of the iſland, for the leaders to put a final period to their quarrel by ſingle combat; adding, that the victor ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign by both armies. This propoſal obtained an univerſal approbation. A general ſhout enſued; the two leaders ſubmitted to the propoſed deciſion; and retired, with a ſmall number of their friends, into the iſle of Alney, an iſland in the Severn; their troops lining the oppoſite banks of the ſtream, and waiting impatiently the event of a combat, which was to decide the fate of the kingdom. Canute perceiving that he was overpowered by the great ſtrength and remarkable activity of Edmund, propoſed to make a diviſion of the kingdom, and terminate their quarrel by an act of mutual friendſhip. The generous Edmund liſtened to the propoſal; he was more deſirous of healing the wounds of his bleeding country, than of being placed in the ſeat of power. The fury of the paſſions immediately ſubſided, and malevolence gave place to kindneſs. The two princes threw away their ſwords, and flew into the embraces of each other. Both armies catched the generous flame of reconciliation, and gave a general ſhout of undiſſembled joy. The treaty was concluded in the preſence of the nobles and principal men of both nations; by which it was ſtipulated, that Edmund ſhould retain all the country to the ſouth of the Thames, together with the city of London, Weſſex, Eaſt-Anglia, and Eſſex; and the reſt of the kingdom to be ceded to Canute.

We have followed Hovenden, and Ethelred, abbot of Rieval, in relating the circumſtances which attended the reconciliation of Edmund and Canute; but think it neceſſary to add, that ſeveral of our ancient hiſtorians mention not the combat between the two kings; though they all agree, that a peace was concluded without a battle.

The Engliſh now flattered themſelves that a final period was put to their diſtreſs; that diſcord would be ſucceeded by harmony, and the noiſy horrors of war give place to the calm pleaſures of domeſtic peace. But the malignant breath of treachery blaſted all their hopes: the lovely plant of Britiſh liberty was cut down by the hand of a traitor. Ever reſtleſs, and ever uneaſy; terrified at the turpitude of his own crimes, and dreading the effects of Edmund's reſentment, Edric determined to prevent the ſtroke of juſtice, by committing an act that ſhocks humanity. He bribed two ruffians, acquainted with every vice, to aſſaſſinate his ſovereign. The attempt ſucceeded, and Edmund fell a victim to perfidy.

The reign of that prince was too ſhort; and even that ſmall interval ſo crowded with events, that his virtues could not be ſufficiently diſplayed to form an adequate idea of his character. It may, however, be ſaid with juſtice, that his courage was invincible, his activity amazing, his generoſity unbounded. He was intrepid in danger, patient in adverſity, modeſt in ſucceſs. He was a friend to the brave, a friend to the virtuous, a friend to his country. But as virtues become vices when carried to exceſs, ſo the magnanimous generoſity of Edmund degenerated into weakneſs. By pardoning Edric, who had ſo often betrayed the intereſt of his country, he loſt at once his kingdom and his life.

# CANUTE THE GREAT.

A. D. 1017. EDMUND left two ſons, but they ſucceeded not to the throne of their father. Canute ſeized the ſceptre of Edmund, but endeavoured to conceal his uſurpation under the appearance of juſtice. He ſummoned a general aſſembly of the nobility and clergy, and produced witneſſes, ſuborned for that purpoſe, to declare, that in the treaty between the two kings, it was ſtipulated, that in caſe of the death of either of the contractors, the other ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, preferably to his own ſons. The members were aſtoniſhed at this new claim; but the dread of Canute's reſentment ſtifled all oppoſition. The voice of truth was ſilenced by the frowns of power. The aſſembly ſwore allegiance to Canute, and he was crowned king of England.

But, though he had ſucceeded in his attempt upon the government, he was perſuaded that the Engliſh would embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of placing one of the deſcendants of Edmund on the throne of his anceſtors. He, therefore, ſent the young princes to the court of Sweden, requeſting that they might be aſſaſſinated. Shocked at the thought of committing ſo horrid a crime, and afraid of the reſentment of Canute, the Swediſh monarch ſent the young princes ſecretly to Solomon, king of Hungary, who received them with the utmoſt kindneſs, and gave them an education ſuitable to their birth. Edmund, the eldeſt, died ſoon after; but his brother, Edward, married Agatha, daughter to the emperor Henry II.

The ſons of Edmund were not the only perſons whom Canute thought proper to remove for his own ſecurity. Several of the principal nobility, who were ſtill attached to the race of their ancient kings, fell victims to his ſafety. The traitor Edric ſuffered the puniſhment due to his crimes. He had the aſſurance to reproach Canute with ingratitude; and complained, that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his ſervices. Provoked at his inſolence, and deteſting his character, Canute immediately ordered him to be beheaded, and his body to be flung into the Thames. Thus periſhed Edric, whoſe crimes were a blemiſh to human nature, and have branded his memory with eternal infamy.

One obſtacle ſtill remained, and which required policy, rather than force, to remove it. Richard, duke of Normandy, who had given protection to Alfred and Edward, the two ſons of Ethelred, was diſpoſed to ſupport the claim of his nephews. He demanded the crown of their brother Edmund. Canute was alarmed at the meſſage of Richard. He well knew the Engliſh were ſtrongly attached to their ancient race of kings, and that Richard was able to give them the moſt powerful aſſiſtance. Edmund, unſupported by any foreign power, had wreſted the ſceptre from his hands, had he not been betrayed by an infamous traitor. Richard was a warlike prince, beloved by his ſubjects, and favoured by the Danes in general. Canute ſaw the danger, and determined to prevent it. He ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to Richard, demanding his ſiſter Emma in marriage, and offering his own ſiſter, Heſtritha, to the Norman prince. The propoſals were accepted, the nuptials were celebrated, and the double marriage cemented their friendſhip.

A. D. 1018. The wars of Canute had exhauſted his treaſury, and his officers and partiſans were ſtill unrewarded. He, therefore, loaded the Engliſh, particularly the citizens of London, with impoſts. Neceſſity, rather than tyranny, induced him to exerciſe a ſeverity not agreeable to his diſpoſition. The wiſdom of his adminiſtration ſoon after obliterated the impreſſions of this rigorous treatment. He made no diſtinction between the Engliſh and the Danes. He confirmed the Saxon laws and inſtitutions. He diſtributed juſtice impartially: no reſpect of perſons, no favour was obtained by either party. Innocence was ſure of protection, the guilty of puniſhment. Such meaſures ſoon conciliated the affections of the Engliſh. Canute was no longer conſidered as an uſurper. The two nations became one people; and happineſs and tranquillity ſucceeded a long ſeries of troubles and diſtreſs.

A. D. 1019. A war having broke out between the Danes and Vandals, Canute found it neceſſary to viſit his hereditary dominions, which were threatened with deſtruction. The Vandals had defeated the Daniſh army, and carried fire and ſword into the heart of their country. The utmoſt expedition therefore was uſed by Canute in fitting out a fleet, and embarking a number of forces ſufficient to ſtop the ravages of the enemy. A body of Engliſh troops, under the command of earl Godwin, one of the moſt powerful noblemen, was ſhipped for this expedition. The Vandals, not expecting Canute was landed in his dominions, took no care to guard the avenues to their camp, ſo that the Daniſh monarch marched unmoleſted to attack them; but before he could reach the enemy, night overtook him, and he was obliged to encamp. During the night earl Godwin, without communicating his deſign, threw himſelf, at the head of the Engliſh, upon the camp of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Charmed at this unexpected ſucceſs, Canute loaded the Engliſh with favours, and gave earl Godwin his ſiſter in marriage.

A. D. 1020. Canute on his return to England, removed every officer that had been guilty of oppreſſion in his abſence. Even Eric, duke of Northumberland, formerly one of the principal officers in the army, was baniſhed the kingdom. But what ſtill endeared him to the people was the ſorrow he expreſſed for the multitudes that had fell victims to his ambition. He built a church at Aſhdown, on the ſpot where he fought a bloody battle with Edmund; and founded chauntries in thoſe places where any ſlaughter had been made of the Engliſh. Every act of ſuperſtition was ſure to gain the affections of the people. Canute was now eſteemed for his piety and virtue.

A. D. 1028. Olave, king of Norway, had for ſome years laboured to reſtrain the ferocity of his ſubjects, and render their lives conformable to the precepts of religion. He would not ſuffer them to purſue their favourite profeſſion of piracy and plunder. Theſe reſtraints were odious to the Norwegians, and they determined to dethrone him. Canute took advantage of theſe diviſions, landed in Norway at the head of a powerful army, and drove Olave from the throne. And Canute, by being maſter of three great kingdoms, became the moſt powerful ſovereign in Europe. His ambition was now ſatisfied; but his own reflections on the fleeting nature of ſublunary objects, ſoon convinced him of the vanity of human greatneſs. Hiſtory has preſerved a very remarkable inſtance of his reverence for the power of the ſupreme Being, and the limited authority of earthly monarchs. One day when his courtiers were carrying their flatteries to an unbounded height, Canute, who then kept his court at Southampton, led them to the ſea ſide, and ordering a chair to be placed on the beach, near the ſurface of the tide, which was then flowing apace, ſeated himſelf, and with a majeſtic tone of voice thus addreſſed himſelf to the water: "Thou, " O ſea, art a part of my dominions, and the land " whereon I ſit is mine: my orders were never broke " with impunity. I therefore charge thee not to " encroach any farther on my land, nor preſume to " wet the feet of thy ſovereign." But deaf to his voice and fearleſs of his power, the ſea continued its uſual courſe, and waſhed him with its billows. On which he roſe from his ſeat, and turning to his courtiers, "Behold," ſaid he, "the narrow limits of " mortal power! the ſceptred hand of human greatneſs exerts its force in vain. The ſea rolls on in " contempt of its authority: the ſtorms of heaven " make no diſtinction between the monarch and the " ſlave. Learn then from this example to ſet a proper boundary to odious flattery: and remember " that he only deſerves unlimited praiſes, who holds " in his hands the powers of nature, and whoſe " voice both the winds and the ſea obey." It is added, that Canute would never after wear his crown; but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix in the cathedral of Wincheſter.

Canute now devoted his whole time to what was then conſidered as the nobleſt and moſt acceptable acts of piety, the founding churches and monaſteries. He granted a charter to the celebrated monaſtery of St. Edmondſbury, by which all its lands and privileges were confirmed. He gave the profits of the port of Sandwich to Chriſt-church in Canterbury, and founded a monaſtery of Benedictine monks in Norfolk. But in order to eſtabliſh his character for piety beyond even the whiſpers of ſuſpicion, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and engaged all the princes through whoſe dominions he paſſed, to exempt the Engliſh pilgrims and merchants from all tolls and duties, which had before been exacted from them. He viſited every ſhrine, and paid his devotions before every relic; but what rendered him a more welcome gueſt at the court of Rome, were the prodigious ſums he laviſhed in that city: riches were more welcome to the pope than devotions.

Canute on his return was received by his ſubjects with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy. All the laws paſſed by the former kings of England, particularly thoſe of Ethelred, were enforced; ſeveral new ones, adapted to the times, were added; and the moſt proper methods taken to render the people happy.

But while he was employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and endeavouring to diſſeminate the ſeeds of virtue in every part of his kingdom, his attention was diverted from theſe offices of humanity, to ſupport the dignity of his crown. Duncan, grandſon to Malcolm II. king of Scotland, being in poſſeſſion of Cumberland, refuſed to do homage to Canute for that fief, pretending it was due only to ſuch kings as were natives of England. Provoked at this inſolent allegation of the Scottiſh prince, Canute marched at the head of a powerful army: but by the interpoſition of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms a peace was concluded without a battle; Duncan agreeing to pay homage for that fief, to the kings of England.

A. D. 1035. This was the laſt military action of Canute; he ſpent the remainder of his life in acts of piety and devotion. Tranquillity was eſtabliſhed in every part of his dominions, and he paid the debt of nature in the arms of peace.

Contradiction ſeems to have been a principal feature in the character of Canute. His youth was marked with blood and cruelty: his age with piety and devotion. He ſacrificed every thing in the morning of his reign to ambition; in the evening to piety. The ſceptre was at firſt the rod of tyranny; at laſt the index of mercy. No monarch ever raiſed popular odium ſo high, or allayed it ſo effectually. He was a great general, a conſummate ſtateſman, a wiſe legiſlator. He was perfectly acquainted with the temper of the human heart, and took care to turn the various diſpoſitions of his ſubjects to his own advantage. When age had ſoftened the paſſions of youth, and the precepts of religion had eraſed the impreſſions of a ferocious education, Canute became a moſt excellent prince; and the virtues he practiſed during the peaceable interval of his adminiſtration, gave him a much better claim to the title of Great, than all his victories. His laws are founded on the baſis of juſtice and humanity; they leave hardly any grievance without redreſs. Though ſurrounded with flatterers, he was impregnable to all their attacks; in the midſt of his victories he poſſeſſed humility.

The virtues he practiſed at the cloſe of his reign, totally obliterated his vices at the beginning. He lived beloved, and died lamented.

Canute left two ſons by his firſt wife, Alfwin, daughter of Elfhelm, earl of Northampton, named Sweyn and Harold: and by Emma, who ſurvived him, a ſon, named Hardicanute; and a daughter, named Gunhilda. Sweyn was placed upon the throne of Norway before the death of his father; and Gunhilda was married to the emperor Henry III. That princeſs, ſome time after her marriage, was accuſed of adultery; and the only means of vindicating her conduct, was by ſingle combat. The accuſer was a perſon of gigantic ſize, and famous both for his ſtrength and valour. For ſome time, no perſon could be found to undertake the vindication of Gunhilda's innocence. At length her page, who was a mere ſtrippling when compared to his antagoniſt, entered the liſts. The power of the champions was, indeed, unequal; but the youth having the good fortune to cut the ſinews of one of the legs of his antagoniſt, he fell to the ground; and the page purſuing his advantage, cut off his head, and laid it at Gunhilda's feet. Her innocence being thus vindicated, the princeſs renounced the emperor's bed, notwithſtanding his earneſt entreaties of forgiveneſs; and became a nun in a monaſtery at Bruges, where ſhe died.

# HAROLD I. ſurnamed HAREFOOT.

A. D. 1036. According to the treaty made by Canute with Richard, duke of Normandy, Hardicanute, Emma's ſon, ſhould have enjoyed the Engliſh crown on the death of his father. But Canute thought proper to place Hardicanute on the throne of Denmark, and left the crown of England to Harold. This occaſioned a great diſſention in England; the people were divided into parties. The Engliſh declared for Hardicanute; the Danes for Harold. A civil war was thought inevitable; till the two brothers, in order to prevent the depopulation of the iſland, agreed to make a diviſion of the kingdom. Accordingly, all the country on the north ſide of the Thames was allotted to Harold, and the reſt of the kingdom to Hardicanute. But, as the latter was in Denmark, it was ſtipulated, that Emma, aſſiſted by earl Godwin, ſhould govern his part of the kingdom during his abſence.

The ambition of Harold was, however, far from being ſatisfied with part of the kingdom; he aſpired to the whole. Godwin was the only perſon capable of preventing his deſigns, and Harold took an effectual method to gain him over to his intereſt. Avarice was the ruling paſſion of that powerful nobleman, and Harold determined to gratify it. He, therefore, ſeized the treaſures of his father Canute, depoſited at Wincheſter, though they were the real property of Emma. Godwin could not withſtand the offers of Harold; he abandoned the intereſt of Hardicanute, and embraced that of his rival. Harold was declared king of England, and Emma devoted her time to works of piety and devotion.

The great talents of that princeſs were well known to Godwin, who dreaded the conſequences of a revolution. He inſinuated to Harold, that his throne could not be eſtabliſhed while the children of Emma ſurvived, and were aſſiſted by the intereſt and counſels of their mother. Harold ſaw the propriety of this remark, and formed a deſign for getting the two ſons of Ethelred, Alfred and Edward, into his power. A letter was accordingly forged, in the name of Emma, inviting them into England. The princes complied with what they thought the requeſt of their mother; and Godwin ſeized Alfred, after killing about ſix hundred of his attendants, and carried him to London. Harold, who poſſeſſed all the cruelties of the Danes, ſent Alfred to the monaſtery of Ely, where his eyes were put out, and he ſoon after expired under the moſt excruciating tortures. A timely retreat ſecured the ſafety of Edward. Emma was ordered to depart the kingdom; and ſhe accordingly retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, where ſhe met with a kind reception, and Bruges was aſſigned for her reſidence.

A. D. 1038. Harold had now no competitor in the iſland for the crown of England; and, to prevent his brother, Hardicanute, from attempting any thing to his prejudice, he fitted out a powerful fleet to guard the coaſts from every inſult. The tax laid on the people, to ſupport this naval armament, occaſioned great uneaſineſs: the Welſh broke out into open rebellion, and laid a conſiderable part of the country waſte. An Engliſh army, however, ſoon reduced the inſurgents; and Harold, to prevent any future diſturbances in thoſe parts, paſſed a law, by which every Welſhman who croſſed Offa's dykes without permiſſion, was condemned to loſe his right hand.

A. D. 1040. The violence and cruelties of Harold had now procured him the hatred of his ſubjects, and would, probably, ſoon have deprived him of his crown. Hardicanute, his brother, was at Bruges with a powerful ſquadron, under pretence of paying a viſit to his mother; but it was ſtrongly ſuſpected that he had other views. The loſs of his Engliſh dominions had always ſat heavy on his mind. But whatever was his real intention, an event happened which baniſhed all the ideas of hoſtility. Harold paid the debt of nature on the eighteenth of May, and left the throne vacant for his brother, without a battle.

Harold had not the leaſt pretenſions to any of the good qualities of his father. He was headſtrong, obſtinate, brutal, and cruel. He was free from the ſuperſtition which prevailed in his time; he reverenced not the principles of piety. His vices have been handed down to us in odious colours; his virtues, if he poſſeſſed any, are buried in oblivion.

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# HARDICANUTE, or CANUTE II.

A. D. 1040. THE Engliſh had ſo ſeverely felt the miſeries of a civil war, that they made no oppoſition to Hardicanute's aſcending the throne. But he ſoon gave ſo odious an inſtance of his violence and inhumanity, that he loſt the affections of his ſubjects. He ordered the body of his brother Harold to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames. The body was found by ſome fiſhermen, and decently interred. Hardicamute was offended at this office of humanity, and again exerciſed againſt it the ſame indecent revenge.

This brutal and diſguſting conduct excited the indignation of the people. The exaction of heavy impoſts augmented the diſcontent. Powerful fleets were fitted out when no danger threatened the iſland: the neighbouring nations were all at peace with England. What increaſed the diſtreſs of the people, was a ſcarcity of corn. The ſeaſon had been unfavourable to the fruits of the earth, and the nation was threatened with the dreadful conſequences of a famine.

A. D. 1041. Alarmed at theſe apprehenſions, and exaſperated at the cruel perſeverance of the ſovereign, the inhabitants of Worceſter flew to arms, and put two of the king's collectors to death. The enraged monarch, who never felt for the miſeries of others, ſent a body of troops to revenge the inſult. His orders were obeyed with the brutality ſo conſpicuous in the character of their maſter; the city was pillaged, and laid in aſhes. The inſurgents were too well acquainted with the cruel diſpoſition of Hardicanute, to wait the approach of his meſſengers of deſtruction; they retired into an iſland in the Severn, and took proper precautions for their defence. The troops, after deſtroying the city, advanced to attack this reſolute handful of men, who were determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. The aſſault was begun with great fury, but without ſucceſs: it was often repeated, but always rendered abortive. Perceiving all their efforts were in vain, the troops abandoned the enterprize, and left them at liberty to return to their deſolated city.

Fortunately for England, Hardicanute did not long wield the ſceptre. His reign of cruelty was ſoon terminated. Two years put a period to his power. He died ſuddenly at Lambeth, while he was celebrating the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman.

The principal features in the portrait of Hardicanute were indolence, gluttony, cruelty, and exceſs. His courage was problematical; and the grievous burdens he laid upon his ſubjects, ſufficiently prove, that he acted rather as an enemy than a king. He had no claim to the glorious title of being the father of his country. His palace was one continued ſcene of gluttony and drunkenneſs; and it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that he put a period to his life by eating immoderately. He always ſhewed the utmoſt filial duty to his mother, and fraternal affection to his brother Edward. Theſe were his only virtues; his vices were innumerable.

# EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A. D. 1042. THE Daniſh yoke had long been heavily felt by the Engliſh, and an opportunity now offered of ſhaking it off for ever. Sweyn, the only ſurviving ſon of Canute the Great, was in Norway, and in no condition of making a deſcent on England with any hopes of ſucceſs. Edward, the ſon of Ethelred, was the only remaining branch of the Saxon kings, except the ſons of Edmund, who were then at the court of Hungary, and almoſt forgotten by their countrymen. Godwin was alone capable of oppoſing, with any chance of ſucceſs, the elevation of Edward. The friendſhip of that powerful nobleman was, therefore, thought neceſſary, but it was feared it could not be eaſily obtained. He was univerſally conſidered as the murderer of young Alfred, and the principal cauſe of all the misfortunes that had attended Emma. It was, therefore, natural for him to imagine, that Edward would take the firſt opportunity of revenging all the miſeries he had inflicted on the family of Ethelred. The advantages which it was hoped the nation would reap from the acceſſion of Edward, however, ſtifled all private animoſity. Godwin undertook to ſupport the intereſt of that prince, who engaged to marry his daughter, and continue the earl and his ſons in the poſts they had, for ſome time, enjoyed.

The election of a king came on in an aſſembly of the nobles ſummoned for that purpoſe at Gillingham; where Godwin, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, diſplayed the advantages of placing Edward on the throne of his anceſtors, and the miſeries that would, probably, overwhelm their country, if Sweyn were permitted to ſeize the ſceptre of power. At the concluſion of his ſpeech, he raiſed Edward in the midſt of the aſſembly, and cried out, "Behold your "king." No oppoſition was made to the attempt of Godwin; Edward was elected by the unanimous voice of the whole aſſembly.

A. D. 1043. The great ſcarcity that prevailed in England, rendered it prudent to defer the coronation of Edward; but as ſoon as that calamity was removed, he received the crown of his anceſtors, with great ſolemnity, at Wincheſter. This ceremony was attended with ſome inſult and virulence againſt the Danes; but the moderation with which Edward held the reins of government, reconciled them to his adminiſtration: they ſoon became blended with the Engliſh, and formed one people. No farther mention is made of any difference between them.

Edward began his reign with an act very incompatible with his character as a ſaint. He ſtripped his mother Emma of all the treaſures ſhe had amaſſed, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery. It is alſo ſaid, that he accuſed her of a criminal intercourſe with Alwin, biſhop of Worceſter, and other notorious crimes. No other method remained for Emma to vindicate her innocence, than by undergoing the fiery ordeal. She ſubmitted to the deciſion, which was then conſidered as an infallible teſt of innocence, and was acquitted: ſhe walked over nine red-hot ploughſhares, unhurt. This ſtory is, by many of our Engliſh hiſtorians, conſidered as a monkiſh fable, and, as ſuch, exploded. It muſt, indeed, be granted, that neither the Saxon annals, Cadmer, nor William of Malmſbury, have mentioned this circumſtance;

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

Wale del.
Walker Sculp.

Queen Emma's Chastity
TRIED by ORDEAL FIRE.

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

which ſeems too remarkable to have been omitted, had it really happened. But however that be, the diſgrace of the queen-mother was not attended with any dangerous conſequences.

A. D. 1045. The great power of the Godwin family now filled the nation with apprehenſions. Sweyn, one of his ſons, whoſe paſſions hurried him to the commiſſion of many crimes, attempted the chaſtity of an abbeſs, and was baniſhed the kingdom. But he was not idle in his retreat; he fitted out a fleet of ſhips, and committed ſeveral outrages on the Engliſh coaſts. He afterwards murdered earl Bearn, who had kindly undertaken to procure his pardon from Edward. Theſe enormous crimes ſeemed to render him an object of deteſtation, rather than of mercy; but the great power of his father, joined with the intereſt of ſeveral of the prelates and principal nobility, procured his pardon, and he returned again to England.

Edward's behaviour, on this occaſion, gained him the applauſe of the whole kingdom; but he ſoon forfeited the eſteem of his ſubjects by the attention he paid to foreigners. His education at the court of Normandy had formed ſtrong attachments to the manners, cuſtoms, and inhabitants of that province. His court was filled with Normans, and the principal dignities of the church were conferred on theſe ſtrangers. Their language, their cuſtoms, and their laws, became faſhionable in England. Their intereſt was ſoon ſo great, that no favour was to be obtained from Edward, but by their interceſſion. Godwin perceived their influence, and was alarmed. He made loud remonſtrances to the king, but in vain; Edward continued firm to his attachments. Finding no redreſs from the throne, he complained to the people, and declared openly, that the good of the nation was in danger of being ſacrificed to ſome foreign intereſt. The people catched the infection; and Godwin perceiving he ſhould be ſupported by his countrymen, determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of making theſe foreign favourites feel the effects of his reſentment.

A. D. 1048. He did not wait long; an event ſoon offered, which inflamed the minds of the Engliſh, and ſeemed to threaten the nation with the horrors of a civil war. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, having paid a viſit to the king, ſet out for Dover on his return to his own dominions. One of his ſervants, who was ſent before his maſter, to provide lodgings in the town, behaving in a very inſolent manner, a fray enſued, in which the Frenchman loſt his life. Exaſperated at the fate of his ſervant, Euſtace and his attendants fell upon the inhabitants, and ſeveral of them were ſlain in the conflict: the houſe, where the quarrel happened, was broke open, and the maſter fell a ſacrifice to the fury of Euſtace. The town was now alarmed; a general tumult enſued, in which twenty of the inhabitants were killed, and nineteen of the Count's ſervants. Euſtace himſelf found it difficult to make his retreat. He returned to Edward, attended by his followers who had eſcaped the fury of the townſmen, and made the moſt grievous complaints; but repreſented the circumſtances in the moſt partial manner. Candour was ſacrificed to paſſion, and truth to revenge. Edward, without examining carefully into the real cauſes of this inſurrection, ordered Godwin to march immediately into the place, at the head of a body of troops, and lay the town under military execution.

Surpriſed at the peremptory orders of the king, and determined to ſupport the liberties of his country, Godwin remonſtrated with his Majeſty: he juſtly obſerved, that by proceeding in ſo precipitate a manner, the conſequences would be highly injurious to his character, and deſtroy at once the claim and liberty of the ſubject: that the meaneſt perſon in his dominions had a right to be heard in his own defence; and that to inflict puniſhment before the party is convicted, would be an infringement of every law, either human or divine.

Edward had been ſo long uſed to the language of flattery, that he was aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of Godwin. The free manner in which he delivered his remonſtrances provoked Edward; he conſidered it as an inſult on majeſty. But Godwin was not to be intimidated by the frowns of power; he refuſed to obey the orders of his majeſty; he choſe rather to ſuffer the conſequences of diſobedience, than inflict puniſhment on the innocent, or ſacrifice the liberties of his country at the ſhrine of foreign inſolence.

Edward, either convinced of the injuſtice of his orders, or fearful of the reſentment of his ſubjects, did not inſiſt any farther on being obeyed; but determined to puniſh Godwin for his behaviour. An opportunity ſoon offered. The Welſh had taken advantage of the late diſturbances, and made inroads into the Engliſh territories, of which Sweyn was governor. Edward ſummoned a meeting of the nobility at Glouceſter, to enquire into the cauſe of theſe diſorders. The Welſh appeared before Godwin and his ſon reached the aſſembly, and accuſed them as the aggreſſors. The firſt impreſſions determined Edward; he did not give himſelf the trouble of hearing both parties; his meaſures were determined by the repreſentations of the firſt complaint. Nothing leſs than the deſtruction of Godwin and his whole family could ſatisfy the vengeance of Edward: they were accordingly cited before the council; and, on refuſing to obey the ſummons, were baniſhed the kingdom. Godwin himſelf retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and Harold to Ireland, where they found ſhelter from the frowns of incenſed majeſty. Edward was a ſtranger to the tender feelings of humanity: he was not ſatisfied with the baniſhment of Godwin and his ſons; his amiable conſort, the accompliſhed Edgitha, alſo felt the weight of his reſentment. He ſtripped her of every thing valuable, and confined her in the monaſtery of Werewell; determined (ſays Malmſbury) that ſhe alone ſhould not enjoy peace and plenty, while her huſband, and the reſt of her family, were plunged into difficulties, and abandoned to diſtreſs.

A. D. 1050. The tax, known by the name of Danegeld, had long been odious to the Engliſh. The reaſons which originally rendered it neceſſary had long ſince ceaſed, but the impoſt was ſtill continued; the danger was over, but the people were ſtill oppreſſed with the burden. Edward, perſuaded he could not perform an action more acceptable to the Engliſh, aboliſhed it. He went farther; he diſtributed all the ſurplus remaining in his treaſury among the original owners. This act of kindneſs endeared him to his ſubjects; they became more ſtrongly attached to his perſon.

About this time, William, duke of Normandy, paid a viſit to Edward, and was received with the warmeſt marks of gratitude. He had protected and ſupported Edward in his exile, and merited a ſuitable return. The duke was highly ſatisfied with his reception, and returned to Normandy loaded with preſents. This viſit, though it then gave no alarm to the people, proved fatal, in its conſequences, to the liberties of England. William pretended, that during his ſtay, Edward had conſtituted him heir to his dominions; and on this weak pretence, though wholly deſtitute of truth, he founded a claim that overthrew the conſtitution of this country.

A. D. 1052. Soon after the departure of William duke of Normandy, Emma paid the debt of nature; the cruel behaviour of a ſon put an end to a life which gave him being. Filial duty was not one of the virtues of Edward. The character of that princeſs has been treated with great rigour by moſt of our Engliſh hiſtorians, but without producing a ſingle fact to prove ſhe deſerved it. The monks, indeed, who will not admit the character of Edward to be ſtained with a ſingle vice, were under a neceſſity of blackening the memory of Emma; becauſe, if ſhe was innocent, Edward muſt have been guilty of the flagitious crime of ingratitude to a parent, and of bringing down the grey hairs of his mother with ſorrow to the grave. But ſurely there is no reaſon for hiſtorians of theſe times to follow their example; they have no cauſe to ſupport at the expence of truth. Juſtice ſhould be impartially adminiſtered, and every real blemiſh impartially diſplayed, even though it ſhould be found on the robe of a canonized monarch.

Godwin had now raiſed a powerful ſquadron; and being joined by his ſon Harold, with another fleet from Ireland, inſulted the coaſts of England, and entered the mouth of the Thames. Edward was greatly alarmed; the city of London was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; and the king marched, at the head of an army, to oppoſe the landing of the inſurgents. Godwin ſaw the danger that might attend a battle, and was willing to avoid it. He ſent a very ſubmiſſive meſſage to Edward, proteſting, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that he had no other intention than that of ſubmitting his actions to a fair trial; nor wiſhed any thing more than that of being reſtored to his honours and eſtates. The principal nobility, who had imputed the ſole cauſe of theſe diſorders to the king's predilection for foreigners, interceded with the king in favour of Godwin and his family. Convinced that it would be at once imprudent and ineffectual to oppoſe their powerful interceſſion, Edward agreed to pardon Godwin, and a convention was concluded, which proved fatal to the royal authority. All the foreigners, who had ſo long baſked in the favour of royalty, were baniſhed from the kingdom; and Edward finding his power inſufficient to ſecure the hoſtages given by Godwin for his good behaviour, ſent them to the court of Normandy.

A. D. 1053. Peace was now reſtored; domeſtic diſcord ceaſed; and the Engliſh, freed from the inſolence of foreign favourites, enjoyed all the advantages reſulting from tranquillity. But a cloud, that threatened to involve this ſcene of happineſs, ſoon appeared. Godwin was ſtruck with an apoplexy while he was ſitting at the king's table, and died three days after. Thus fell the moſt powerful ſubject hitherto known in England. The monkiſh writers have attributed his death to a ſtroke of the divine vengeance, for the murder of Alfred; but the account they have given us is evidently calculated to render the memory of Godwin infamous. His behaviour to the Norman favourites filled them with implacable malevolence. But, as the more ancient writers mention nothing remarkable with regard to his death, it is ſufficiently evident that the whole is founded on calumny, and dictated by malice. Stowe, from an ancient manuſcript, ſays, that the death of Godwin occaſioned a general mourning; the people bewailed him as a father and a ſupport.

Fortunately for his country, his power did not terminate with his death. His eldeſt ſon, Harold, who far ſurpaſſed him in abilities, ſucceeded to all his authority, and proved an equal ſupport to the Engliſh againſt the Norman intereſt. Harold, by his great affability and addreſs, gained the friendſhip of Edward. The art of Godwin's ſucceſſor was equal to his power; both the nobles and people were firmly attached to his intereſt.

A. D. 1054. Scotland had, for ſome time, been leſs fortunate than England: the torch of civil diſcord had been lighted by the hand of ambition, and the whole kingdom was involved in horror and confuſion. Macbeth, the celebrated uſurper, had driven Malcolm from his dominions, and the unfortunate prince applied to Edward for ſupport againſt the tyrant of his country. The Engliſh monarch conſidered it as a duty incumbent on kings to aſſiſt royalty in diſtreſs. Ten thouſand men, under the command of Siward, earl of Northumberland, were ſent to ſupport the Scottiſh monarch, and drive the uſurper from the throne. Siward, one of the moſt celebrated generals and intrepid ſoldiers of the age, immediately joined his forces with thoſe under the command of Macduff, the Scottiſh commander, and marched againſt the rebels. A deſperate engagement enſued, wherein Macbeth was totally defeated, obliged to fly to the mountains for ſhelter, and Malcolm placed on the throne of his anceſtors. Siward, ſoon after, paid the debt of nature; and Toſti, one of Harold's brothers, ſucceeded him in the government of the northern provinces. Toſti inherited all the boiſterous intrepidity of his father: he was at once bold and reſolute, afraid of no danger, awed by no character: nothing ſtopped his courſe when impelled by ambition; and his zeal for the intereſt of his friends carried him far beyond the bounds of diſcretion.

A. D. 1056. The Welſh had made frequent inroads into the Engliſh territories, and committed many exceſſes. Alfgar, governor of Eaſt-Anglia, held a treaſonable correſpondence with theſe inſurgents; and being found guilty of the crime, was declared an out-law, and baniſhed the kingdom. He retired immediately to Ireland, where he raiſed a body of forces, joined a fleet of pirates, and landed in Wales. He was aſſiſted by Griffith, prince of North-Wales, and ſoon after defeated a body of Edward's forces. The victors now committed very dreadful ravages in Herefordſhire: they entered the capital of that county, maſſacred the inhabitants, killed ſeven canons who guarded the door of the cathedral, burnt the monaſtery of St. Ethelbert, and laid the city in aſhes.

Exaſperated at theſe inhuman proceedings, Edward ſent Harold, at the head of a body of forces, to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. The abilities of the Engliſh general ſtruck the invaders with terror; they fled into South-Wales, and applied, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to Edward, for peace. Their requeſt was granted; the tranquillity of the country was reſtored, and Alfgar was reſtored to his eſtate and government.

Edward having no children of his own, becauſe he had refuſed all commerce with his wife, either on account of his natural inability, or pretended vow of chaſtity, was deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the horrors of a civil war. He had recalled his nephew, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, from the court of Hungary, but he died ſoon after his arrival; and Edgar Atheling, the ſon of that prince, was too young to hold the reins of government. Diſappointed in his deſign of placing a deſcendant from the ancient race of kings on the Engliſh throne, Edward turned his eyes towards his kinſman, William duke of Normandy, who had already ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his reputation for prudence and intrepidity. Secrecy was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſucceſs, and it was accordingly obſerved with the greateſt caution. William received the intelligence with pleaſure, and eagerly embraced the flattering hopes of adorning his brow with the Engliſh diadem.

A. D. 1058. It has been already mentioned, that Edward had ſent the hoſtages delivered by Godwin to the court of Normandy. Among theſe hoſtages were Ulnoth, the brother, and Hacune, the nephew of Harold. They ſtill continued in confinement, though the death of Godwin had, long ſince, releaſed them from their obligations. Harold, commiſerating the condition of theſe exiles, obtained an order for their being releaſed, and embarked for Normandy; but a violent ſtorm overtook him in his paſſage, and drove him on the French coaſt, in the government of the count of Ponthieu, who detained him priſoner at his court, and demanded a very exorbitant ſum for his ranſom. Harold, who beheld with contempt the ungenerous action of this petty prince, applied to duke William, who immediately ordered the count to ſet the Engliſh nobleman at liberty. Harold repaired directly to William's court; and, by his great affability and polite addreſs, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of the Norman. William was no ſtranger to the great power of

Harold, and conſidered the acquiſition of his intereſt as a ſtep of the greateſt importance in his deſign upon the crown of England. He accordingly diſcloſed the ſecret correſpondence of Edward, and to attach him more firmly to his intereſt offered him his daughter in marriage. Harold, though aſtoniſhed at the diſcovery, and exaſperated at the behaviour of the Engliſh monarch, prudently concealed his reſentment. He knew he was now in the duke's power, and determined to temporiſe. He accordingly promiſed William all the aſſiſtance in his power. Pleaſed with the acquiſition of ſo great an ally, William loaded him with favours; but in order to render his engagements more ſolemn, he exacted from him an oath to obſerve the conditions of the agreement: and deſirous of rendering the oath ſtill more ſacred, William, in conformity to the idle ſuperſtition of the times, had concealed under the altar ſeveral relics; theſe, after the ceremony, he ſhewed to the Engliſh nobleman, imagining that by this artifice the oath was become inviolable.

But the ambition of Harold was much greater than his ſuperſtition. He looked with contempt on the ſtratagem of William, and laughed at the obligation of an oath extorted from him. He returned to England with the hoſtages, and determined to oppoſe the duke with all his power.

A. D. 1063. The Welſh, though they had been ſo often chaſtiſed by the Engliſh, and ſo often obliged to ſue for peace, continued their deſtructive inroads; Griffith was ſtill at the head of a band of plunderers, and ſtill carried fire and ſword into the Engliſh territories. Exaſperated at this perfidious conduct, Edward ſent Harold, at the head of a body of horſe, to ſurprize the invader; but Griffith made his eſcape. He was obliged, however, to leave moſt of his ſhips behind him, which Harold immediately deſtroyed, and returned to England. Some time after the Welſh, exaſperated at the conduct of Griffith, put him to death, and ſent his head, and the ſtern of his ſhip, to Harold, who tranſmitted them to the king.

Toſti had aſſiſted his brother in reducing the Welſh to obedience, and always behaved with the greateſt intrepidity; he was a ſtranger to fear. But his behaviour as a governor, was one continued ſeries of oppreſſion. He loaded the people with exceſſive taxes, and put every perſon to death that dared to oppoſe him. Unable to ſupport themſelves under ſuch complicated diſtreſs, the people flew to arms, drove Toſti from his capital, and elected Morcar, the ſon of their late governor, to fill the ſeat of Toſti. Alarmed at theſe inſurrections, Edward diſpatched Harold at the head of an army to enquire into the cauſe of this revolt, and, if neceſſary, to reduce the inſurgents to reaſon. Harold met the Northumbrians, who were now greatly reinforced, at Northampton, and endeavoured to procure a reconciliation between them and his brother; but this the inſurgents abſolutely refuſed. They told Harold that they were a free people, and would not be enſlaved; that they were willing to pay obedience to a juſt and humane ruler, but would defend their liberties againſt every ſpecies of tyranny, or periſh in the noble attempt. Harold, who admired their reſolution, examined into the cauſe of their complaints againſt Toſti, and finding they were well grounded, gave a ſignal proof his love of juſtice; he no longer ſupported the intereſt of his brother, but procured a confirmation of their election of Morcar. Toſti, finding himſelf abandoned by Harold, who alone had power to ſupport him, left the kingdom, and retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders. This noble example of equity, greatly increaſed the popularity of Harold, who ſoon after married Algitha, ſiſter to Alfgar, cementing by that act of prudence, the friendſhip that had for ſome time ſubſiſted between him and that nobleman.

A. D. 1065. Edward now ſtooped under the weight of age and infirmities. He had many years ſince vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome; but finding it impoſſible to perform it, obtained the pope's diſpenſation, on condition of rebuilding the abbey of Weſtminſter, which the Danes had laid in ruins. This work engaged his whole attention, and on its being finiſhed, ſummoned a general council of the nation to confirm the charter he had granted to that edifice. He exempted it from all epiſcopal juriſdiction, ſettled large revenues on it, and granted it the privileges of a ſanctuary. He attended with great devotion the dedication of that religious ſtructure, and ſeemed to be re-animated on that ſolemn occaſion. But this was the laſt action of Edward's reign. He was ſeized with a violent fever, which put an end to his life on the fifth of January, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign; and his body, purſuant to his own requeſt, was buried in the abbey he had juſt conſecrated. He died without naming his ſucceſſor.

The monks, who taſted ſufficiently the bounties of Edward, extolled his virtues to the ſkies; they have even exalted his faults into acts of piety. His continence, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, occaſioned his being ranked among the ſaints: an action by which he forged new chains for his country, and drenched the ground with the blood of his ſubjects, was conſidered as the moſt exalted act of piety. A very ſuperficial attention to the actions of his reign will, however, be ſufficient to convince every unprejudiced perſon that he was far from deſerving the character given him by the monks. And that he was undutiful and cruel; faithleſs as a friend, and inexorable as an enemy. The moſt commendable circumſtance in his government was his attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice. As a legiſlator, he deſerves the higheſt applauſe. His laws were long the objects of the people's affection. They were dictated by mercy, and written with the pen of equity. Had his conduct in general been equal to his diſpenſation of juſtice, his memory would have been handed down with applauſe to the lateſt poſterity.

# HAROLD II.

A. D. 1066. HAROLD had ſo effectually gained the affections of the Engliſh, that he was immediately declared the ſucceſſor of Edward; he ſtepped into the vacant throne without oppoſition. Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir to the crown was forgotten; and the claim of the duke of Normandy, who had indeed no better title than the intentions of Edward in his favour, was not even mentioned. But though he had no competitor to fear at home, he well knew that William the Norman would exert all his power to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand; and that ſeveral of the European powers would lend him aſſiſtance. Nor was William the only enemy Harold had to fear; his brother Toſti vowed revenge for the aſſiſtance he had given the Northumbrians. He applied to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and William, duke of Normandy for aſſiſtance. They both promiſed to aſſiſt him; and Baldwin immediately fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron, which enabled Toſti to commence hoſtilities againſt his brother, by inſulting the coaſts of England. But he was, ſoon after, defeated, and obliged to fly to Scotland, with the ſcattered remains of his fleet, for protection.

This attempt of Toſti did not prevent Harold from purſuing every prudent meaſure for procuring the affections of his people. He eaſed them of ſeveral taxes; he liſtened to their complaints, and diſpenſed juſtice with an impartial hand: he became the patron of the clergy, and a liberal friend to churches and monaſteries. He knew that Edgar Atheling was beloved by the people, as the only remaining heir of their ancient kings: he, therefore, took that prince under his protection, gave him a liberal education, loaded him with favours, and favoured all thoſe who were more immediately attached to his perſon and fortune. By theſe prudent meaſures he conciliated the affections of the Engliſh; the people conſidered him as their father, and the voice of faction and diſcontent was no longer heard.

While Harold was thus nobly employed in ſettling the domeſtic tranquillity, William the Norman exerted all his power in collecting an army, and fitting out a fleet to ſeize the crown, which the people had unanimouſly placed on the head of Harold. He could plead neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance; not even a party in England was formed in his favour. But impelled at once by ambition and revenge, he determined to purſue the meaſures he had formed, and place on conqueſt the right he could not ſupport by any legal pretenſion. He ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, upbraiding him with his breach of faith, and ſummoning him to reſign the poſſeſſion of the crown. Harold was not to be intimidated by threats; he was a ſtranger to fear. He returned a very ſpirited anſwer, and William was convinced that he had nothing to expect from negotiation. An invaſion of England was, therefore, reſolved on: nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom was to be effected. Many circumſtances concurred to favour an enterprize, which, otherwiſe, muſt have appeared chimerical. William was celebrated for his valour; he had triumphed over the joint efforts of France, and all its vaſſals. The Normans themſelves were a brave and warlike people: all the warriors of Europe were deſirous of ſerving under his ſtandards, and of ſharing in the ſpoil of a rich and flouriſhing people. War was the ſole employment of every chieftain, then almoſt independent of the power of his ſovereign. The fame of his intended expedition was ſoon ſpread over Europe, and multitudes flocked to his ſtandards. The emperor declared loudly in his favour: the imperial council iſſued a proclamation, permitting all the vaſſals of the empire to enter into his ſervice. The count of Anjou ſent him a conſiderable body of forces: the count of Ponthau followed his example. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, and the viſcount of Thouars, in Poictou, joined him in perſon, at the head of their vaſſals. The count of Bretagne ſent him a body of five thouſand men, under the command of his eldeſt ſon. But what tended ſtill more to render the duke's expedition ſucceſsful, was the pope's declaration in his favour. He ſent him a conſecrated banner; and publiſhed a bull, declaring the juſtice of William's cauſe, and animating all the Chriſtian powers to aſſiſt him in his attempt on the Engliſh throne. Harold was declared a perjured uſurper, and every perſon excommunicated who dared to oppoſe the armies of Normandy. But ſtill the great ſupport of war was wanted. The treaſures of William were far from being ſufficient, and the ſtates of Normandy abſolutely refuſed to grant the prodigious ſums he required. The wealth of individuals, however, ſupplied what the ſtates had refuſed; and William was ſoon enabled to collect a fleet of three thouſand ſail, and an army of forty thouſand men; a force which he imagined ſufficient to produce a fatal revolution in the dominions of Harold.

The ſtate of England, at that time, increaſed his hopes of ſucceſs. There were few places of ſtrength in the kingdom; London and Dover only were capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege. A peace of fifty years had ſoftened the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh, and rendered them incapable of ſuſtaining the fatigues of war. They were enervated by a long ſlumber on the bed of indolence; their manly diſcipline, and the love of their country, were exchanged for effeminate luxury. Many of the nobility were of Daniſh or Norman extraction, and were, therefore, inclined to favour William rather than Harold.

William did not, however, think all theſe advantages ſufficient to render his expedition ſucceſsful. He had engaged Harfager, king of Norway, in conjunction with Toſti, to invade the northern parts of England, in order to make a powerful diverſion in his favour. They accordingly landed at the mouth of the Humber, and ſpread over the whole kingdom. Harold advanced, at the head of an army, againſt the invaders, and totally defeated them: both Harfager and Toſti fell in the action. But this defeat, though glorious to Harold, was attended with fatal conſequences; he loſt many of his braveſt officers and ſoldiers in the action, and diſguſted the reſt, by refuſing to diſtribute among them the Daniſh ſpoils, which he reſerved to ſupply the exigences of the ſtate. A falſe report tended alſo to facilitate the enterprize of William. Harold received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy, diſcouraged by contrary winds, had abandoned his enterprize: the Engliſh fleet, collected to oppoſe the landing of the Normans, was, therefore, diſmiſſed the ſervice.

At length the Norman armament appeared on the coaſt of England; and Harold having no fleet capable of engaging ſo formidable a ſquadron, William landed his forces, without oppoſition, at Pevenſey, in Suſſex. The duke himſelf, in leaping on ſhore, fell down, and cried out, "Thus I take poſſeſſion of the country." The leaſt unexpected accident is ſufficient to ſtrike ſuperſtitious minds either with terror or with joy.

The landing of the Normans ſpread a general alarm through the kingdom. Forces were raiſed, to join the victorious army of Harold, in every county; and had that prince liſtened to the advice of his brother Gyrth, the expedition of the Norman had been rendered abortive. He repreſented, that to venture the crown upon one deciſive engagement, was highly imprudent, and contrary to all the rules both of policy and war. He very juſtly obſerved, that a general battle was the moſt favourable event the Normans could hope for in their preſent ſituation, becauſe deſpair would augment their courage; they muſt either conquer or periſh. But, by deferring a general engagement, the Norman army would ſoon be reduced to the greateſt extremity, eſpecially if they were perpetually haraſſed by flying ſquadrons, and their foraging parties cut off. He added, that by intruſting the army to his care, the enemy might be conquered without a battle; but if an engagement ſhould enſue, and his forces be defeated by the Normans, powerful reſources were at hand, and the enemy would be ruined even by a victory. The Engliſh nobles approved of this advice, and his mother joined her entreaties to enforce the arguments of her ſon. But Harold was inflexible; he determined to give the enemy battle, and riſk his crown on the fortune of a ſingle day.

This reſolution being taken, Harold marched againſt the enemy, notwithſtanding he was deſerted by many of his veterans. He encamped on a hill at ſome diſtance from the Normans; and the next morning, mounting his horſe, in company with his brother Gyrth, advanced to reconnoitre the ſtrength and poſition of the invaders. This view convinced Harold, that he had been too precipitate in his meaſures; and, at his return, propoſed retreating to London, in order to augment his army. Gyrth oppoſed the meaſure with ſome warmth: he juſtly obſerved, that he had now proceeded too far to decline a battle; that his honour was engaged; and that to retire a ſingle ſtep, would be conſtrued into cowardice, conſidered as a flight, and be attended with a fatal loſs of his reputation: that he ſhould have liſtened to the advice of his nobles before he had advanced againſt the enemy; at preſent, he muſt either conquer or periſh.

Convinced, by the reaſons of his brother, that there was now a neceſſity for giving battle to the enemy, Harold applied himſelf to make the neceſſary preparations for the deciſive event. While he was thus employed, ſome monks arrived from the Norman camp; and being introduced to Harold, declared, that William, to prevent the effuſion of human blood, ſent him the following offers; either to reſign the kingdom to him, or hold it of him in fealty; to ſubmit their cauſe to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in ſingle combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would ſoon be the arbiter of their differences.

Negotiations were now at an end, and the hour was approaching which was to put a final prriod to the diſpute between theſe two powerful armies. The night preceding the battle was ſpent in a very different manner by the contending parties. The Normans paſſed it in prayer; the Engliſh in riot. The dawn put a period to their exerciſes, and both armies prepared for battle.

The Engliſh were greatly inferior to the Normans in number; and Harold, to compenſate for this diſadvantage, drew up his men in one column, upon the declivity of a hill, having a large ditch, and a line of hurdles, in their front. The Normans were drawn up in three lines, and advanced to the charge, carrying the pope's conſecrated ſtandard at their head, with great alacrity. The attack was made with the utmoſt fury; but the Engliſh ſtood firm, and obliged the aſſailants to retire. The Normans returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and were again driven back by the Engliſh. The battle continued the whole day, and victory, more than once, ſeemed to declare in favour of Harold. The abilities of the two commanders, and the valour of their troops, were equal. Liberty inſpired the Engliſh; glory, blended with deſpair, the Normans. The former knew, that every thing they held dear depended upon their valour; the latter, that a retreat was impoſſible. William flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, animating by his words, and encouraging by his example. Harold, with equal ſpirit, with equal valour, and with ſuperior ſucceſs, oppoſed him. Death marched in his rear: the Normans were aſtoniſhed at the power of his arm. William perceived his danger, and had recourſe to artifice. He ordered his troops to make a haſty retreat. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The courage of the Engliſh proved their deſtruction: they purſued the Normans, whom they conſidered as a flying enemy. Their phalanx, which had been hitherto impenetrable to all the attacks of the invaders, was broken. The duke perceived it; and facing about, repulſed the purſuers with great ſlaughter. The Engliſh, however, regained the advantageous ground they had quitted, and again bid defiance to the attacks of the enemy. At laſt Harold, and his two brothers, were ſlain at the head of their forces; and the ſoldiers, having loſt their leaders, fled from the field of battle. Above ſixty thouſand of the Engliſh fell in this dreadful engagement; and the Norman purchaſed the victory with the loſs of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops.

The ſtandard of Engliſh liberty fell with Harold, a prince who merited a better fate. He was humane, generous, affable, and intrepid: he loved his ſubjects, he loved his friends, he loved his country: he was a champion for freedom, and fell in its defence: he wiſhed not to ſurvive the conſtitution of England. The Norman writers have laboured to blacken his memory, in order to render that of the conqueror more ſplendid; a circumſtance that too often attends a change of fortune. Had the Norman loſt the battle of Haſtings, we had never heard of Harold's vices, nor William's virtues; the former would have been extolled to the ſkies, and the latter painted in his true colours. He would have been repreſented as a lawleſs uſurper, who came to ravage the country of an innocent people; and wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of a ſovereign, whoſe principal care was the happineſs of his ſubjects. Time has deſtroyed the flimſy veil which the hand of partiality has thrown over the characters of theſe two princes, and placed their virtues and vices in a genuine point of light. A compariſon is unneceſſary; Harold fell in defence of that liberty which William deſtroyed.

Harold was the laſt of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The throne was filled by a ſtranger; and new laws, new cuſtoms, and even a new conſtitution, were introduced, inſtead of thoſe obſerved by the Saxons. It will, therefore, be neceſſary to give the reader ſome account of the government, manners, and learning of that people. Liberty conſtituted one of the principal features in the character of the Saxons: they had no idea of a deſpotic power: they conſidered a king only as a more diſtinguiſhed citizen, bound by the ſame laws, and ſubject to the ſame cuſtoms as his ſubjects. His murder was compenſated by a fine, as well as that of the loweſt of the people; the only pre-eminence he enjoyed was, that the fine was larger. They had no eſtabliſhed rule with regard to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown; the children, indeed, often ſucceeded their father in the ſeat of power; but a ſmall circumſtance was ſufficient to ſet it aſide. Preſent emergencies were more attended to than general principles: they thought not on future contingencies; the conſequences that might attend this breach in the ſucceſſion were not regarded. All affairs of moment, eccleſiaſtical or civil, were propoſed in the general aſſembly of the nation, called Wittenagemot; and without the conſent of that body, no laws were binding upon the ſubject. It is not eaſy, perhaps impoſſible, to determine with preciſion, who the members were that formed this national council. The biſhops, abbots, and aldermen, or governors of provinces, called earls after the Daniſh conqueſt, are known to have formed one part; but whether the repreſentatives of boroughs, or the more wealthy citizens, compoſed the other, is not determined.

The people were divided into three orders; nobles or thanes; creorles, or freemen; and ſlaves, or villeins. The nobles chiefly reſided on their eſtates: cities were then little frequented; attendance at court was eſteemed a ſpecies of oppreſſion. Their houſes were open to ſtrangers; they vied with each other in acts of hoſpitality. The buſineſs of the freemen principally conſiſted in cultivating their eſtates, the induſtry of the people being chiefly confined to agriculture. The villeins were employed in domeſtic occupations, or in cultivating their lord's demeſnes.

Death was never inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws; crimes of every ſpecies were compenſated with pecuniary fines. A price was fixed on the head of each perſon, according to his rank; even that of the king was not excepted. The price of wounds, and the loſs of members, was ſettled; and was always proportioned to the ſize and danger of the former, and the uſe of the latter.

Various methods of trial ſubſiſted under the Anglo-Saxon government; but that by juries generally prevailed. But where the crime could not be proved by witneſſes, recourſe was had to the moſt ridiculous methods, equally calculated to puniſh the innocent or the guilty. Single combat, the judgment of the croſs, and the trial by fire or water, called the ordeal, were the teſts introduced by a ſuperſtitious people, who were perſuaded that heaven would openly declare in behalf of the innocent, and pour deſtruction on the head of the guilty. The celebrated Monteſquieu very juſtly obſerves, that our anceſtors reſted the honour, the fortune, and the lives of citizens, on circumſtances which depend leſs on reaſon than chance; and inceſſantly made uſe of proofs incapable of convicting, and which had no manner of connection either with innocence or with guilt. The cultivation of reaſon has deſtroyed theſe prepoſterous methods of trial; and relieved ſociety from a ſeries of complicated diſtreſs.

The force of the iſland conſiſted of the militia. Every freeman was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of arming in defence of the ſtate: he marched to battle under the ſtandard of his lord, and was not to leave the army till the time of his ſervice was expired. The whole nation were ſoldiers: every citizen fought in defence of his own property, and that of the whole ſociety.

Learning was at a very low ebb under the Anglo-Saxon government. The arts and ſciences cultivated by the Greeks and Romans were buried under the ruins of the empire. An impenetrable cloud of Gothic ignorance had ſtifled the rays of wiſdom; the avenues to knowledge were hardly known. Alfred, indeed, exerted himſelf nobly in defence of literature; during his reign, the glimmerings of ſcience appeared. He founded the univerſity of Oxford, and endeavoured to allure the muſes to the banks of the Iſis; but he died too ſoon. His ſucceſſor, Edward the Elder, followed his example, and founded the univerſity of Cambridge. But their labours were not ſufficient to complete the noble deſign. The ravages of the Danes deſtroyed the lovely branch which the generous Alfred and his ſon had planted, and ſpread over the whole kingdom a blacker cloud of ignorance than before. A few perſons of learning, indeed, flouriſhed during theſe uncultivated ages. Aſſer Menevenſis deſerves to be mentioned here: he was one of the moſt learned men of his time, and biſhop of Sherborne in the reign of Alfred, whom he greatly aſſiſted in his ſtudies. He wrote ſeveral books, but one only has reached our times: it is intituled, "Annales Rerum Geſtarum "Ælfredi Magni." Three editions of this work have been publiſhed; one by archbiſhop Parker, another by Camden, and another by Wiſe. St. Dunſtan is ſaid to have been a good muſician, painter and graver; but he has no title to be conſidered as a learned prelate. We wiſh, for the honour of our country, that we could have enlarged the catalogue of learned perſons that flouriſhed in theſe ages of military ferocity; but among the few that cultivated the muſes, the greater part of them are forgotten: their works, which, doubtleſs, long floated on the current of time, are now ſunk in the gulph of oblivion.

# BOOK V.

## From the Norman conqueſt, to the reſtoration of the Saxon line, under Henry II.

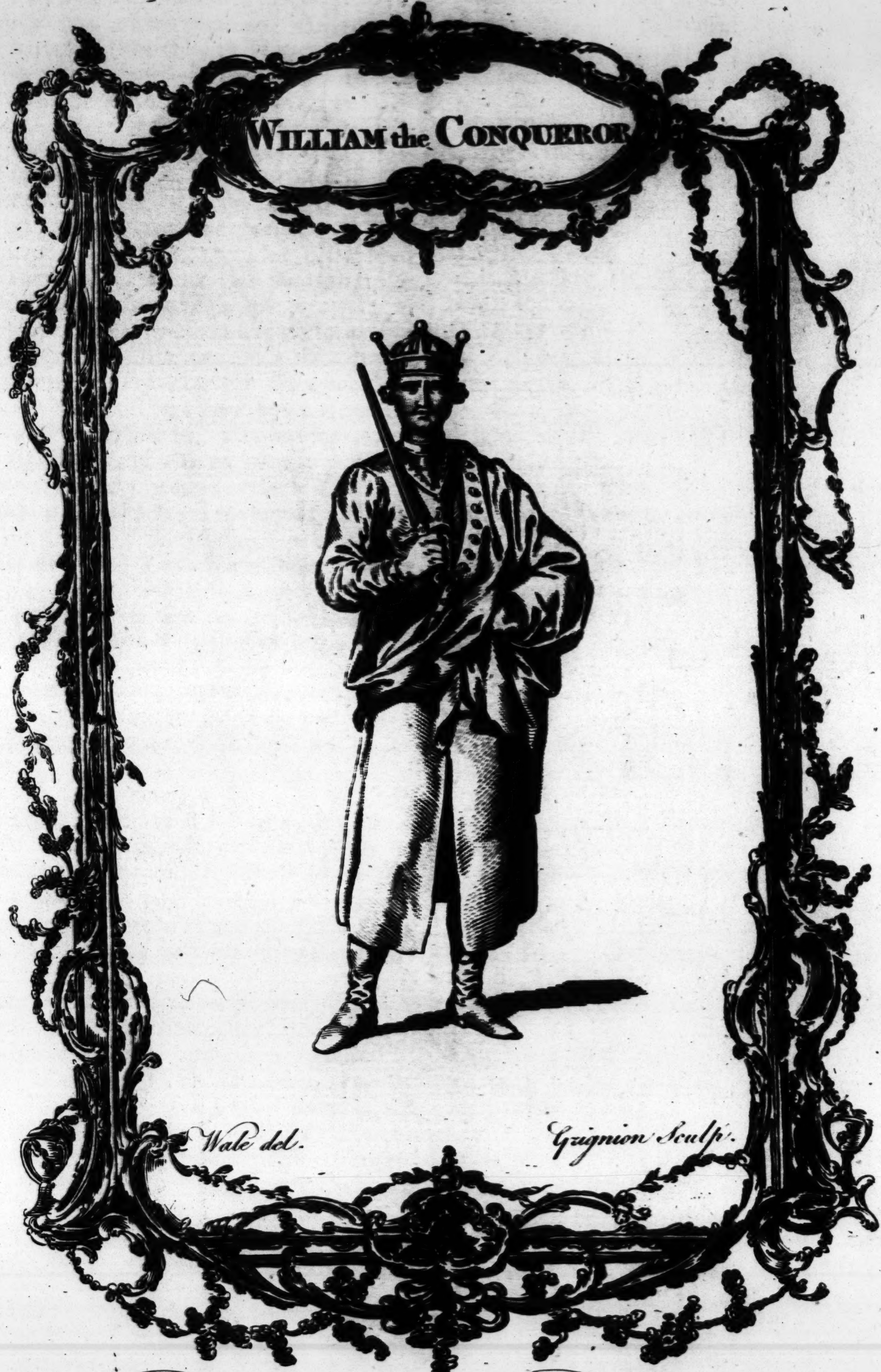
## WILLIAM I. ſurnamed THE CONQUEROR.

A. D. 1066. THOUGH William had gained the battle of Haſtings, he was far from thinking he had conquered the ſpirit of Engliſh independence. He knew the nobles were brave, ambitious, and enemies even to the ſhadow of ſlavery; that they had powerful reſources; that they were totally devoted to the race of the Anglo-Saxon kings; and had reaſon to believe that Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir to the Engliſh crown, was then in the capital; perhaps already placed on the throne of his anceſtors. The utmoſt caution was, therefore, neceſſary to ſecure the advantage he had gained. The Engliſh had, indeed, loſt much of their ferocious ſpirit of liberty by the conqueſts of the Danes; and the reign of Canute had rendered them familiar with the government of ſtrangers. The peaceable reign of Edward had greatly contributed to make them in love with the arts of peace, and to prefer domeſtic tranquillity to the boiſterous alarms of war. But ſtill they were powerful; and there was the higheſt reaſon to believe, that the loſs of their friends, and the dangers of their country, would rouſe them to vengeance. A ſingle defeat would be fatal to the Norman army. William, therefore, determined to make himſelf maſter of ſome place of ſtrength; that if the Engliſh ſhould unite in oppoſing his deſigns, he might wait in ſafety for reinforcements from Normandy. Dover was the only place that offered him a ſecure retreat; and William accordingly led his victorious troops before that fortreſs, which, by the joint efforts of art and nature, was rendered almoſt impregnable. The caſtle was full of ſoldiers, who had fled thither after the defeat at Haſtings; but ſo great was their conſternation, that they delivered up the fortreſs to the Norman upon terms of capitulation.

The death of Harold, and the total defeat of the Engliſh army, had thrown the capital into the utmoſt confuſion: anarchy preſided in the councils of the nobles. Edgar Atheling, though beloved by the people, wanted ſpirit and abilities to hold the helm of government in ſo tempeſtuous a ſeaſon. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, indeed, placed him on the throne, and nobly exerted all his abilities to reſtore order and ſubordination among a terrified and divided people. But his attempts were in vain: every ſalutary ſcheme was oppoſed; and every meaſure, which tended to promote unanimity, and prevent the crown from being placed on the head of a foreigner, was rendered abortive. They acted like people who courted the yoke of ſlavery.

William was informed of theſe diſſentions, and determined to turn them to his own advantage. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Dover; and dividing his army into three bodies, marched directly towards London. The only oppoſition he met with on his march, was from Fretheric, abbot of St. Albans. He cauſed a conſiderable number of trees to be felled, and placed in the roads, to impede the progreſs of the Norman. William ordered the abbot to appear before him; promiſing, that if he complied, no harm ſhould happen to his perſon. The abbot obeyed; and being aſked why he had endeavoured to ſtop the paſſage of his army, nobly replied, "I have done no more than my duty; and "had others of my rank equally exerted their abili-"ties, you had never penetrated ſo far into this "country, nor ſummoned me to give an account of "my conduct." Struck with the noble boldneſs of the anſwer, William diſmiſſed the abbot without paſſing the leaſt cenſure on his conduct.

In proportion as William advanced towards the



WILLIAM the CONQUEROR

Wale del. Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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capital, the confuſion among the Engliſh increaſed. No plan was formed for oppoſing the march of the Conqueror; no general was choſen to lead the troops againſt the enemy. The clergy, inſtead of employing their authority to heal the diviſions, and inſpire the people with courage and unanimity, laboured to increaſe the diſorder. Moſt of the dignified eccleſiaſtics were Normans, and declared in favour of William; they juſtified an enterprize which was conſecrated by papal authority. The friends to the conſtitution of England perceived it was now too late to ſupport the falling ſtate of their country; that oppoſition would only tend to exaſperate the Conqueror, and forge heavier chains for a brave and warlike people. They determined therefore to ſubmit to William, and ſheath the ſword of deſtruction, which threatened the ruin of their bleeding country. Accordingly the primate, the nobility, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf repaired to the Norman camp, and entreated William to accept a crown, which his virtues and abilities had rendered him worthy of enjoying. They were received with the greateſt politeneſs. It was the intereſt of William to endear himſelf to the nation, and acquire, by acts of humanity and kindneſs, the love and eſteem of the people.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed in Weſtminſter-abbey on Chriſtmas-day. But during the ſolemnity, a tumult enſued which threatened the place with deſtruction. The abbey was ſurrounded with a body of Norman ſoldiers, who hearing a confuſed noiſe occaſioned by the acclamations of the people, when the crown was placed on William's head, imagined it was the voice of tumult and diſorder, and that the life of their duke was in danger. Fired at what they conſidered as a perfidious ſtratagem of the Engliſh, without giving themſelves the leaſt time for examination, they ſet fire to the adjacent houſes, and aſſaulted the populace with the utmoſt fury. The alarm ſpread with amazing rapidity, deſpair was viſible in every countenance; the Norman himſelf fled trembling to the altar, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the tumult was at laſt appeaſed.

A. D. 1067. The victory at Haſtings had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the valour of William; but it was neceſſary that he ſhould alſo eſtabliſh the character of a wiſe and humane governor. The firſt acts of his adminiſtration were well calculated for that purpoſe. He ſeemed deſirous of engaging the affections of his new ſubjects, by liſtening to their complaints, and removing every enormity, and correcting every act of oppreſſion. The impartial execution of juſtice practiſed in Normandy, he introduced into England. The ſevere diſcipline of his army was ſoftened by preſents and affability. The treaſure of Harold, which fell into his hands, was greatly increaſed by bounties and preſents from the rich and the powerful. This enabled him to give rewards to his followers, diſtribute charities to the monaſteries, to ſend preſents to the churches of France, Aquitain, and Burgundy, where maſſes had been ſaid for the ſucceſs of his expedition, and to remit large ſums to the pope, with coſtly preſents to the church of St. Peter at Rome. He alſo erected a church and monaſtery on the field where Harold was ſlain. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the abbey, which was filled with Benedictine monks, and exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction, was called Battle-abbey. He granted the city of London a new charter, by which all the privileges and immunities that city enjoyed in the reign of Edward the confeſſor, were confirmed. He affected to treat the Engliſh nobility with the utmoſt kindneſs, and not only careſſed Edgar Atheling in a very particular manner, but granted him large eſtates, and confirmed to him the title of earl of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Edward the confeſſor. Theſe acts of kindneſs produced the moſt pleaſing effects on the generous minds of the Engliſh; they flattered themſelves with a long ſeries of domeſtic tranquillity under a wiſe and impartial adminiſtration. But the ſubſequent actions of William convinced them that they formed their opinions too ſoon. He ſeized on all the eſtates of thoſe who had joined Harold againſt him, and gave them to his Norman officers; erected fortreſſes in various parts of the kingdom, and filled them with foreign troops. He diſarmed the people, and broke the militia. Theſe meaſures gave the Engliſh great uneaſineſs: they now perceived that William acted rather as a conqueror than a king; and wiſhed that power, rather than the affections of his ſubjects, might be the ſupport of his crown.

After taking every prudent precaution to ſecure his new kingdom, he paſſed over into Normandy, carrying with him the principal of the Engliſh nobility, under pretence of enjoying the pleaſure of their converſation, and of ſhewing them to the world as the greateſt ornaments of his court. But this was too groſs to impoſe on the underſtanding of the moſt credulous. It was ſufficiently evident they were carried abroad as hoſtages to ſecure his conqueſt, add a luſtre to his power and adorn his triumph. Their magnificence did him honour. The foreign princes were aſtoniſhed. Such a profuſion of ornaments was before unknown in Normandy. William kept his Eaſter in the abbey of Feſcamp, where he was viſited by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and a great number of the principal perſons in Normandy and the adjacent provinces. But while he was indulging himſelf in joy and feſtivity, all the precautions he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of England were fruſtrated. The inſolence of the Normans could be reſtrained by no authority, but that of William. Proud from the victory they had obtained, greedy of plunder, and looking with contempt on a people who had ſo eaſily reſigned their liberties, they were guilty of every exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the Engliſh, violated the chaſtity of their wives and daughters, and practiſed ſuch enormous cruelties, that nothing but ſavage brutality could invent. Revenge rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh. They perceived their dreadful ſituation, and deſpair urged them to retaliate on the invaders of their country all the miſeries they had ſuffered from the hand of wanton deſpotiſm. They were not yet totally inſenſible to the charms of liberty, and determined either to drive their tyrannical maſters out of the kingdom or periſh in the attempt. But they were deſtitute of leaders, and could form no regular plan for executing their deſign. The inhabitants of Kent, who ſeverely felt the rod of power, applied to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, for aſſiſtance. He liſtened to their complaints, and promiſed them relief. The caſtle of Dover was conſidered as the moſt proper place for a retreat if the enemy ſhould prove too powerful, and they agreed to begin their operations againſt the enemy, with ſeizing that important fortreſs. The plan was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and Montfort the governor being abſent with part of the garriſon, there was great reaſon to hope that the attempt would be crowned with ſucceſs. The night appointed for the execution of this project arrived, and the Kentiſhmen repaired in ſmall parties to the place of rendezvous. About midnight Euſtace landed his forces, and led the combined troops immediately to the attack. The ſtrength of the caſtle ſaved the Normans from the reſentment of the Engliſh. They aſſaulted the gate with the utmoſt fury; but they ſpent their force in vain. The garriſon was now alarmed; they ſallied out upon the Engliſh, and put them to flight. Many were precipitately thrown headlong from the rocks, and the count's ſon taken priſoner. Euſtace himſelf, at the head of a few followers, eſcaped to his ſhips.

This miſcarriage was far from intimidating the Engliſh; they broke out into open rebellion in various parts of the kingdom. They even formed a ſcheme for maſſacring all the Normans. They never conſidered that it was almoſt impoſſible to conceal this dreadful contrivance. Some among the number of perpetrators would certainly reveal the ſecret. This actually happened; William received private intelligence of the deſign; he haſtened to England, and broke all their meaſures. The conſpirators had proceeded too far to retreat; they marched into the north, fortified the city of Durham, and ſet at defiance the whole Norman power. Had the Engliſh ſhewn the ſame ſpirit immediately after the battle of Haſtings, William had never ſeized the Engliſh ſceptre; but it was now too late. The people, in general, were without arms, and the Normans in poſſeſſion of the principal fortreſſes of the kingdom. Their attempts to regain their liberty had, therefore, now no other effect than to rivet more effectually the chains of ſlavery, and add a large increaſe to their weight. William immediately revived the tribute of Danegeld, in order to puniſh the Engliſh for their rebellions. This tax, which Edward the Confeſſor had abrogated, always gave the greateſt uneaſineſs to the people. William knew that this impoſt would render him odious, but was determined to proceed: he no longer courted the favour of the Engliſh. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who had hitherto ſtrenuouſly ſupported all the meaſures of William, was alarmed at this exertion of arbitrary power, and laboured aſſiduouſly to render it abortive. He had recourſe to perſuaſions and remonſtrances; but finding all his attempts were vain, he not only abandoned the intereſt of William, but anathematized him, and all his family. This, however, had no effect upon William's conduct; he defied the eccleſiaſtical as well as the temporal power, and levied the tax with the utmoſt rigour.

A. D. 1068. William was not, however, ſatisfied with impoveriſhing the Engliſh by taxes and extortions; he determined to confiſcate the eſtates of all thoſe who had in the leaſt aſſiſted Harold. It was in vain to urge, that when William firſt landed in England, Harold was in actual poſſeſſion of the crown; that the whole nation had ſworn fealty to him; and, conſequently, that he had a right to their ſervices; that their ſubſequent ſubmiſſion had been accepted by William; and that he had himſelf promiſed to protect them in their rights and privileges. Theſe reaſons were unanſwerable; but they were urged without effect: William acted not on the principles of juſtice.

The nobles now felt the difference between the government of a king and the deſpotiſm of a tyrant, and determined not to ſubmit tamely to ſuch oppreſſions: paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were doctrines reſerved for after times; they were not known under the Anglo-Saxon government. The nobles joined the populace, and broke out into open rebellion. This inſurrection threatened the deſtruction of the Norman government: the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom were among the inſurgents; and unanimity only was wanting to render their deſigns ſucceſsful. The kings of Denmark and Scotland promiſed them aſſiſtance. William was alarmed at the ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm him: he marched immediately againſt the inſurgents, before they were joined by the forces they expected. The great activity of the conqueror rendered the whole deſign abortive. The nobles ſubmitted, and were received into favour. William thought proper, for a time, to lay aſide his arbitrary ſcheme of oppreſſion. Edgar Atheling, whom the cries and intreaties of the people had rouſed to action, fled into Scotland, with his mother, and two ſiſters, and were received by Malcolm with the utmoſt kindneſs. Formerly an exile himſelf, he had learned compaſſion in the ſchool of adverſity. William demanded the fugitives; and Malcolm, with a noble magnanimity which does honour to his memory, treated the meſſage with contempt. A war between the two nations was the conſequence; and the northern parts of the kingdom became again obnoxious to the ſword of deſolation.

The court of Malcolm was ſoon crowded with Engliſh nobles; and the Northumbrians, ſure of being powerfully aſſiſted, committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the territories of the Normans; many of whom choſe to abandon their eſtates, and retire into their own country, rather than be perpetually haraſſed by the attempts of an exaſperated people. Nor were the Scots the only people that threatened to attack the Engliſh monarch; the Danes and the Iriſh had joined in the confederacy; and it was agreed to make the attack at the ſame time in different parts of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed with vigour, it would have ſhaken the foundations of William's power; but it was rendered abortive by the diſſentions that prevailed in their councils. The Danes, however, landed at the mouth of the Humber; and William thought it moſt adviſeable to purchaſe their abſence by a large ſum of money.

A. D. 1070. The Engliſh inſurgents, when deſerted by their foreign allies, were unable to ſupport themſelves againſt the Norman army: they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force; and the Conqueror had now an opportunity of introducing into England the innovations he thought neceſſary to ſupport that deſpotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He had now the plea of rebellion to offer as a reaſon for his conduct; and he failed not to uſe it. He confiſcated the eſtates of the nobles, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of this unhappy country. For an Engliſhman to be poſſeſſed either of riches or power, was conſidered as a ſufficient crime to render him obnoxious to puniſhment. The innocent and the guilty ſuffered equally under the rod of oppreſſion. The moſt ancient and opulent families were reduced to indigence; they pined for want on the very eſtates which had deſcended to them through a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors.

The feodal polity, which had been long introduced into France and Normandy, was conſidered by William as the beſt, perhaps the only method of rendering the ſervitude, to which he had reduced his ſubjects, perpetual; by deſtroying the very idea of liberty, and rivetting the chains of ſlavery on a generous, though conquered people. He accordingly divided the kingdom into ſeven hundred baronies, which he beſtowed upon his particular friends. No Engliſhman was ſuffered to enjoy that honour. Theſe baronies were ſubdivided into ſixty thouſand, two hundred and fifteen knights fees; which were diſtributed among their retainers, and a few of the Engliſhmen who had been fortunate enough to gain the favour of the Conqueror.

Nor were the clergy excepted from theſe arbitrary proceedings: they were obliged to furniſh a certain number of ſoldiers; and in caſe of refuſal, to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment. The temporalities of the eccleſiaſtics enjoyed no greater favour than the eſtates of the laity. The pope remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, but without effect. William no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, and was not to be intimidated by the thunder of the Vatican. Alexander II. who then filled the papal chair, perceived it would be in vain to contend againſt the power of William, and determined to accompliſh by policy what he could not effect by force: he flattered himſelf with being able to extend his ſupremacy over the Engliſh dominions; but this, he knew, muſt be effected by an artful conduct: William was too violent to be openly oppoſed. Ermefroy, biſhop of Sion, appeared well qualified for carrying on this difficult and delicate negotiation; and accordingly Alexander ſent him into England with the character of legate. Several of the Engliſh clergy were become obnoxious to William: the arrival of the legate, therefore, was agreeable to the Conqueror, who now determined to puniſh them under the ſacred maſk of religion. Ermefroy, inſtructed to gain the favour of the Engliſh monarch, ſummoned a general council of the clergy; where Strigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Agelmar, biſhop of Helmham; Elgeric, biſhop of Durham, and ſeveral other prelates, were depoſed: one Engliſh biſhop only was ſuffered to keep his ſee; all the reſt fell victims to the reſentment or policy of the Norman. Nor was this ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambitious intentions: he prevailed upon Ermefroy to change the tenure of the church lands; and inſtead of holding them free of all ſecular dependence, to hold them in military tenure, or by knight's ſervice.

Thus William, by the aſſiſtance of the pope's legate, ſufficiently humbled the Engliſh clergy, and filled their poſts with foreigners. It muſt, indeed, be remembered to his honour, that he preferred none but perſons remarkable for their genius and learning. The celebrated Lanfranc, an Italian monk, was placed in the ſee of Canterbury; Thomas, one of the canons of Bayeux, was created archbiſhop of York; and the ſees of Wincheſter, Helmham, and Selſey, were filled by three of his own chaplains.

Ermefroy now imagined that very conſiderable conceſſions would be made to his holineſs, but he was miſtaken: William was jealous of his power, and determined to keep the church, as well as his lay ſubjects, in ſubjection: he required, that all the eccleſiaſtical canons voted in any ſynod, and even the bulls ſent from Rome, ſhould receive his ſanction before they were of any force in his kingdom. He had ſeen ſo many abuſes of ſpiritual power, that he was determined to prevent their repetition in his kingdom; and paſſed a law in the national aſſembly, that none of his miniſters or barons ſhould be excommunicated without his conſent. By theſe prudent meaſures, he flattered himſelf with having effectually clipped the wings of eccleſiaſtical ambition, and prevented the Roman pontiff from raiſing commotions in his kingdom. But he was miſtaken; Lanfranc effected, by his aſſiduous labour, what the pope himſelf had attempted in vain: he laid the foundation of that alarming authority which the Roman church afterwards exerciſed over this kingdom.

The Engliſh now ſeverely felt the chains of ſlavery which had, for ſome time, been forging for them. Some were intimidated into paſſive obedience, while others formed the noble reſolution of ſupporting their independency, or periſhing with the liberties of their country. Many of the latter retired to the iſle of Ely, and ſet at defiance all the power of the Norman. Among theſe was the brave Hereward de Wake, ſon to the late Leofric, lord of Brunne, reputed the greateſt warrior of his age. He was choſen captain of this reſolute band, and bravely exerted the great talents he poſſeſſed. William was alarmed at this oppoſition, and marched immediately a large body of troops to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. But it was no eaſy taſk to drive them from their retreat. He attacked the iſland ſeveral times in vain, and was at laſt obliged to convert the ſiege into a blockade. Malcolm, king of Scotland, took the advantage of William's being employed in this difficult attempt, and made an irruption into the northern provinces. William was therefore obliged to have recourſe to ſtratagem, and effected by art what he found exceeded his abilities to perform by force: he attacked the poſſeſſions of the monks of Ely, and laid them under military execution. Alarmed for their eſtates, the religious offered to betray the iſland, and pay him a thouſand marks, provided he would reſtore to the convent the lands he had ſeized. William readily embraced the offer; and the abbot, faithful in his treachery, opened a paſſage to the royal army. Finding himſelf betrayed, and diſdaining ſubmiſſion, the gallant Hereward cut himſelf a paſſage through the Norman forces, and made his eſcape; the reſt were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The Scots ſtill continued their ravages; and William having reduced the inſurgents, advanced, at the head of his forces, to give them battle. The two armies met at Nithiſdale, where the Scottiſh forces had intrenched themſelves in a very advantageous ſituation. William thought it imprudent to attack the enemy till his forces had recovered themſelves from the fatigue of a long and painful march. He therefore encamped near Malcolm's army, without making any attempt to begin hoſtilities. Several days paſſed, without either army's making the leaſt motion to diſturb the other. Equally valiant, and equally expert in military knowledge, the two kings were fearful of the conſequences of a battle. Their armies were nearly equal, and it was very doubtful to whom fortune would give the palm of victory. The Scot knew, that if his army was defeated, Scotland would be left open to the ravages of an enraged enemy. The Norman, already ſurrounded by enemies, his crown, perhaps his life, depended upon the iſſue of this ſingle action. Conſequences like theſe wholly engaged the attentions of the contending monarchs; both were unwilling to venture the important ſtroke, and both armies continued inactive. At laſt a negotiation for a peace was opened by the prelates that attended the two princes. No oppoſition was made to the treaty, which accordingly ſoon took place between them. By one of the articles, Edgar Atheling was to return to England, and renounce all his right to the crown, on receiving a ſufficient maintenance from the Conqueror.

A. D. 1073. It was now natural to expect, that William would have enjoyed ſome reſpite from the toils of war: he had reduced the Engliſh to ſubjection, and concluded a peace with the Scottiſh monarch. But the alarms of invaſion were not yet over: Philip of France was jealous of William's proſperity, and attacked the patrimonial dominions of the Norman. Godfrey de Mayenne joined the invading army, and drove the Normans entirely out of that country. Alarmed at this unexpected attack, William paſſed over to the continent, at the head of an Engliſh army. He immediately attacked the invaders, recovered the territories they had taken, and obliged Philip to conclude a ſafe and honourable peace. By this noble exertion of their innate bravery and reſolution, the Engliſh recovered the confidence of William, who ſoon after reſtored ſome of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; a circumſtance which greatly contributed to render his government leſs odious to the people.

A. D. 1074. While William continued in Normandy, he received advice, that freſh troubles were excited in England by perſons whom he never ſuſpected of diſaffection. His Norman ſubjects were ſeized with the ſpirit of rebellion. Several of the chiefs who had engaged with him in the conqueſt of England, enriched by the wealth he had beſtowed upon them, diſdained to ſubmit to his imperious dominion. Roger, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitz Oſborne, earl of Hereford, had applied to William for licence to marry his ſiſter to Ralph de Guaer, earl of the Eaſt-Angles; and received a peremptory denial a little before the king paſſed over into Normandy. Enraged at this refuſal, eſpecially as there was no neceſſity for applying to William, the young lady not being an heireſs, it was reſolved to ſolemnize the marriage without waiting for the king's return, or making any farther application for his conſent. The ceremony was accordingly performed with great magnificence. The imperious behaviour of William naturally became the ſubject of converſation, and the moſt bitter reflections were made on his tyrannical government: they expreſſed their contempt for him as a baſtard, and determined to ſubmit no longer to his arbitrary adminiſtration. They accuſed him of uſing every ſpecies of tyranny over the Engliſh, who were unjuſtly ſubjected to the arbitrary nod of an uſurper. Earl Waltheof, one of the greateſt warriors of the age, was the only Engliſhman who retained any power. He had lately married Judith, the king's niece, and was created earl of Northumberland for his valour. This brave ſoldier was one of the gueſts, and joined with the reſt in the conſpiracy to dethrone William; but fearful of their own power, they agreed to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Sweyn, king of Denmark, a ſworn enemy to the imperious Norman.

Calm reflection ſoon convinced Waltheof, that the conſpiracy was at once idle and unjuſt. Remorſe ſucceeded, and he informed Lanfranc of the whole deſign. The prelate perſuaded him to croſs the ſeas immediately, and reveal all he knew to William. Waltheof followed the advice of the archbiſhop; but unfortunately for him, he had alſo revealed the ſecret to his wife, who ſent an expreſs to the Conqueror, and uſed all her art to incenſe him againſt her huſband. Waltheof, however, met with a gracious reception, and flattered himſelf that he had nothing to fear. The conſpirators were alarmed at the diſappearance of Waltheof; and ſome ſteps taken by the regency convinced them that the ſecret was betrayed. They immediately flew to arms, without waiting the arrival of the Danes, on whoſe aſſiſtance they placed their chief confidence. But their efforts were in vain; they were every where diſappointed; ſo that when William landed in England, he found the conſpiracy intirely ſuppreſſed. The brave Waltheof, notwithſtanding the atonement he had made for his crime, was committed to priſon. Lanfranc exerted all his intereſt to ſave him, but in vain: the Norman was inflexible; Waltheof was tried, and executed. Thus fell the laſt Engliſhman who enjoyed any conſiderable degree of power or intereſt in the nation. His infamous wife did not long enjoy her inhuman triumph over her huſband; ſhe was univerſally deſpiſed, and ſuffered that diſgrace and contempt her perfidy ſo juſtly merited.

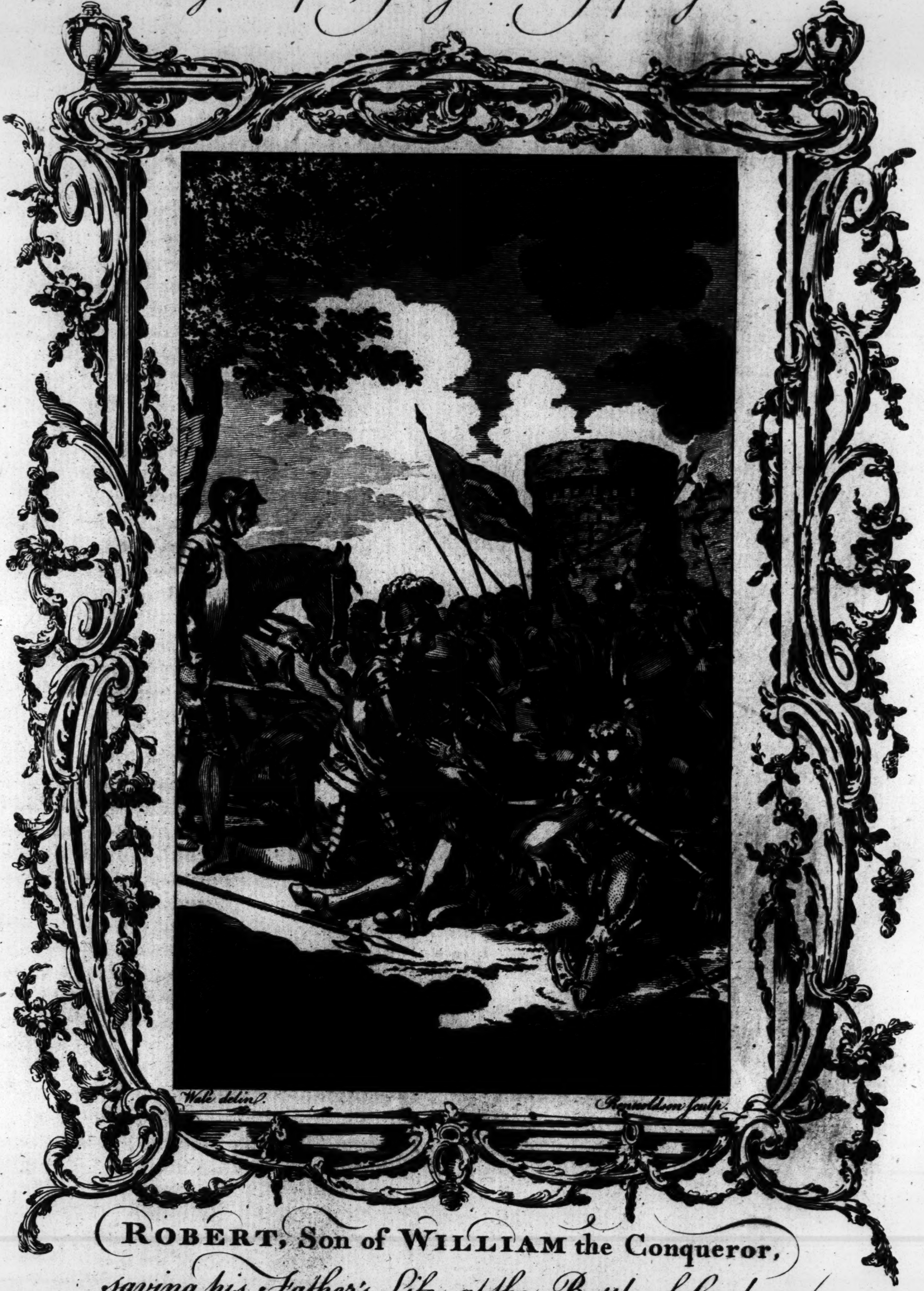
A. D. 1075. Though Alexander had met with ſuch bad ſucceſs in his attempt to extend the papal ſupremacy over England, his ſucceſſor, Gregory VII. was not in the leaſt intimidated. The unbounded ambition and ſuperlative inſolence of this pontiff had already ſet half Europe in a flame. He was diſpoſed to employ the moſt ſanguinary meaſures to eſtabliſh the projects he had formed for carrying the papal grandeur to an unbounded height. He was the principal agent in thoſe dreadful conteſts which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the courts of Germany and Rome. Perſuaded that St. Peter's ſucceſſor had a right to diſpoſe of crowns, he undertook to excommunicate and depoſe Henry IV. and to inſtigate his ſubjects to take up arms againſt their lawful ſovereign. Spain, Portugal, and Poland, felt the weight of his ambition; even the plains of Aſia were not exempted from his tyranny; the thunder of the Vatican was heard beyond the Boſphorus. Succeſs had increaſed the violence of his ambition; he was determined to extend the deſpotiſm of Rome over the iſlands, as well as the continent of Europe. He diſpatched a nuncio to William, inſiſting on his doing homage to him for his kingdom, as a fief of the Roman ſee; and demanding the payment of Peter's pence, which the pious liberality of the Saxon princes had conſtantly ſent to Rome; but without ever intending to render the cuſtom binding on their ſucceſſors, or conſidering it as a badge of ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee. William, however, was not to be terrified by the unreaſonable demands of an inſolent eccleſiaſtic: he told him, that the money ſhould be remitted as ſoon as it could be collected; but reſolutely refuſed to pay him homage. “Fealty, ſaid he, “I never have, nor ever will pay.” And, to convince the pope that he was in earneſt, and deſpiſed his power, he would not ſuffer the Engliſh biſhops to attend a general council which the pontiff had ſummoned to meet at Rome.

A. D. 1077. Ambition is often ſufficient to break the ſacred ties of nature. The family of William now became to him a ſource of misfortunes. That prince had promiſed before the peers of France, that as ſoon as he was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, Robert, his eldeſt ſon, ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of Normandy. Philip, king of France, deſirous of creating diſſentions in the family of William, inſtigated Robert to demand the poſſeſſion of his patrimony. Fired with what he conſidered as an injury, Robert laid his claim before his father, and urged the completion of it with ſome warmth. William was highly offended; and told him, that he never would part with any of his dominions, and that death only could put him in poſſeſſion of Normandy. The refractory ſpirit of Robert was exaſperated at this peremptory denial: he formed cabals againſt his father; and at laſt carried his imprudence ſo far, as to break out into open rebellion.

William ſaw with grief the undutiful behaviour of his ſon, and determined to chaſtiſe his inſolence. He tranſported an army, chiefly compoſed of Engliſh, into Normandy, and advanced againſt the inſurgents. Robert ſoon perceived he was in no condition to face his father's army, and retreated to Gerberoy, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Beauvoiſis. William followed him, and inveſted the caſtle. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between ſmall parties of the two armies, but with very little advantage to either. At laſt Robert, diſdaining to be thus ingloriouſly ſhut up within the walls of a caſtle, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The conteſt was very ſharp, and, for ſome time, continued equal. At laſt an arrow, from an unknown hand, ſtruck William's horſe, which immediately fell, and the king was thrown, almoſt breathleſs, to the ground, where he was in the utmoſt danger of being trod to pieces. In this deplorable ſituation, he called for help; and Robert hearing the well known voice of his father, was ſtruck with horror: all the ſentiments of duty and filial reverence were awakened in his breaſt; he raiſed him from the ground with the utmoſt tenderneſs, threw himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon, and offered to purchaſe his forgiveneſs by any atonement. But William was too deeply affected with the affront he had received, to pardon his ſon: he renounced not immediately his reſentment: he, however, drew off his army, and returned to Rouen. Robert diſmiſſed his forces, and followed his father. The queen interpoſed in behalf of her ſon; and her influence, added to the ſubmiſſion of Robert, produced, at length, a reconciliation. Robert was again received into the favour of his father; but William did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy, leſt the ſame inſtigations ſhould again produce the ſame alarming events. He carried his ſon into England, and ſent him, at the head of an army, to repel the inroads of the Scots, who, taking the advantage of William's abſence, had invaded the northern parts of England.

A. D. 1079. William now reſted from the toils of war. The Engliſh were effectually ſubdued; and the greater part of all the eſtates in the kingdom poſſeſſed by Normans; ſo that, according to the emphatical expreſſion of William of Malmſbury, “England was become an habitation and dominion “of ſtrangers.” This interval of tranquillity enabled William to finiſh a ſurvey of the kingdom, begun by Edward the Confeſſor. In this ſurvey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each diſtrict, their value, their quality, and the number of the tenants, cottagers, freemen, ſockmen, villeins, and ſlaves; black cattle, ſheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of thoſe to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fiſheries. This work was ſix years in compiling; and was at firſt called, The Roll of Wincheſter, becauſe originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Domboc, or Domeſday-book, becauſe there was no appeal from its authority; its evidence was deciſive. It is ſtill preſerved in the exchequer, and committed to the care of the chamberlain.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wale delin.* *Rennoldson sculp.*

**ROBERT**, Son of **WILLIAM** the Conqueror,
*saving his Father's Life, at the Battle of Gerberoy.*

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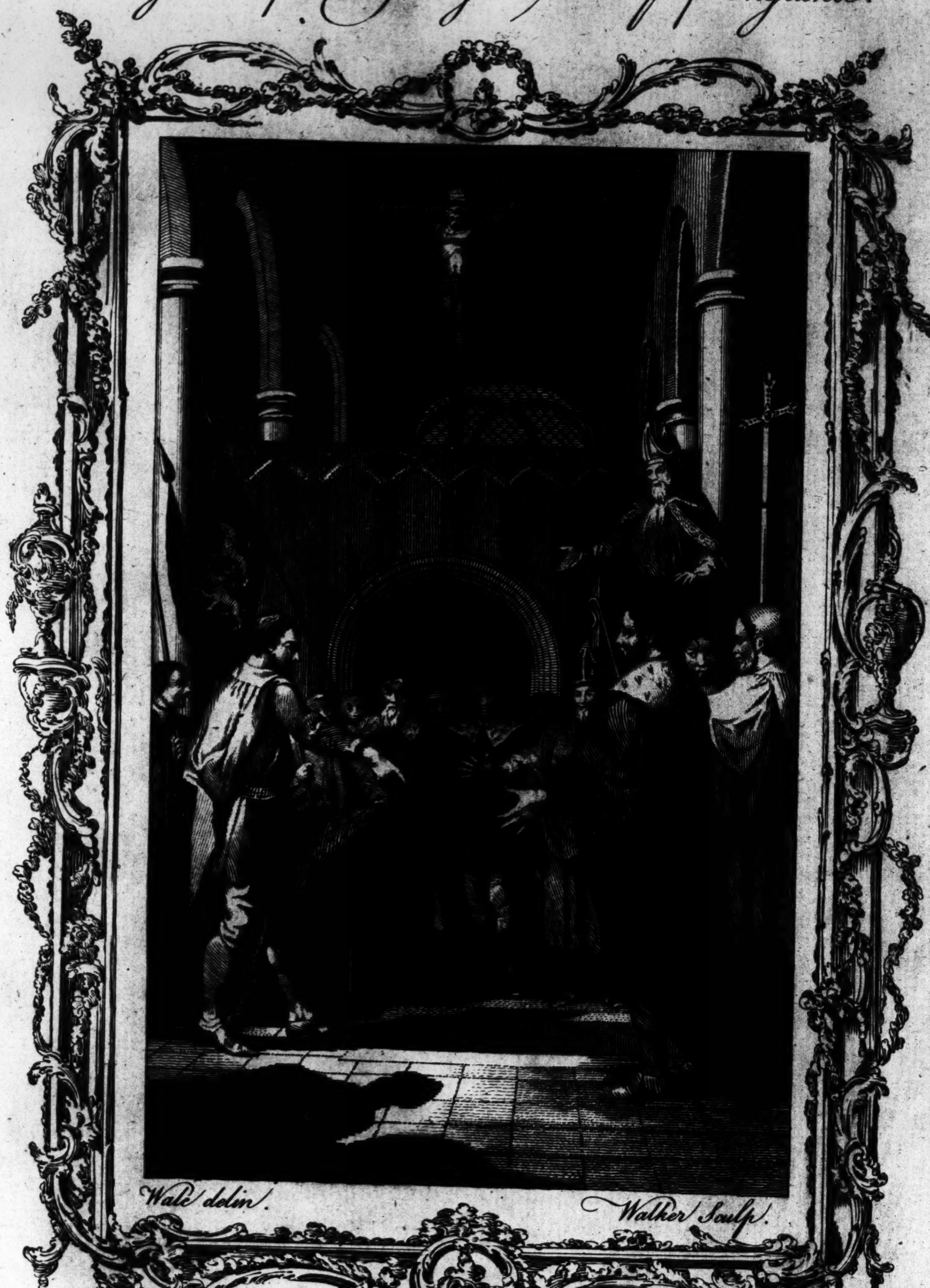
Wale delin.
Walker Sculp.

Anselm Fitz-Arthur claiming the Ground
wherein **WILLIAM** the **CONQUEROR** was going to be Buried.

BRITISH
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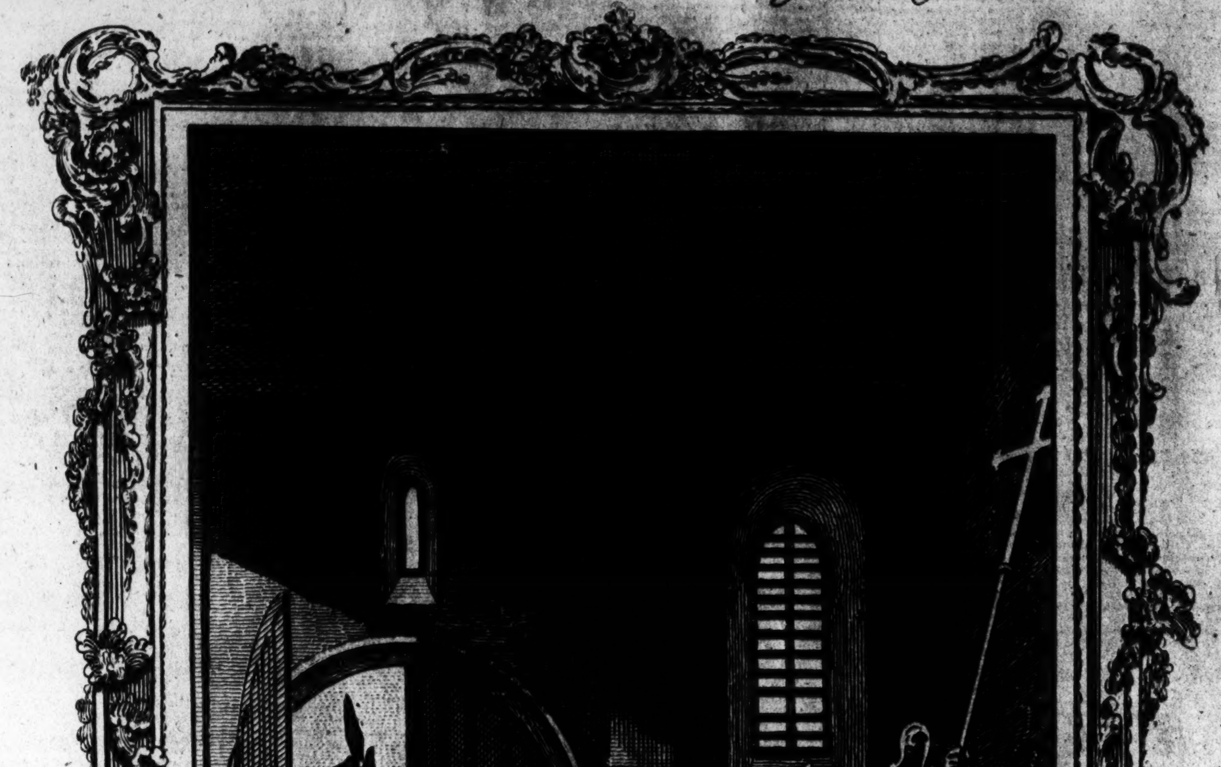
MUSEUM

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignon Sculp.

**WILLIAM** *the* **CONQUEROR** *Seizing his* **BROTHER ODO**
*Bishop of Bayeaux & Earl of Kent.*

A. D. 1082. Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, the king's uterine brother, lately created earl of Kent, and appointed chief juſticiary of the kingdom, had amaſſed immenſe ſums of money by the moſt illegal and oppreſſive methods. He was by nature turbulent and ambitious, and deeply tinctured with the folly of the times, in placing confidence in the idle predictions of aſtrologers. One of thoſe itinerant fortune-tellers, among other ridiculous aſſertions, foretold that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, ſhould be ſucceeded by a prelate whoſe name was Odo. Animated with the hopes of obtaining that ſeat of envied greatneſs, Odo, who placed the moſt implicit faith in what was then called the language of the ſtars, determined to employ the vaſt treaſures he had collected by the rapacious hand of injuſtice, in procuring the chair of St. Peter. He purchaſed a palace at Rome, furniſhed it in the moſt ſuperb manner, and employed a great number of agents to engage the voices of the cardinals in his favour. He, however, kept his deſign a profound ſecret, and propoſed to withdraw privately out of the kingdom, and take up his reſidence at Rome, till the death of Gregory ſhould open a way to the ſucceſſion. But his intentions could not be concealed: one of his pretended friends informed William of the chimerical projects formed by his brother. The loſs of ſuch enormous ſums, and the conſequences that might attend his endeavours to obtain the papacy, determined William not to ſuffer him to leave the kingdom. He accordingly ordered him to be arreſted; but his officers being intimidated at the immunities enjoyed by the clergy, heſitated to execute his orders: they feared the eccleſiaſtical more than the civil power. William perceived their ſcruples; and ſeized the biſhop with his own hand. It was in vain that Odo pleaded his exemption from temporal juriſdiction; William anſwered, that he arreſted him not as biſhop of Bayeaux, but as earl of Kent. Gregory had recourſe alternately to perſuaſions and menaces to obtain the releaſe of Odo, but in vain. William ſet all the thunders of the vatican at defiance, and kept the ambitious prelate cloſely confined in one of the caſtles of Normandy.

William's favourite amuſement was hunting; and his extreme paſſion for that rural diverſion induced him to execute a deſign which has juſtly loaded his memory with reproach. He laid waſte a large extent of country in Hampſhire, in order to form a capacious foreſt. The ſpot devoted to deſtruction was remarkable for its fertility, and adorned with all the beauties of nature; it was full of churches, monaſteries, villages and farms. The inhabitants had never injured him; never joined in any rebellion againſt his government. But the voice of innocence and juſtice pleaded in vain. William drove the inhabitants from their dwellings, and the religious from their retreats. He demoliſhed the ſtructures, eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſeized the property of the inhabitants, without making the ſufferers the leaſt compenſation for their loſſes. Nor was he ſatisfied with this inhuman ſtretch of tyrannical power. He enacted the moſt ſevere laws relative to the foreſts, by which thoſe who dared to kill a deer, a boar, or even a hare, were condemned to loſe their eyes. And it ſhould be remembered, that at this very time the killing a man might be compenſated by paying a very moderate fine. Humanity is not in the catalogue of a tyrant's virtues.

It was uſeleſs to complain. Every oppreſſion was laid upon the Engliſh. He not only robbed them of their wealth and eſtates, but even formed a project for depriving them of their language. He ordered the French to be taught in the ſchools throughout the kingdom. It was ſpoken at court, and therefore ſtudied by the polite part of the inhabitants. It was uſed in the courts of juſtice, and all the public acts, and private contracts, were written in that language.

A. D. 1087. The French barons having made incurſions into the territories of Normandy, William croſſed the ſea in order to put an end to their depredations. This attempt to diſturb the tranquillity of William's hereditary dominions, occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between him and Philip I. During his ſtay in Normandy, William was taken ill, and for ſome time confined to his bed. He was always corpulent, and this misfortune increaſing with his years, he was now become very unwieldy. Philip turned this natural infirmity into ridicule, and expreſſed his ſurprize, that his brother of England ſhould be ſo long in being delivered of his big belly. This pleaſantry being reported to William, he reſented it in the higheſt degree; and declared, that he would celebrate his recovery at Notredam with ten thouſand lances inſtead of lights, alluding to the practice of women, who then offered wax-tapers at the altar after their recovery from child-birth.

His health was no ſooner reſtored, than he entered France at the head of a powerful army, and committed the moſt inhuman ravages that fury, blended with malice, could invent. Towns and villages, churches and chapels, palaces and huts, were alike deſtroyed: a ſmoking deſert cloſed the rear of his army. The city of Mantes was one of thoſe unfortunate places that fell into his hands, and felt the dreadful effects of his unbounded rage. He laid it in aſhes, and beheld with ſatisfaction this horrid ſacrifice to his revenge. But his triumph was of no long continuance; his horſe, terrified by the ſmoking ruins, ſuddenly ſtarted aſide, and bruiſed his belly againſt the pommel of the ſaddle. A rupture attended by a fever was the conſequence. He was carried to Rouen; and ſenſible that his end was approaching, he was ſtruck with remorſe for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to ſatisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. He laviſhed donations on churches and monaſteries, and practiſed all the external acts of religion, which in that bigotted age, were conſidered as the higheſt, and moſt powerful acts of religion. He gave Normandy and Maine to Robert his eldeſt ſon, and named William his ſecond ſon, as his ſucceſſor to the crown of England. Henry, his youngeſt ſon, he left only the portion of his mother Matilda; but foretold, that he ſhould one day ſucceed to the undivided inheritance of his father, and ſurpaſs his brothers in power, in prudence and in riches. He paid the debt of nature on the ninth of September, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age.

The attendants of William no ſooner perceived that the ſtroke of death was over, and had heard the groan of expiration, than they immediately deſerted the lifeleſs body to plunder his coffers and ſeize on his valuable effects. They even ſtripped his corpſe of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and left the remains of this mighty conqueror, whoſe nod had decided the fate of thouſands, naked and expoſed. A country gentleman beheld this ſcene of rapacity, and was touched with compaſſion. He cauſed the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the neceſſary preparations for interring it in the church of St. Stephen in Caen, purſuant to William's own requeſt. The proceſſion was awfully ſolemn, and an elegant funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, biſhop of Evreux, who, with ſix other prelates, attended this mournful ceremony. But juſt as they were going to depoſit the body in the earth, one Anſelm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, preſſed forward through the croud, and with an audible voice, forbad the prelates to inter the body. "That "ſpot," ſaid he, "was once the floor of my father's "houſe, which was unjuſtly ſeized by William, who "I now ſummon before the tribunal of the Moſt "High, to anſwer for that flagrant act of tyrannical "oppreſſion." The people trembled, and the biſhops were ſtruck with terror at the ſolemnity of this invocation. At laſt it was agreed to give thirty ſols for leave to bury the royal body, and Henry promiſed, if his claim ſhould appear to be well founded, to make him a reaſonable ſatisfaction for his eſtate.

Thus died William the mighty conqueror of

England; a prince liberally endowed by nature with all the talents neceſſary for placing him on the pinnacle of human greatneſs. His genius was piercing, and improved by a noble education. He was intrepid in danger, and fruitful in reſources; a great general, and a valiant ſoldier. He was formed to ſhine both in the council and the field. He was an excellent judge of men, and employed none but thoſe of the greateſt capacity either in church or ſtate. But his ambition carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He availed himſelf of the right of conqueſt, the only title by which he had acquired a great kingdom, to trample upon the laws of juſtice, and erect the throne of deſpotiſm upon the ruins of the conſtitution of a free people. Avarice and oppreſſion were two of the principal features in his character; he ſacrificed to the former every principle of juſtice, and to the latter every dictate of humanity. He extended the iron rod of tyranny over a people his arms had conquered; he felt not for the miſeries of innocence in diſtreſs. William was not, however, wholly deſtitute of virtues. The noble ſtand he made againſt the inſolent demands of the Roman pontiff, deſerves the higheſt applauſe: he expoſed his ſubjects to no tyranny but his own. In private life he was a tender huſband, an indulgent parent, and, where political intereſt did not interpoſe, a generous maſter. He introduced the regulation of the *curfeu* into England, by which all the inhabitants were obliged to extinguiſh their fires, and put out their lights, at the ſound of a bell, which was tolled about eight o'clock in the evening. This has been unjuſtly repreſented by ſeveral hiſtorians as the badge of Engliſh ſervitude: for it is known that William had eſtabliſhed the ſame cuſtom in Normandy before he landed in England; and it appears that it alſo prevailed in Scotland.

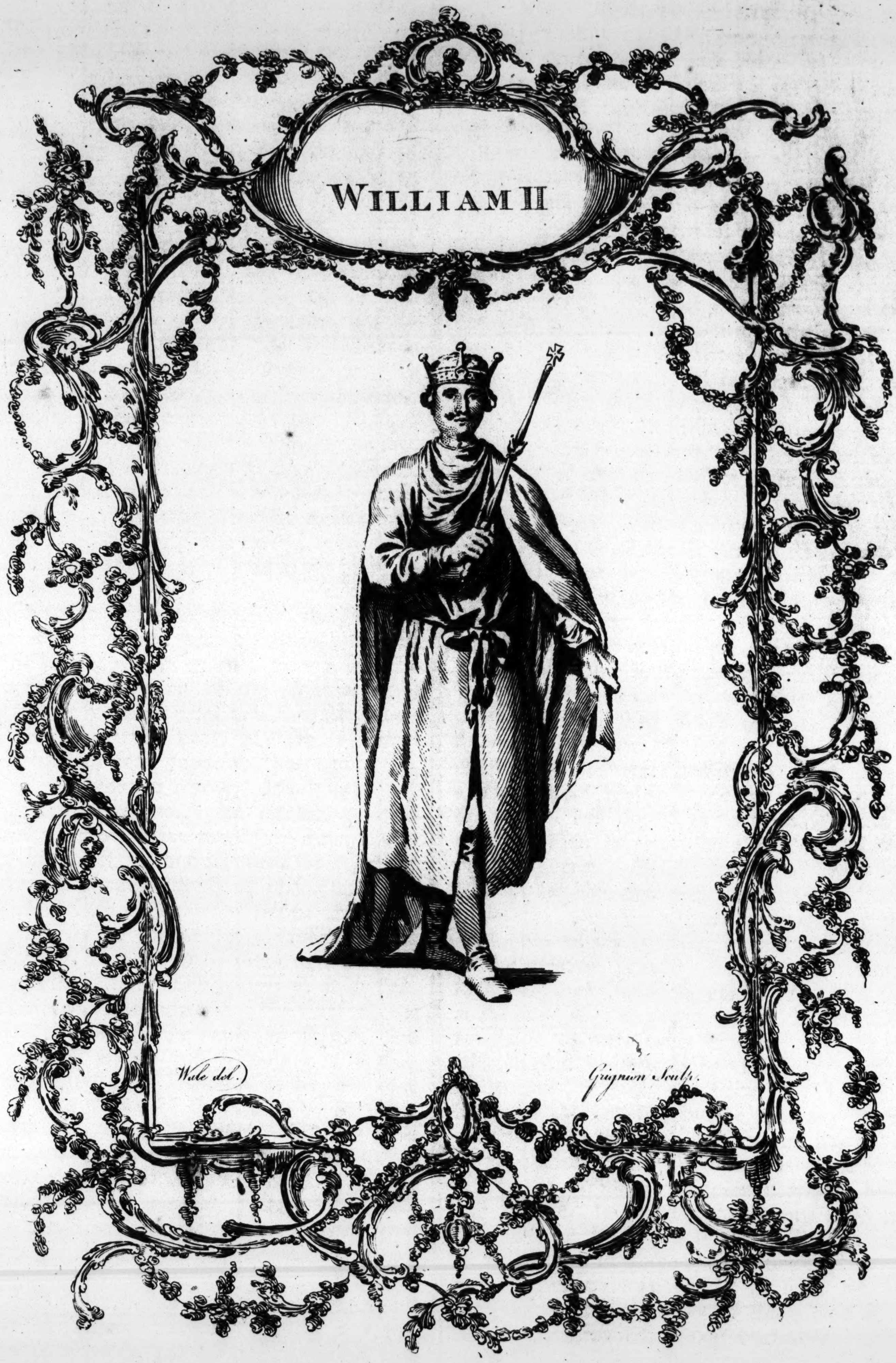
# WILLIAM II. ſurnamed RUFUS.

A.D. 1086. THOUGH the Conqueror was deſirous of placing his ſecond ſon, Rufus, on the Engliſh throne, he was aware of the difficulties that would, probably, attend his acceſſion. The right of primogeniture was, undoubtedly, veſted in his brother Robert. It was alſo natural to imagine, that the Engliſh were not yet ſufficiently reconciled to the Norman government, to admit a deſcendant from the Conqueror to take poſſeſſion of the throne without one ſtruggle for their liberty; and that the Norman barons would oppoſe any diviſion in the dominions of their late maſter: it was for their intereſt that the ſame perſon ſhould ſway the ſceptres of England and Normandy. Rufus was no ſtranger to theſe difficulties; and knowing that his right of ſucceſſion was founded on a letter the late king had written to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he haſtened to England, before any intelligence of the death of his father reached that kingdom, in order, if poſſible, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of a throne which, of right, belonged to his brother.

Lanfranc had been entruſted with the care of William's education, and looked upon him with the affection of a father: but he refuſed to exert his intereſt in his favour, unleſs he would promiſe, in the moſt ſolemn manner, "To govern with equity "and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient ſon to "the church." Rufus readily conſented; and the prelate applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to remove every difficulty, and procure for his princely pupil the ſceptre of England. He well knew that the government of the Conqueror was obnoxious to the inhabitants; and that all his endeavours would, therefore, prove abortive, unleſs ſome method could be deviſed to remove the prejudice of the people. A change of meaſures was univerſally deſired, and it was therefore neceſſary to promiſe, that their wiſh ſhould be granted. A report was accordingly propagated, that William had contracted a natural affection for the Engliſh; that he had ſeen with grief their oppreſſions, and earneſtly wiſhed to alleviate all their miſfortunes: that he conſidered the foreſt laws as ſhamefully oppreſſive, and fit only for a nation of the moſt abject ſlaves: that he thought the Engliſh and Normans equally his ſubjects, and intended to make no difference between them: and that he intended to reſtore the nation to its former liberty, and govern intirely by the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. Theſe reports excited a joy in the breaſt, of the Engliſh more eaſily imagined than expreſſed. They looked upon Rufus as a perſon ſent by Providence to remove their complicated diſtreſs, and once more reſtore that happineſs and domeſtic tranquillity which the iron rod of tyranny had deſtroyed. They wiſhed to ſee Rufus placed in the ſeat of power.

But the taſk was ſtill more difficult to gain the Norman barons over to the party of Rufus: they could not behold the disjunction of England and Normandy without regret: they were poſſeſſed of large eſtates in both, and deſirous of avoiding the inconvenience of being ſubject to two maſters. They foreſaw, that if a war ſhould break out between England and Normandy, an event highly probable, they muſt ſacrifice the eſtates they poſſeſſed in one province to the preſervation of thoſe in the other. Theſe conſiderations induced them to favour the pretenſions of Robert. The temper of William alſo rendered them averſe to his government. Cruel, inſolent, and rapacious, he had inſpired them with deteſtation inſtead of love. Recourſe was, however, had to the art of perſuaſion. They were taught to believe, that if Robert obtained poſſeſſion of the throne, there would be no hopes of their keeping poſſeſſion of their Engliſh eſtates: his Norman friends would be gratified with the poſſeſſions they themſelves had formerly wreſted from the natives of the country: that their intereſts were therefore cloſely connected with thoſe of Rufus, to whom their great benefactor, with his dying breath, had bequeathed the crown of England.

Theſe lenient and perſuaſive arts would, however, have failed of the deſired effect, had not the inactivity of Robert given them a force much greater than their own. Rufus owed the Engliſh crown to the indolence of his brother. Robert was ſo ſure of the affections of the people, that the ambitious deſigns of his brother gave him no uneaſineſs; and when his friends adviſed him not to truſt his intereſt wholly to precarious hope, probably founded on deception, but to croſs over immediately into England, and conciliate, by his preſence, the affections of that generous people; he anſwered, with a haughtineſs which nothing but the moſt ſuperlative vanity could inſpire, "That precipitation was unneceſſary; "the ſceptre was his undoubted right; the Engliſh "were his inſeparable friends, and would never preſume to appoint a ſucceſſor to the throne in his "abſence." He was, however, for once, miſtaken, and became the dupe of his own vanity. Lanfranc's unwearied application in favour of Rufus, prevailed over the intereſt of an abſent prince; and William was crowned by that prelate on the ſeventh of September.


WILLIAM II
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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William knew the popularity of Robert, and that the Norman barons would not fail to join his ſtandards, ſhould he land in England at the head of a powerful army. He therefore juſtly conſidered the Engliſh as his only ſupport, and determined to court their affections by the moſt lenient and conciliating meaſures. He practiſed not theſe aſſuaſive arts in vain. Flattered by the particular attention of their ſovereign, the Engliſh paid him unbounded obedience. They conſidered him as their friend, their protector, their father, and determined to ſupport his government againſt the attempts of every enemy. Their natural honeſty and oppenneſs of temper always rendered them the dupes of ambitious or deſigning men. The time-ſerving meaſures of Rufus both gained and ſecured him the Engliſh crown.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, the chief miniſter and favourite of Robert, jealous of the authority of Lanfranc, whoſe great abilities and high ſtation he envied, paſſed over into England, under pretence of ſolliciting the reſtitution of an eſtate he formerly poſſeſſed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiſcated by the Conqueror. He was received with great affection, and reinſtated in his former poſſeſſions. But the recovery of an eſtate was not the principal deſign of Odo's viſit: he intended to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir of the Conqueror. He accordingly applied to ſeveral of the principal barons, and found them ready to ſupport the pretenſions of his patron, provided they could be aſſured of a ſufficient force from Normandy to ſecond their attempt. Robert promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power; and that he would land, at the head of a powerful army, as ſoon as his preſence became neceſſary.

Animated by theſe encouragements, the partiſans of Robert broke out into open rebellion. Several parts of the kingdom were at once thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and many of the counties again laid waſte by the ſword of deſolation, William was alarmed; but that remarkable preſence of mind which never forſook him, ſupported him amidſt the rebellion of the Norman barons. He ſhewed not the leaſt ſigns of uneaſineſs; his paſſions precipitated him not into violent meaſures: he followed the advice of Lanfranc, and laboured to ſtifle the rebellion by the gentle methods of reaſon and conciliation. He choſe rather to convince the inſurgents of the folly of ſupporting a cauſe pregnant with deſtruction, than to force them to ſubmiſſion by blood and ſlaughter. The ſucceſs of theſe prudent meaſures was ſoon apparent; the chief of the conſpirators abandoned the cauſe of Robert, and became the firm friends and adherents of Rufus. The prudent counſels of Lanfranc triumphed over the violent inſtigations of the biſhop of Bayeaux. Odo himſelf eſcaped to Normandy; but his large poſſeſſions were ſeized by Rufus, who diſtributed them among thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully in this alarming criſis of danger. Robert loſt all his intereſt in England; and Rufus was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne he had uſurped from his brother.

A. D. 1088. Proſperity is, perhaps, the ſureſt touchſtone of virtue. While William was ſurrounded with enemies, and felt the crown totter on his brow, he diſtinguiſhed the Engliſh by every mark of favour. But he no ſooner ſaw all his enemies at his feet, and himſelf firmly fixed in the ſeat of power, than he forgot all his promiſes, and treated them with the cruelties of a conqueror. He increaſed, inſtead of mitigating the ſeverity of the foreſt laws. The complaints of the Engliſh were urged in vain; he was deaf to their petitions, and beheld their miſeries without redreſs. Lanfranc ſaw theſe meaſures with grief and aſtoniſhment: he remonſtrated againſt the deſpotic adminiſtration of his ſovereign in the moſt forcible manner; he urged his own ſolemn promiſes when a candidate for the crown; he urged the noble and generous behaviour of the Engliſh; but his efforts were in vain: Rufus, indeed, proceeded with more caution; the great character of the archbiſhop, and his prodigious intereſt with the people, kept the king within the bounds of decency. But this check was ſoon removed: Lanfranc, who had kept the paſſions of Rufus under ſome reſtraint, paid the debt of nature, and allowed his tyranny a full career. The death of that worthy prelate was juſtly regretted by all the virtuous part of the nation, Normans and Engliſh. He made no diſtinction between the two nations; every good man was ſure of his favour and protection. He gained the love of all parties; and was juſtly conſidered as a faithful and vigilant paſtor, and an able and upright ſtateſman.

The whole nation now felt all the weight of arbitrary power; the Engliſh were at once inſulted and oppreſſed: even the privileges of the church, ſo ſacred in thoſe early times, proved a feeble rampart againſt his uſurpations. Mitres and croſiers were put up to ſale, and the higheſt bidder was ſure to be the purchaſer. Nor were theſe illegal methods ſufficient to ſatisfy his avarice; the appointing of ſucceſſors to vacant benefices was delayed by this all-graſping monarch, that he might ſeize their revenues. The alarm occaſioned by his tyrannical adminiſtration was univerſal; but the terror of his authority ſtifled the voice of complaint; even the murmurs of the eccleſiaſtics were in vain; their diſtreſs produced no tumult or commotion.

A. D. 1090. The indolence of Robert, which had loſt him the Engliſh crown, threatened alſo to deprive him of his Norman dominions. Robert was valiant, and at the head of an army prudent and intrepid; but he was a ſtranger to policy; he had no talents for holding the reins of government. The reſtleſs and independent ſpirit of his vaſſals was greatly increaſed by his looſe and negligent adminiſtration. The ſword of civil diſcord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an inteſtine war. Robert had mortgaged the Contantin to his brother Henry for three thouſand pounds. Perhaps a leſs degree of natural affection never ſubſiſted than between the three ſons of William the Conqueror. Henry, fearful of loſing the dominions he had obtained, applied to William for aſſiſtance; and adviſed him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother, where he could not fail of the greateſt ſucceſs. Rufus, whoſe avaricious ſoul was never ſatisfied, paſſed over to Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppoſe his brother; he beheld with aſtoniſhment his towns ſucceſſively taken, and even the capital itſelf on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, by the treachery of the governor. He applied in vain to the king of France for aſſiſtance; that monarch was attached to the intereſt of William. Henry now ſaw his error, and trembled for his own dominions. He deſerted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived juſt ſoon enough to ſave the capital; and Robert, exaſperated at the perfidy of the governor, cauſed him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the caſtle.

A. D. 1091. William having thus miſcarried in his attempt upon Rouen, laid aſide his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Normandy, and returned to England. Perhaps he did not think it prudent to engage the combined army of his two brothers: a defeat might have been attended with the loſs of his crown. His tyranny had rendered the Engliſh ripe for a revolt, and they would gladly have joined the victorious army to hurl him from the throne. A peace was, ſoon after, concluded between Robert and William; by which it was ſtipulated, that on the death of either, without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to his dominions. The intereſts of Henry were totally forgotten; his name was not mentioned in the treaty.

Alarmed and exaſperated at this contemptuous treatment, Henry reſolved to revenge the inſult upon Robert, and accordingly made himſelf maſter of Mount Michael. This inſult rouſed the indolence of Robert: he informed his brother William of this act of hoſtility, and it was agreed to march a powerful army againſt Henry, in order to chaſtiſe him for diſturbing the peace of his brother's dominions. They began with taking poſſeſſion of the Conſtantin, and then advanced to the ſiege of Mount Michael, where Henry had ſhut himſelf up, and determined to defend the fortreſs to the laſt extremity. The place was ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature: it was ſituated on a rock, one ſide of which was waſhed by the ſea, and wholly ſurrounded by the tide at high water. Inſtead, therefore, of attempting to reduce it by ſtorm, the two brothers prudently turned the ſiege into a blockade, and determined to continue before the place till famine ſhould force the beſieged to ſurrender.

While the army lay thus inactive, William uſed frequently to ride round the camp, to ſee that a proper diſcipline was obſerved among the ſoldiers. One day, as he was employed in this exerciſe, he obſerved two men advancing full ſpeed from the caſtle. William, who was a total ſtranger to fear, inſtead of retreating, advanced to meet them, not doubting but he ſhould be able to take one, if not both of them, priſoners. They met with equal fury; but the launce of one of the ſoldiers piercing the cheſt of William's horſe, he fell, and the king was thrown violently to the ground. The ſoldier leaped from his ſaddle, and raiſed his hand to diſpatch his fallen adverſary with his ſword, when William exclaimed, "Hold, fellow! I am the king "of England!" Struck with veneration, the aſſailant ſheathed his ſword, raiſed him from the ground with the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect, and received a noble reward. This is, perhaps, the only commendable action in his whole reign. Henry was, however, ſoon after, obliged to ſurrender the caſtle to his brother Robert; and being deprived of all his poſſeſſions, wandered from one place to another, with few attendants, and often in the greateſt poverty and diſtreſs.

A. D. 1094. William ſtill entertained the dangerous ambition of making himſelf maſter of Normandy. He had, indeed, concluded a peace with Robert, who had ceded to him ſeveral towns; but treaties were feeble bars to the ambition of William. He made a ſecond invaſion of Normandy, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places. But the king of France, alarmed at his progreſs, marched, at the head of a powerful army, to the aſſiſtance of Robert. The ſcene was now totally changed: the towns and caſtles which Rufus had taken were ſucceſſively recovered, and William reduced to the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive. He immediately diſpatched an expreſs to England for a large reinforcement of troops; and threw up ſtrong intrenchments round his camp, to render abortive any deſign Robert might form againſt his army.

The levies were immediately raiſed in England; and a general muſter was appointed at Haſtings, where the number was found to amount to twenty thouſand men. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom for the barons or knights, under whom ſoldiers were raiſed for foreign ſervice, to furniſh each man with ten ſhillings towards defraying the expences of the campaign. William wanted money more than men; and therefore, when the ſoldiers were drawn up on the ſands, the treaſurer told them, that they might be diſmiſſed from the ſervice, on paying to him, for the king's uſe, the bounty-money they had received. The offer was readily embraced; they paid the money to the treaſurer, and were immediately diſcharged. This money enabled William to put an end to the campaign with honour. He corrupted many of Robert's vaſſals, and detached the king of France from his intereſt. But an incurſion of the Welſh obliged him to return to his own dominions ſooner than he intended, and ſaved Robert the mortification of ſeeing his towns taken from him, without being able to give the invader battle.

The Welſh had been exaſperated by the tyranny of the Norman barons whoſe eſtates lay on the borders of their country; and, to revenge the injuries they had received, poured like a deluge into the Engliſh territories. Their routes were marked with deſtruction; neither age nor ſex were ſpared. They laid in aſhes all the towns, villages, and farms, they met with; and rendered the counties of Salop, Cheſter and Hereford, a ſmoaking deſert. Exaſperated at their cruelties, William advanced againſt them at the head of a numerous army. But the Welſh, not thinking themſelves able to meet him in the open field, wiſely retreated to their mountains, whence they continually detached flying parties, who haraſſed the rear of William's army with perpetual ſkirmiſhes, and cut off his convoys; ſo that he was obliged to return without effecting his purpoſe.

A. D. 1095. An affair of much greater importance now called for his attention. A dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt his life by ſome of the principal barons of the kingdom. Robert Mowbray, the moſt powerful ſubject in England, was at the head of this dangerous deſign. The great intereſt and connections of Mowbray had engaged many of the nobility to join his party, which now became very numerous. William took the moſt prudent methods to render the deſign abortive. He ſummoned Mowbray to attend him at Wincheſter, to anſwer for his plundering four merchant ſhips, which had put into an Engliſh port under his juriſdiction. Robert, conſcious of his guilt, or vain of his ſervices, refuſed to obey the royal mandate. William, therefore, marched immediately againſt him; and Mowbray being in no condition to give William battle, ſhut himſelf up in Bamborough caſtle, which the king immediately inveſted. Mowbray knowing that the fortreſs, though impregnable, muſt, for want of proviſions, be forced to ſurrender, found means to eſcape from the caſtle. He repaired to Tinmouth, and endeavoured to corrupt the governor; but before he could effect his purpoſe, a detachment of William's army followed him, and took him priſoner. The caſtle of Bamborough ſurrendered, and the governor impeached all the conſpirators. Mowbray was ſentenced to be confined for life in Windſor-caſtle, ſeveral were executed, and the eſtates of the greater part of them were confiſcated.

Geoffrey count D'Eu was impeached by Geoffrey Baynard of high treaſon, in being privy to the late conſpiracy. He denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himſelf by ſingle combat; but being defeated by his antagoniſt, he was condemned to be caſtrated, and loſe both his eyes. His couſin, William D'Alderi, was ſentenced to be publickly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. He ſuffered the whole puniſhment with the greateſt intrepidity, and, with his dying breath, declared himſelf innocent of the crime laid to his charge. What bitter reflections muſt theſe dreadful ſeverities have excited in the minds of the Engliſh! How different are theſe tyrannical proceedings from the mildneſs of the Saxon laws!

A. D. 1096. William had ſome time ſince appointed the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury. It was cuſtomary at that time for perſons raiſed to any place of dignity to make preſents to the king proportional to the value of the poſt; and William, in conſequence, expected a very conſiderable ſum from Anſelm. But to his aſtoniſhment, the prelate's offering amounted to no more than five hundred pounds. Enraged at this parſimonious gift, the king refuſed to take it, and treated Anſelm with great indignity. The archbiſhop left the preſence, carrying the money with him; and could not be prevailed upon to furniſh any aid towards the expences of government. Anſelm was as tenacious of the church, as William was of the prerogatives of the crown.

A ſchiſm now happened in the Roman church. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity. Odo, biſhop of Oſtia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France; while his competitor, Gilbert, archbiſhop of Revenna, under the title of Clement III. was conſidered as the ſucceſſor of Peter, by ſeveral of the European powers, and particularly by the king of England. Anſelm oppoſed his ſovereign. The haughty prelate diſdained to ſubmit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiſcopal pall from the hands of Urban II. adding, that he regarded him as the true head of the church. Provoked by this inſolence, William was with the utmoſt difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on the churchman; and Anſelm, perceiving that he ſhould not be ſupported by the prelates and clergy, retired out of the kingdom. William ſeized immediately on the temporalities of the archiepiſcopal ſee; nor could he ever be perſuaded to reſtore them to the church: They continued in his hands till he paid the debt of nature.

Superſtition and enthuſiaſm form two of the principal features of theſe times, and produced ſuch conſequences as have aſtoniſhed people of more enlightened ages. A monk of Picardy, known by the name of Peter the hermit, having made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, repreſented, at his return, in ſuch ſtrong colours, the outrages and oppreſſions exerciſed by the Turks on the chriſtian pilgrims, that Urban II. conſidered him as a proper inſtrument to exhort the ſovereigns of Europe to undertake the conqueſt of the Holy Land. Peter was accordingly ſent from province to province, in order to ſow the ſeeds of enthuſiaſm, and rouſe the people to action.

Urban II. perceiving that the ſtrong paintings of Peter began to produce the deſired effect, held a council in the open fields near Placentia, at which above thirty thouſand ſeculars, beſides eccleſiaſtics, were preſent. The project of invading Paleſtine was univerſally applauded; but none engaged in the enterprize. Urban, therefore, held a ſecond council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a ſpeech in the market-place, in which he expatiated on the miſeries ſuffered by the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, and painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the ſcandal that was daily offered to the Chriſtian princes by the Turks, in not ſuffering their ſubjects to viſit a city, where the great author of their religion had laid down his life for the redemption of the human race. This ſpeech, exactly calculated to the meridian of the times, produced the deſired effect. The Italians had wept over the miſeries of the Chriſtians in Aſia; the French took up arms in their defence. That country was then peopled with a great many new lords, reſtleſs, independent, and fond of a life of war and diſſipation. Moſt of them plunged in crimes the natural attendants of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to their guilt. The pope promiſed them the remiſſion of all their ſins, and to open to them the gates of paradiſe, on the eaſy conditions of gratifying their predominant paſſion for war and tumult. No wonder that ſuch terms were readily embraced by a multitude of enthuſiaſtics. An infinite number of perſons took the croſs, and were ready to precipitate themſelves upon Aſia. Many even forgot, on this occaſion, the duties they owed to themſelves, to their families, and to their country. The glory of the undertaking baniſhed all other conſiderations. They reflected not on the fatigues, the obſtacles, and the dangers they muſt meet with before they trod the plains of Paleſtine. The churches and cloiſters made their advantage of this enthuſiaſtic madneſs; they purchaſed, at very low rates, many of the eſtates of the barons, who imagined that a little money and their arms were ſufficient for them to conquer kingdoms in Aſia. Every thing conſpired to fill their minds with the moſt chimerical ideas. The glory of the enterprize, the piety which it indicated, the advantages that might reſult from it to religion, the honour of extirpating the infidels, and the brilliancy of an eaſtern conqueſt, acted too powerfully on the minds of a ſuperſtitious people to be withſtood. The meaneſt lords of manors ſet out at their own expence, and the poor gentlemen followed them as ſquires. They inliſted an infinite number of cavalry and infantry, under a thouſand different banners.

This fanatical fury, though it robbed Europe of millions of inhabitants, had alſo its advantages. It tended greatly to eſtabliſh the peace of nations. Great part of the turbulent barons with their vaſſals were removed to a diſtance, and their eſtates veſted in the hands of more peaceable proprietors. The ſovereigns enjoyed their crowns, and the people their eſtates in more tranquillity: they were no longer alarmed with the fury of thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits that had often ſpread the horrors of civil diſcord over their reſpective kingdoms. The French monarchy recovered its luſtre by this enthuſiaſtic inſanity: the principal part of the large eſtates of the moſt opulent and powerful barons being purchaſed by the crown. But no prince gained more, or deſerved it leſs than Henry. Robert, his brother, infected with the enthuſiaſm of the times, and impatient to undergo all the fatigues of a holy war, took the croſs, and applied himſelf to make preparations for leading an army into Paleſtine. But he ſoon perceived that the revenues of his dutchy were too ſmall to anſwer this purpoſe: they were not ſufficient to enable him to appear in a manner ſuitable to his rank and ſtation at the head of his vaſſals. He had therefore recourſe to his brother, and mortgaged his dutchy for three years to Rufus, for the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks. William raiſed the money by contributions on his ſubjects; and Robert, after putting him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, ſet out at the head of his vaſſals to gather laurels on the plains of Paleſtine.

A. D. 1099. William was now conſidered as one of the moſt powerful princes of his time. England and Normandy were once more united, and the many contentions that had ſubſiſted between the barons of the two provinces entirely laid aſide. Both were ſubjects to William, and both felt the weight of his tyranny. But notwithſtanding the great power of Rufus, a ſingle baron dared to ſet that power at defiance. Helie, lord of la Fleche, a ſmall town in Anjou, alarmed the monarch of England. That nobleman made ſo many inroads into William's dominions, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants bordering on his dominions, that Rufus was obliged to croſs the ſeas ſeveral times, in order to drive him out of his territories. But Helie was not to be intimidated; he embraced the firſt opportunity of William's abſence to renew his incurſions, and this year laid ſiege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the new foreſt when he received advice of this tranſaction; when, turning to his attendants, he aſked them in what direction the city of Mans lay from them. He was immediately anſwered, and turning his horſe's head towards the place, rode full ſpeed to the ſea ſide, calling to thoſe that were about him, "Let him that loves me, follow me." Dartmouth was the firſt ſea-port town, and there they found only an old and crazy veſſel, which William entered notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions of his attendants to the contrary. The maſter of the veſſel declared, that the tempeſtuous weather rendered it madneſs to put to ſea, it was nothing leſs than running into unavoidable deſtruction. But the ſoul of William was not to be terrified by danger. "What!" ſaid he to the maſter, "didſt thou ever hear of a king that was "drowned?" Silenced by this reproof, the maſter ſailed immediately out of the harbour, and the next morning reached Barfleur in ſafety.

Surpriſed at the aſtoniſhing diſpatch of William, Helie, after a few ſkirmiſhes, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation. William followed the flying enemy, attacked their rear, and took Helie himſelf priſoner. The captive was treated with inſult; which ſo incenſed that intrepid nobleman, that he told Rufus, "He had little cauſe "for triumph, as his ſucceſs was owing rather to "ſurpriſe than valour." Adding, "That if he were "again at liberty, he would not find it eaſy to defeat "him in a fair engagement." This ſpeech awakened all the ſentiments of valour in the breaſt of Rufus. He immediately ordered the count to be ſet at liberty. "Be gone," ſaid he fiercely, "do thy worſt; and, "by the face of St. Luke, if thou haſt the good "fortune to conquer me, I will not aſk the ſmalleſt "return for the freedom I now confer upon thee." But no farther action happened between them.

While William was pleaſing himſelf with the acquiſition of Normandy, Robert was diſplaying his intrepid courage againſt the infidels. After the greateſt fatigues, and the loſs of multitudes of enthuſiaſtic ſoldiers, the famous city of Jeruſalem was taken, and the diadem of that celebrated capital offered to Robert. But whether that prince was not deſirous of a crown that muſt be ſupported by continual wars, or preferred the Engliſh ſceptre to that of the Holy City, is uncertain: he, however, declined the offer, and the crown was placed on the head of Godfrey of Boulogne. Had Robert perceived the conſequences that followed his declining this honour, he would not, poſſibly, have refuſed it. He was conſidered as a perſon without the leaſt regard for religion, becauſe he refuſed to ſupport the advantageous conqueſt which had been obtained at the expence of the lives of thouſands.

A. D. 1100. Though Jeruſalem was recovered from the infidels, the enthuſiaſtic madneſs of the times ſtill continued: numbers of warriors were daily flocking to the plains of Aſia. Among thoſe who were ſeized with the fanatical inſanity, was Henry, earl of Poictou, who offered to mortgage his dominions to William for a ſum of money ſufficient to defray the expences of the holy war. Rufus, who joined impiety to his other vices, and ridiculed both the motive which gave riſe to the cruſades, and the madneſs of thoſe who engaged in ſo chimerical an undertaking, liſtened to the offers of Henry. He agreed to pay down the ſum demanded on being put in poſſeſſion of the provinces; and ordered a numerous fleet to be fitted out, on board of which he propoſed to embark in perſon.

While theſe preparations were making, William amuſed himſelf daily with hunting in the New Foreſt. Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, and famous as an archer, attended the king in theſe diverſions. One day, as they were returning from the chaſe, and at a diſtance from his attendants, William alighted from his horſe, to wait till they joined him. He was hardly on the ground, before a ſtag, ruſhing from an adjacent thicket, paſſed near the king. William immediately let fly an arrow, which wounded the deer, and he followed the creature, expecting he would ſoon fall. While William was engaged in watching the wounded ſtag, another iſſued from the ſame thicket, and croſſing the path between Tyrrel and the king, the knight ſhot an arrow, which, either by glancing againſt a tree, or the horns of the deer, changed its direction, ſtruck the monarch in the breaſt, and piercing his heart, he fell dead on the ſpot, without uttering a word. Tyrrel, who had been the innocent cauſe of this fatal cataſtrophe, fled immediately to the ſea-ſide, and eſcaped to France. The royal corpſe was treated with the ſame neglect as that of his father. His attendants, who feared his power, and had followed his fortunes, paid no regard to his remains. The body was ſuffered to lie in the very poſture it fell, till they perceived a peaſant approaching with his cart, into which they threw the body, and in that ignominious manner it was conveyed to Wincheſter, and buried in the cathedral. No funeral pomp attended this monarch to his tomb; his grave was not watered with the tears of his people. An accidental blow put an end to his life, on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

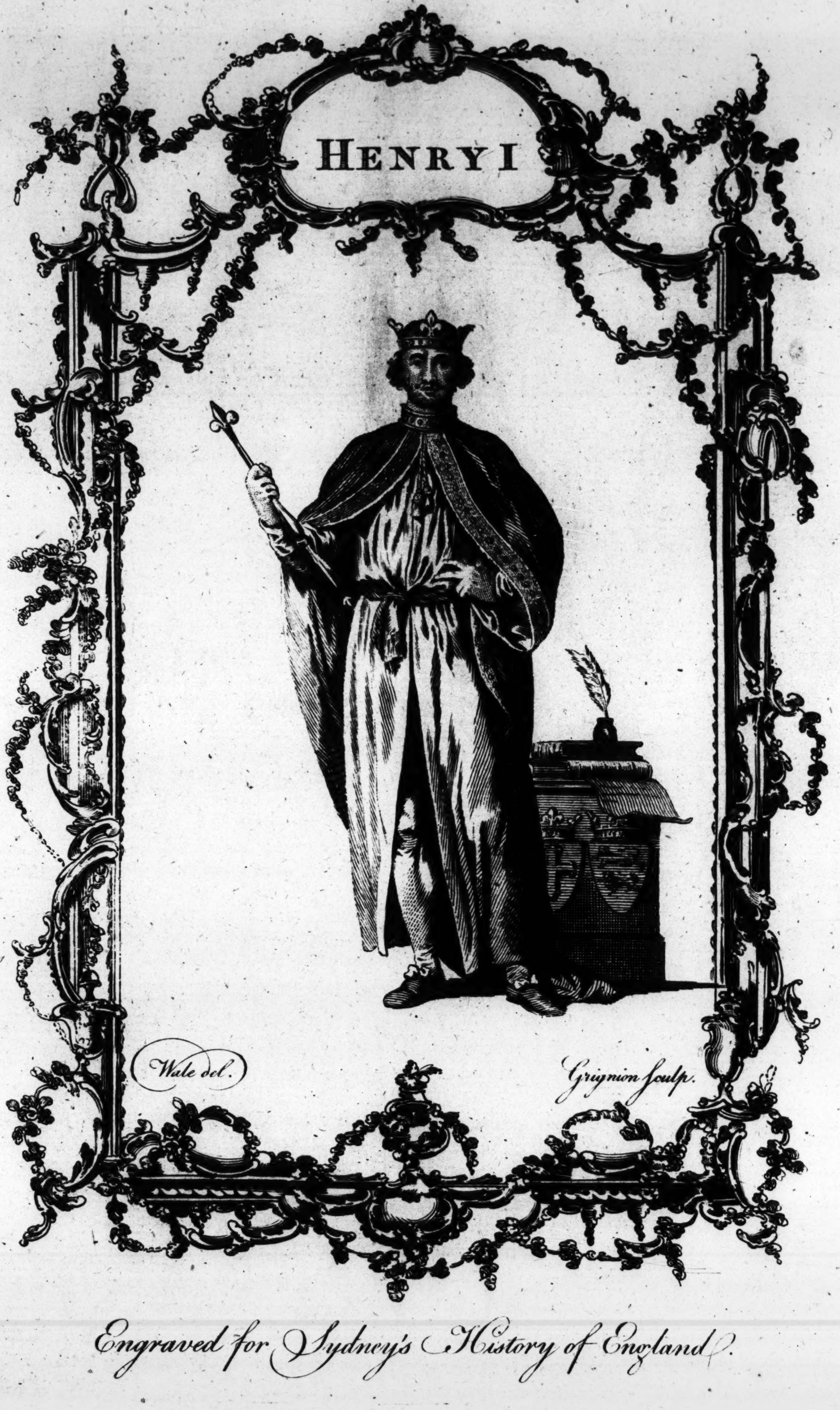
William had ſome virtues, and many vices. He was intrepid and magnanimous, a lover and encourager of arts and learning, a friend to military merit, and an implacable enemy to every ſpecies of ſuperſtition. But he was ungrateful, avaricious, tyrannical, perfidious, cruel, rapacious and diſſolute. In a word, his few virtues were obſcured by his vices, which have fixed an eternal ſtain upon his memory. He built Weſtminſter-hall, London-bridge, and the greater part of the Tower. He acquired the ſurname of Rufus from his hair being of a red colour.

# HENRY I. ſurnamed BEAUCLERC.

A.D. 1100. THE throne of England, by the death of William Rufus, without iſſue, undoubtedly belonged to Robert; who, after the reduction of Jeruſalem, returned to Italy, where he married Sibylla, daughter of William, count of Converſana, a lady celebrated for her beauty and accompliſhments. In that delicious climate he was enjoying the delights of love and repoſe, when the throne of England became vacant by the untimely death of his brother. But indolence and pleaſure were more prevalent with Robert than the acquiſition of a diadem. He continued in Italy till the throne was filled by another.

Henry, the younger brother of William, was hunting in the ſame foreſt when the arrow from the bow of Tyrrel put a period to the life of Rufus. He knew the indolence of his brother Robert, and determined to ſeize the crown in his abſence. He poſted directly to Wincheſter, and made himſelf maſter of his brother's treaſures. This acquiſition almoſt inſured his ſucceſs. He now eaſily gained over the nobility and prelates to his intereſt; and he was crowned at London on the fifth of Auguſt, three days after his brother's deceaſe.

Henry was aware of the danger that might attend this act of uſurpation. He knew that Robert, with all his faults, was a favourite of the Engliſh; and therefore wiſely determined to gain the love of his people, and colour the unjuſt meaſures he had purſued to ſeize the ſceptre of his brother, by the appearance of juſtice and humanity. Henry was not to learn, that the firſt acts of a king make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the minds of the people. He granted a famous charter, under the great ſeal of England, whereby he reſtrained himſelf from ſeizing the revenues of vacant biſhopricks and abbies. He engaged to admit the heirs of barons to the enjoyment of their eſtates, without exacting thoſe enormous fees which had been required by the two preceding princes. He promiſed to remit the wardſhip of minors,


HENRY I
Wale del.
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*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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minors, by which the crown received the profits of their poſſeſſions during their minority. He engaged not to oppoſe any marriages which the barons might contract for their daughters, ſiſters, nieces, or kinſwomen, unleſs the perſons propoſed were his enemies. He promiſed to exerciſe with juſtice and moderation the right of levying impoſts, to pardon all paſt offences, to remit all debts due to the crown; and to maintain, in their full force, the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

This charter was ſigned, with great ſolemnity, before all the archbiſhops, biſhops, barons, earls, ſheriffs, &c. in England; as many copies of it were taken as there were counties in the kingdom; and the tranſcript was lodged in the principal abbey of each diviſion.

The ſigning of this charter was followed by an act of juſtice which endeared Henry to his ſubjects. Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, the oppreſſive and deteſted miniſter of Rufus, was thrown into priſon, and fell a victim to the reſentment of the public. He aboliſhed the curfeu; and granted the citizens of London a new charter, containing very ample privileges.

Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had rendered himſelf extremely popular by the vigorous oppoſition he made to the meaſures of the late king; and his reputation for ſanctity had greatly increaſed during his baniſhment. The Engliſh were, therefore, very deſirous of ſeeing that famous prelate reſtored to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury. Henry was no ſtranger to the affection of the people for their paſtor, and immediately recalled Anſelm from his exile. On his arrival, Henry propoſed that he ſhould renew the homage he had done to his brother; but this the lofty prelate abſolutely refuſed; the pope having very lately declared, in a council held at Rome, that it was highly abſurd to ſuppoſe, that hands deſtined to create God ſhould be profaned by being ignominiouſly inſerted between hands ſtained with blood, and polluted with rapine and impure contacts. Henry, though he deſpiſed the ſhallow reaſoning of the Roman pontiff, thought it prudent not to inſiſt any farther on the homage, leſt he ſhould involve himſelf in a diſagreeable conteſt with the primate. He was, indeed, deſirous of procuring his aſſiſtance in effecting a deſign he had conceived of marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling. That princeſs had reſided in the monaſtery of Wilton ever ſince the death of her father, and had, for ſome years, worn the veil, but never taken the vows; and it was queſtioned whether it was lawful for her to marry.

Anſelm refuſed to decide this queſtion by his own authority. He ſummoned a general council at Lambeth; where, after the caſe of Matilda was thoroughly examined, Anſelm declared the princeſs free from all religious engagements, and at full liberty to marry. The ceremony was accordingly performed by the archbiſhop himſelf, and Matilda ſeated on the Engliſh throne. Henry could not have performed an act more agreeable to the Engliſh nation. The people looked with the higheſt veneration on their ancient race of kings; and beheld, with love and admiration, the only remaining branch of the Saxon line ſeated on a throne ſo long filled by her illuſtrious anceſtors.

A. D. 1101. Robert now returned from the plains of Italy, and took poſſeſſion of his dutchy without oppoſition. He alſo made preparations for recovering by force the crown of England, which had been ſo unjuſtly uſurped by his brother during his abſence. The ſeparation of England and Normandy was repugnant to the intereſt of the moſt powerful barons, and they were, therefore, well diſpoſed to ſecond the attempts of Robert, provided he landed, at the head of a reſpectable army, in England. Beleſme, earl of Shrewſbury; Warrenne, earl of Surry, and ſeveral other nobles, were the firm friends of Robert, and exerted themſelves in his intereſt. Henry perceived the gathering ſtorm, and was perſuaded, that the ſureſt way to break its force was to cultivate the friendſhip of Anſelm, whoſe influence was boundleſs. He conſulted him on every occaſion, and followed implicitly his advice. The prelate was deceived by his careſſes; he thought him ſincere; he ſupported his intereſt, and kept his troops from deſerting. A general meeting of the ſtates was ſummoned; where Anſelm ſolemnly engaged, that the king would govern his kingdom according to the laws of equity and juſtice in all matters, religious and civil.

Robert now landed at Portſmouth, at the head of a numerous army, and was joined by ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons in the kingdom. The crown tottered on Henry's brow: he ſaw his brother advancing towards the capital, and feared the conſequences. The power of Anſelm alone ſupported the drooping monarch. The prelate declared publickly, that if Robert perſiſted in his deſign of driving Henry from the throne, he would excommunicate him, and all his adherents. The cenſures of Anſelm were more dreaded than the armed force of Robert. The thunder of the church was then conſidered as the voice of heaven, and the ſoldiers refuſed to fight againſt their Maker. Robert ſoon felt the conſequences of Anſelm's threatenings: his forces, inſtead of increaſing in ſtrength, grew weaker daily; and even thoſe that continued firm to his intereſt advanced with timidity. The two armies met near Wincheſter, but continued inactive. Henry was fearful his troops would deſert him in the day of battle, and Robert was deſirous of waiting for freſh reinforcements.

Anſelm exerted all his intereſt, during this interval of inaction, to ſheathe the ſword of war, by concluding a peace between the two brothers. He was at laſt ſucceſsful, and a treaty was ſigned by the contending princes, Robert was to receive an annual penſion of three thouſand marks; and the friends of each party to be reſtored to their lands and eſtates, both in England and Normandy. Peace being thus reſtored, both armies were diſbanded; and Henry carried his brother to his court, where they lived in the greateſt harmony during two months, when Robert returned to his own dominions.

Though this treaty was very advantageous to Henry, he was the firſt that violated the articles. Determined to revenge the deſertion of his barons, he commenced proſecutions againſt them; and they thinking it imprudent to appear, their eſtates were confiſcated, and they themſelves baniſhed from the kingdom. Robert, who was ſtrongly tinctured with the ſpirit of chivalry, conſidered his honour as concerned in recovering the honours and eſtates of thoſe noblemen who had ſuffered in violation of the treaty between him and his brother. Benign and generous himſelf, he was perſuaded that his preſence alone was ſufficient to kindle the flame of candour and humanity in the breaſt of his brother; but he was miſtaken. Henry was determined not to part with the large eſtates he had confiſcated, as he was now in no fear of the attempts of an enemy. Robert arrived in England; but ſoon found that he had followed the warmth of humanity at the expence of his intereſt, and almoſt of his ſafety. Henry refuſed to hear his remonſtrances, and even hinted that his own liberty was in danger. Robert ſaw his error when it was too late, and was glad to make his eſcape at the expence of his penſion.

But Henry found a more formidable competitor in Anſelm than in the duke of Normandy. Conſcious of the merits of his late ſervices, the prelate determined, if poſſible, to render the clergy independent of the crown. He was no ſtranger to the violent temper of Henry, nor the jealouſy with which he beheld every attempt to leſſen the prerogatives of the crown. But he was not to be deterred by difficulties, nor intimidated by dangers. He well knew, that the ſuperſtition of the people would ſupport him, and that perſeverance only was neceſſary to render the authority of the mitre little inferior to that of the crown. Henry ſaw his danger, and was alarmed for the conſequences. The power of the church had grown to ſuch an enormous height, that the thrones of the princes of Europe tottered under them. The beneficent religion of the meek and humble Jeſus was changed into a ſyſtem of the moſt tyrannical power. Ambition and prejudices had effaced the pure principles of the goſpel. Anſelm knew the power of the Roman pontiff, and that it would be exerted in his favour. He was deſirous of eſtabliſhing the celibacy of the clergy, and of wreſting from the crown the right of giving inveſtiture to biſhops and abbots. A ſynod was accordingly convened, in which a ſentence of excommunication was fulminated againſt married prieſts. Pleaſed with this ſucceſs, Anſelm determined to proceed, notwithſtanding he perceived he ſhould be oppoſed by the whole power of the crown. Nor was he contented with depriving Henry of a prerogative enjoyed by all the monarchs that had filled the Engliſh throne from the firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity; he propoſed, that all the biſhops who had received inveſtiture from the king, ſhould immediately reſign their ſees, or ſtand abſolutely excommunicated. Exaſperated at this inſolent attempt, Henry ſummoned Anſelm to appear in the king's court. He obeyed; and was commanded inſtantly to do homage to the king, to conſecrate ſuch perſons as had been nominated to vacant ſees, or to depart the kingdom immediately; the king declaring, in expreſs terms, "That no perſon ſhould reſide in any part of his dominions, who refuſed to pay the allegiance due to a ſovereign." But Anſelm deſpiſed the threats of royalty; and with the reſolution of a man conſcious of his power, told the court, "That he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty; that he ſhould immediately retire to Canterbury, where he ſhould continue to exerciſe his archiepiſcopal functions, and wait the iſſue with reſignation and tranquillity." As Henry was determined not to part with ſo valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cauſe he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At laſt it was agreed by both parties to ſend a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole diſpute before his holineſs; and that in the mean time the biſhops and abbots ſhould continue to exerciſe the functions of their reſpective offices.

A. D. 1105. Robert, though a brave and generous prince, was incapable of governing his own dominions. Abandoned alternately to devotion and diſſolute pleaſures, the affairs of his dutchy were neglected; his ſubjects became a prey to the avidity of his officers; and rapine and injuſtice ranged at large over the dominions of Normandy. The mildneſs of his diſpoſition gave a boldneſs to depredation, and his indolence a tacit ſanction to outrage. The complaints of the people were uttered in vain; nothing could rouſe Robert from the couch of ſuperſtitious inattention. Neglected by their own prince, and ſubject to the continual inſults of rapine and violence, the Normans applied to Henry for redreſs. That prince liſtened with pleaſure to their complaints; but not having even the ſhadow of a pretence to juſtify a rupture with his brother, he contented himſelf with writing a letter to Robert, in which he repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the enormity of his conduct in not redreſſing the grievances of his ſubjects, and ſecuring their properties from the hand of the ſpoiler. He intreated him, in the moſt preſſing manner, to reſume the conduct of a prince, and to act in ſuch a manner as might acquire him the glorious title of being the father of his people. He added, that he thought it his duty as his brother, and the relation he bore to the inhabitants of Normandy, to uſe every means in his power to redreſs their grievances; and if, contrary to his wiſhes, this epiſtle produced no effect, his brother muſt not think it ſtrange if he himſelf eſpouſed the cauſe of the oppreſſed Normans, ſhould they apply to him as their protector.

This letter ſoon produced the intended effect. The hopes of aſſiſtance animated the Normans; their complaints againſt the government increaſed to an amazing height. Robert was alarmed, and applied himſelf to remove the complaints of his people; but it was now too late. Henry had raiſed a ſtorm which threatened deſtruction to his brother's authority. His letter had inflamed the minds of the people; they formed themſelves into parties againſt the government; and the nobility joined in a requeſt to Henry, begging he would take a diſtreſſed province under his protection.

Henry had now obtained the ſecret purpoſe of his ſoul, and ſoon after paſſed over into Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. The nobility flocked to his camp; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced before his troops were ready to take the field, Henry did not think it prudent to begin hoſtilities. Many of the Norman and Engliſh barons now feared the conſequences that might attend an open rupture between the two brothers, and laboured aſſiduouſly to bring about a reconciliation between them. Robert accordingly paid Henry a viſit; and, by the interpoſition of their nobles, their diſputes ſeemed to be amicably terminated. But before Henry paſſed over into England, he ſeized the ſtrong towns of Bayeaux and Caen, belonging to Robert, in defiance of the laws of nature and nations, and garriſoned them with Engliſh troops.

A. D. 1106. Robert, aſtoniſhed at this act of hoſtility, paſſed over into England; and, with great mildneſs, though with a reſolution becoming an injured prince, expoſtulated with his brother on his late conduct in Normandy. He diſplayed the injuſtice of the action in its proper colours, and peremptorily demanded the reſtitution of the towns he had ſeized, contrary to every law, both human and divine. Henry abſolutely refuſed to make any reſtitution; he even treated the remonſtrances of his brother with contempt. Convinced that nothing could be obtained by negotiation, and that war alone muſt decide the controverſy, Robert returned to Normandy, and determined to defend his territories to the laſt extremity.

Had his own commanders behaved faithfully, and exerted themſelves, in defence of their country, in any degree equal to their maſter, Henry would, in all probability, have fallen into the hands of his brother; but, through the cowardice of one of their generals, the Norman army was defeated, and Robert himſelf, with ſeveral of his nobles, and Edgar Atheling, were taken priſoners. Henry reduced the whole dutchy to obedience, and returned, with his captives, in triumph, to England. Edgar Atheling was ſet at liberty, with a trifling penſion; and lived to a good old age, neglected and forgotten. But Robert was committed, a cloſe priſoner, to Cardiff-caſtle, where he continued till he paid the debt of nature, which did not happen till twenty-ſeven years after his defeat. The example of this intrepid duke of Normandy affords a convincing proof, that a prince endowed with a large ſhare of good nature and affability, without wiſdom and diſcernment, is incapable of holding the reins of government, ſo as to acquire either honour to himſelf, or happineſs to his people.

A. D. 1107. The deputies were now returned from Rome, charged with a fulminating letter againſt the king, for his aſſuming the right of inveſtitures. "Becauſe," ſaid the pontiff, "Chriſt is called the *door*, therefore all eccleſiaſtics muſt enter into the church through Chriſt alone; not through any profane layman, however great in temporal power." This ſpecies of reaſoning was far from convincing Henry; he treated it with the contempt it deſerved. But he feared the power of the pontiff, and was deſirous of avoiding an embarraſſing diſpute with his clergy. He, therefore, ſuppreſſed the pope's letter; and prevailed on the biſhops, who had attended the Roman council, to declare, that the pontiff did not diſapprove of his granting benefices, though he did not chuſe to declare his opinion in writing. Anſelm, who was acquainted with every thing that had paſſed at Rome, ſupported the cauſe he had undertaken with firmneſs and reſolution. He not only refuſed to conſecrate ſome new biſhops, who had received inveſtiture from the king, but alſo to communicate with them. Henry was irritated to the greateſt degree; and the prelate, to avoid the ſtorm, retired to Rome. The people were alarmed at the departure of their archbiſhop; they dreaded the conſequences of an excommunication; and remembered with terror all the horrid ſcenes exhibited in Germany, in conſequence of an anathema fulminated by the Roman pontiff againſt the emperors Henry IV. and V. They already ſaw, in imagination, the flames of diſſention and diſcord lighted up in their own country, by the dreadful torch of religious fury. Henry himſelf was deſirous of avoiding the conſequences, and diſpatched an ambaſſador to Rome, who told Paſchal, that his maſter would ſooner loſe his crown than part with the right of granting inveſtitures. "And I," replied Paſchal, "would rather loſe my head than allow him to retain it." Every thing indicated a rupture between Henry and the pope; but the former not chuſing to ſee his country waſted by the unrelenting hand of religious bigotry, wiſely gave up the claim of inveſtitures, and the pope conſented to his exacting from biſhops the homage they owed him as temporal peers. An accommodation having thus taken place between Henry and the church, Anſelm was re-eſtabliſhed in his archiepiſcopal chair.

A. D. 1109. During this interval of public tranquillity, ambaſſadors arrived from Henry IV. emperor of Germany, to demand Matilda, Henry's daughter, in marriage; and the terms of the treaty were adjuſted in the preſence of the council. Soon after this tranſaction, the famous Anſelm paid the debt of nature and was univerſally regretted by the clergy. He was a prelate of great learning, conſidering the age in which he lived; but ſo ambitious, haughty, and bigotted, that he deſtroyed the peace of the church, which it was his duty to preſerve. Power, and not piety, was the end he wiſhed to attain. He ſacrificed internal purity to external magnificence; and preferred the ſhadow to the ſubſtance of religion.

A. D. 1116. Though Henry had, for ſome time, been maſter of his brother's territories, he found it very difficult to defend his uſurpation. He was frequently involved in wars; and found it often neceſſary to croſs the ſea, in order to ſtop the inroads of the neighbouring princes and diſcontented barons. William, the ſon of duke Robert, a prince of the greateſt hopes, had fled to the court of Anjou for protection; and the juſtice of his cauſe, with the unnatural cruelty of his uncle, exciting in the breaſts of the neighbouring princes a deteſtation of Henry's proceedings, they reſolved to reinſtate him in the dominions of his father. Lewis the Groſs, king of France, was at the head of this aſſociation. That prince, as ſovereign lord of Normandy, had granted William inveſtiture of all the territories of duke Robert; and reſolved, in conjunction with the reſt of the confederates, to ſupport him in his juſt rights againſt all the power of the uſurper. Henry was now ſufficiently alarmed, and croſſed over into Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. But the ſeaſon was too far advanced for any military operations of conſequence to take place; and the two armies, after a few ſkirmiſhes of no conſequence, retired into winter quarters.

A. D. 1119. The two preceding campaigns were ſpent to very little purpoſe. Henry was obliged to act on the defenſive, and the allied army made but a ſlow progreſs in reducing the fortified towns of Normandy. But having gained over the earl of Anjou to his party, Henry was now able to meet the enemy in the open field. The two armies met in the plain of Brenneville, where a bloody battle enſued. William, at the head of a choſen body of troops, attacked the van of Henry's army with ſuch impetuoſity, that he broke their ranks, and penetrated to the main body, where the king of England commanded in perſon. But Henry maintained his ground with ſurpriſing coolneſs and preſence of mind; he rode from rank to rank, encouraging thoſe who ſtood firm, and rallying the ſquadrons which had been broken by the intrepid attack of the young Norman prince. The engagement now became general; and while Henry was employed in leading his troops againſt the enemy, he was in the utmoſt danger of falling a victim to one of thoſe chances ſo frequent in war, by which the monarch and the private ſoldier, the coward and the brave, are equally expoſed. William de Criſpin, a Norman knight, celebrated at once for his ſtrength and intrepidity, cut his way to the ſpot where Henry, regardleſs of his own ſafety, fought in perſon. Pleaſed with the glorious opportunity of gaining the victory by a ſingle blow, Criſpin fell, with the utmoſt fury, on the king of England, and gave him two ſuch violent blows on the head, that the blood guſhed out from his mouth and ears, and he ſeemed, for a moment, to have loſt his ſenſes. Criſpin perceived his advantage, and was juſt going to ſtrike a third blow, when Henry, with ſurpriſing reſolution, ſtruck his adverſary with ſo much fury, that he fell headlong from his horſe, and was taken priſoner.

This perſonal bravery of Henry had no other effect than defeating the intention of the Norman knight: the battle raged with the utmoſt fury, and Fortune ſeemed inclined to give the palm of victory to the French and Norman army. Henry himſelf began to tremble for the conſequences. In this alarming criſis, the Engliſh, who formed the rear of the army, advanced, and charged the enemy with ſo much fury, that, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, they gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. All attempts to rally them were in vain. Lewis himſelf was hurried away with the torrent, thrown from his horſe, and eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a peaſant, who conducted him from this dreadful ſcene of confuſion, through woods and bye-paths, to the caſtle of Andeli.

Lewis, notwithſtanding his late defeat, was ſoon able to take the field againſt the enemy; and a ſecond battle, more furious than the firſt, enſued, in which both claimed the victory, and, perhaps, with equal reaſon. The French monarch now perceived that it would be difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to reſtore the young prince to the dominions of his father by force of arms; and therefore applied to the council of Rheims, aſſembled by pope Calixtus II: flattering himſelf with being able to turn the thunder of the church againſt the Engliſh monarch. Aware of the danger, Henry took the moſt prudent method to divert the ſtorm. He ſent large preſents to the pontiff, and brought over Calixtus to his intereſt; ſo that all the attempts of Lewis were rendered abortive. The pope declared himſelf ſatisfied with the reaſons Henry had offered for his conduct, and diſſolved the aſſembly. A peace was, ſoon after, concluded between the contending monarchs, and Henry was permitted to keep poſſeſſion of Normandy.

A. D. 1120. But the ſucceſs of Henry was greatly overbalanced by a domeſtic misfortune, which embittered the remainder of his life. William, his only ſon, who had been recognized as his ſucceſſor in a general council of the nation, and attended him into Normandy, was now on his return, with his father, to England. The ſhip in which the prince embarked was, by ſome accident, detained ſeveral hours after the reſt of the fleet; and the interval being ſpent in drinking, neither the maſter, nor any of the ſeamen, were capable of carrying the ſhip out of the harbour. They ran her upon a ſunken rock, where ſhe immediately foundered. All was now a ſcene of hurry and confuſion: the boats were hoiſted out, and every one endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety. The prince, with a conſiderable number of his companions, leaped into the long-boat, and, with great difficulty, got clear of the ſhip. But hearing the cries of Matilda, his natural ſiſter, who had been left in the general confuſion, he ordered the ſeamen to row back to the ſhip, and, if poſſible, ſave her life. He never conſidered, that in ſuch diſtracting incidents, all reſpect for perſons is loſt, and ſelf-preſervation the only principle that then fills the human breaſt. Fatal experience convinced him of his error. They no ſooner reached the ſide of the ſhip, than ſuch numbers jumped into the boat, that they ſunk, and every ſoul periſhed. No leſs than one hundred and forty young noblemen loſt their lives by this dreadful accident. The king was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon: he endeavoured to conceal his grief, but without ſucceſs: he never got the better of his misfortune; a cloud of melancholy ſpread over his countenance, and the loſs of his ſon hung heavy on his heart.

A. D. 1121. Deſirous, however, of having an heir to ſucceed him in the throne, Henry, who had, ſome years ſince, loſt his amiable queen Matilda, married Adelais, daughter to the duke of Louvain, a young lady amiable at once for her beauty and accompliſhments. But the hopes both of the king and the nation were diſappointed; Adelais brought Henry no child.

A. D. 1127. Diſappointed in having a ſon to ſucceed him on the throne, Henry was deſirous of ſecuring the crown for his daughter Matilda, who had lately loſt her conſort, Henry V. emperor of Germany, and was now returned to her father's court. He accordingly ſummoned a meeting of the ſtates at Windſor, where it was unanimouſly agreed to acknowledge the empreſs Maud, or Matilda, as queen of England, in caſe Henry died without male iſſue. The Engliſh beheld that princeſs with affection, as ſhe was deſcended, on her mother's ſide, from the ancient race of their Saxon kings, whoſe memories they revered.

A. D. 1128. But Henry was not ſatisfied with this acquiſition; he was alſo deſirous of ſecuring to her the dutchy of Normandy. Accordingly he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, ſon of Fulk, earl of Anjou. By this political ſtratagem, he effectually detached Fulk from William, ſon to duke Robert, and all the allies of that unfortunate prince. But this ſtep, which was taken without the advice of his barons, was extremely diſagreeable to the Engliſh; and Henry had reaſon to dread the effects of their reſentment. The young duke of Normandy, whom Lewis the Groſs had put in poſſeſſion of Flanders, conſidered this as a proper opportunity for re-commencing the war, and wreſting his hereditary dominions out of the hands of the Engliſh monarch; but before he could carry his deſigns into execution, he was killed in a battle with the landgrave of Alſace. By the death of this young prince, Henry became the undiſputed heir to the dutchy of Normandy, Robert having no other legitimate iſſue.

A. D. 1129. Henry had now ſurmounted all oppoſition, and a ſeries of profound tranquillity ſucceeded the boiſterous ſeaſons of war and devaſtation. The loſs of his ſon, which ſtill oppreſſed his ſpirits, had tended greatly to convince him of the vanity of human enjoyments. He ſaw the folly of graſping at power, that eludes the touch; and of labouring to ſecure enjoyments as fleeting as the morning cloud. The milder ſentiments of mercy and forgiveneſs ſucceeded to thoſe of fury and reſentment, which had ſo long filled his breaſt, and proved a continual ſource of uneaſineſs. He extended his pardon to all who implored it; and attached to his intereſt, by acts of kindneſs and generoſity, ſeveral perſons of great influence and power; but not a ſingle ray of pity was extended to his brother Robert, who was ſtill a priſoner in Cardiff-caſtle.

A. D. 1135. Henry often viſited his Norman dominions, and enjoyed the pleaſure of being preſent at the birth of ſeveral of his daughter's children. While he continued in that country, which ſeemed the favourite place of his reſidence, he received advice that the Welſh had renewed their incurſions. Exaſperated at the behaviour of that reſtleſs people, Henry reſolved to paſs over into England, and chaſtiſe the invaders; but before he could embark, death put a final period to all his undertakings. He died at the caſtle of Lyons, near Rouen, on the firſt of December, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-ſixth of his reign. His brother Robert had paid the debt of nature about ten months before him, in the caſtle of Cardiff.

The charrcter of Henry exhibits a ſeries of inconſiſtencies, which too often fall to the portion of frail humanity. He poſſeſſed many valuable qualities, but they were ſullied by a greater number of faults. His behaviour to his brother and nephew have thrown ſuch a ſtain upon his memory, as all his good actions can never obliterate. The bands of fraternal affection were ſeparated by the ſword of ambition; and the laws of juſtice, of humanity, of nature, and of nations, were ſacrificed at the ſhrine of unnatural uſurpation. At the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged, that the wiſdom and vigour of his adminiſtration procured to the diſtreſſed Normans that tranquillity, happineſs, and ſafety, which they had ſo long ſollicited in vain. Like all his predeceſſors of the Norman race, he was jealous of every encroachment on his power; but he relieved his ſubjects from ſeveral oppreſſive grievances, under which they had long laboured, and from which they had often petitioned to be relieved. He protected, by his power, the liberties of England; and guarded, by his addreſs, againſt the inſolent uſurpations of the Roman pontiff. He was ſevere in the execution of juſtice; the licentiouſneſs of the times rendered it neceſſary. He was an implacable enemy to extortion; the officer who made uſe of oppreſſion was ſure to feel the whole weight of his anger. If he often broke ſome of the articles in his charter, it ſhould be remembered, that he was the firſt of the Norman race that made any contract with the people; and that the charter of Henry formed the baſis of Engliſh liberty. Learning and learned men were not common in theſe times of ſuperſtitious ignorance: Henry cultivated the one, and encouraged the other. He obtained the ſurname of Beauclerc, or the fine ſcholar, from the progreſs he had made in the ſciences; which, conſidering the bigotry and barbarity of the age, was not contemptible. If, therefore, the vices of Henry have fixed an eternal ſtain upon his memory, his virtues were of the utmoſt ſervice to his country.

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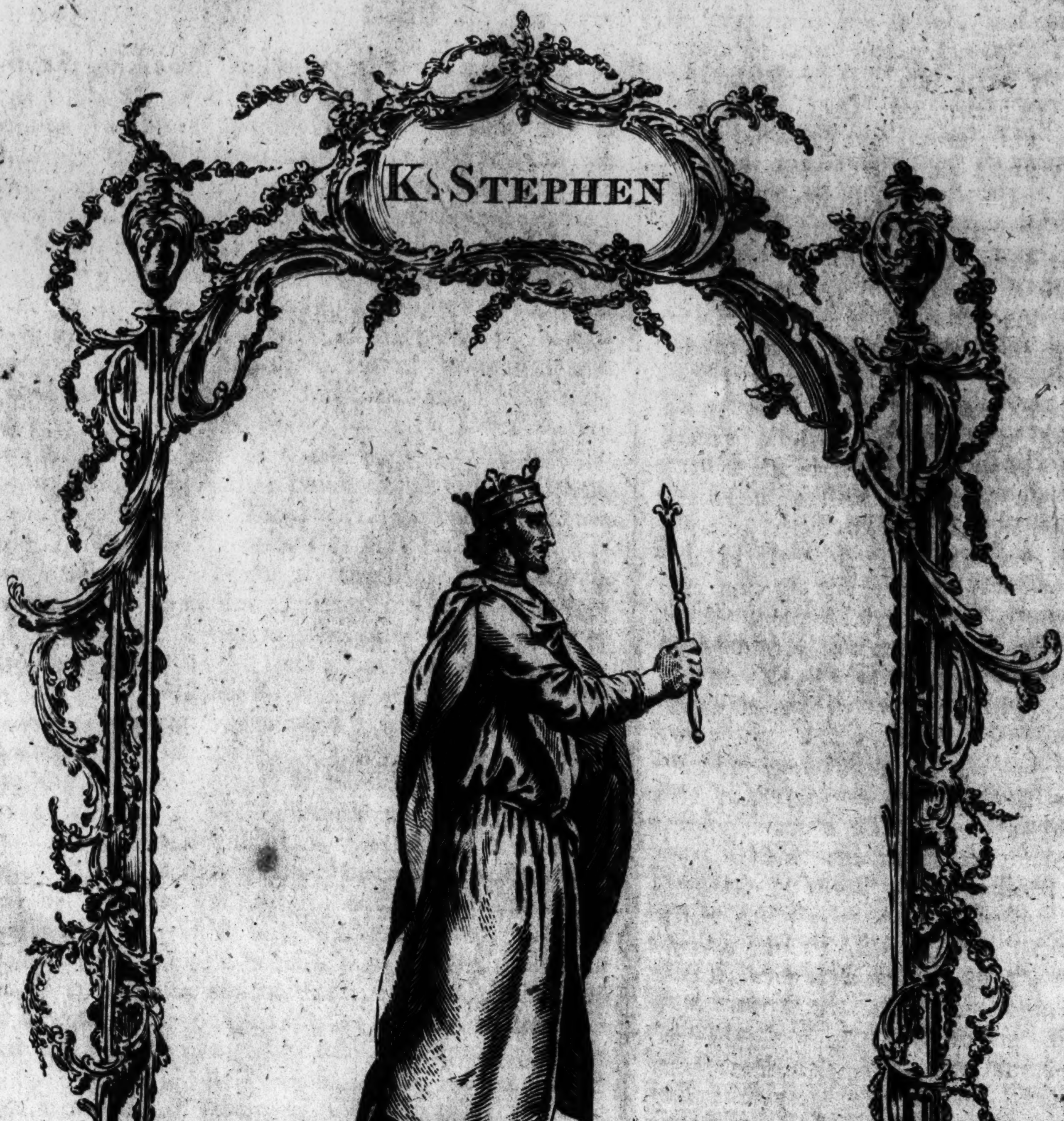
K. STEPHEN
Wale del.
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Engraved for Sydney's History of England

# STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135. NO prince ever took more pains to ſecure the crown to his family, with ſo little effect, as Henry. His conduct affords a ſtriking example of the vanity of human foreſight. Stephen, earl of Boulogne, ſon of Adela, one of the daughters of William the conqueror, was the firſt among the favourites of Henry. He had beſtowed upon him ſeveral large eſtates in England. But gratitude was not in the catalogue of Stephen's virtues. He had ſworn eventual fealty to the empreſs Maud; the remembrance of his oath was buried in the grave with Henry; and perſuaded that riches and intrigue were ſufficient to over-balance the claim of that princeſs, he haſtened to England to ſeize, by uſurpation, the crown which had adorned the brow of his patron. Stephen's younger brother had been bred in the monaſtery of Augny, and the late monarch had made him abbot of Glaſtonbury and biſhop of Wincheſter. He was of an active and turbulent diſpoſition; bold, diſſembling, and faithleſs; ready to adapt himſelf to the circumſtances of the times, and always prefered his own intereſt to that of his country: even fraternal affection had little weight with this dignified eccleſiaſtic. By a pleaſing addreſs and fluency of ſpeech, he had gained the eſteem and admiration of an ignorant populace: while his frank and familiar addreſs procured him an unbounded influence over the clergy. The biſhop of Saliſbury was alſo a perſon of great abilities, great riches, and great influence with the people. Theſe two prelates were the principal ſupporters of Stephen's pretenſions. On his arrival in London, he was received with open arms by the citizens, and the two prelates in his intereſt inſiſted on the primate's placing the crown upon his head. The archbiſhop, who with them, had ſworn fealty to Maud, refuſed to perform the ceremony. Artifice was therefore neceſſary to gain him over to his intereſt; and theſe conſcientious prelates had recourſe to perjury. Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſhold, made oath before the primate, that Henry on his death-bed, had expreſſed his intention of placing Stephen on the Engliſh throne, in preference to his daughter. This oath removed all the ſcruples of the archbiſhop, and Stephen was crowned with the uſual ceremonies.

That prince was not to learn that riches are the genuine ſource of power; and that partiſans to any cauſe are eaſily procured by bribes and promiſes. The firſt act of his reign therefore was to ſeize the late king's treaſures, which amounted to one hundred thouſand pounds, an enormous ſum in thoſe days. By a proper diſtribution of this money, he gained over to his intereſt many of the indigent nobility, and ſtill more of the indigent ſoldiery. The people, who were more guided by ſuperſtition, than by the principles of reaſon or equity, conſidered Stephen as their lawful ſovereign; the religious ceremony of the coronation had removed every ſuſpicion, and ſilenced every doubt that aroſe in the mind. It was impoſſible, they thought, for the head of the church to be miſtaken; whoever he anointed muſt be the undoubted heir to the crown of England.

But it was not enough that the populace were gained over to the intereſt of Stephen, it was alſo neceſſary to prevail on the more thinking part of the nation, the nobles and the clergy, to embrace the ſame ſentiments. He paſſed a charter, whereby he promiſed many advantages to the clergy, particularly, that on the demiſe of a biſhop he would inſtantly give the inveſtiture to the perſon appointed by a regular canonical election. He promiſed the nobility that they ſhould not be proſecuted for taking the diverſion of hunting in the royal foreſts; and to the people, that the tax of Danegeld ſhould be aboliſhed, that the laws of Edward ſhould be reſtored, and executed in their full extent. Theſe flattering acts were the artifices of his ambition; the ſtratagems by which he fixed the crown of England on his head.

But Stephen found the Engliſh noblemen were determined to oblige him to keep his promiſes, and not like his predeceſſors, break them as ſoon as he was firmly fixed in the ſeat of power. Robert, earl of Glouceſter, a natural ſon of the deceaſed monarch, led the way to theſe neceſſary reſolutions. He was determined to ſupport the cauſe of his ſiſter; but the power of Stephen rendered it neceſſary for him to conceal his deſign. He accordingly ſwore allegiance to Stephen; but with this reſerve, that he ſhould not invade any of his rights or dignities. Stephen ſaw the full force of this reſerve, but the great influence of that popular nobleman, rendered it neceſſary to receive him upon theſe terms. The clergy, pleaſed with the cautious reſerve of Glouceſter, annexed conditions to their oath of allegiance: they declared that it ſhould be binding no longer than while he defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties of England, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons were determined not to be wanting to themſelves in this fortunate criſis, when the ſceptre trembled in the hand of an uſurper. Accordingly they required, in return for their ſubmiſſion, the liberty of fortifying and putting their own caſtles in a poſture of defence. By this ſtep the tranquillity of the nation was ſacrificed to the ambition of the nobles. Theſe were long the ſource of civil diſcord, and often filled the kingdom with blood and ſlaughter.

A. D. 1137. The licentious deſigns of the nobles were ſoon apparent. Many of them had no ſooner finiſhed the fortifications of their caſtles, than they renounced their allegiance, and ſet the power of the crown at defiance. Stephen ſaw his error, but it was now too late to correct it. The diſorder ſpread every day, and threatened the kingdom with the moſt deſtructive conſequences. The oaths they had taken were renounced or forgotten: power only was the idol worſhipped by the nobles. It was in vain to attempt the removing of theſe enormities by reaſon or perſuaſions: Stephen therefore made his own power the ſole meaſure of his conduct. He ſacrificed to the rage of deſpotic government, both his own conceſſions, and the ancient privileges of his ſubjects. His authority was chiefly ſupported by mercenary ſoldiers, who, having exhauſted the royal treaſury, ſubſiſted by depredations. Stephen, however, found means to procure the dutchy of Normandy, as well as the ſceptre of England. His eldeſt ſon did homage for that province to Louis the younger, king of France, and received his daughter in marriage. The count of Blois, and even Geofrey, count of Anjou, reſigned their pretenſions to that dutchy, in exchange for penſions. Normandy and England were governed by an uſurper.

A. D. 1138. But this acquiſition of power increaſed the diſturbances in England. The people were exaſperated at the government: they were now deſirous of hurling from the throne a prince they had ſo lately conſidered as their protector. The duke of Glouceſter perceived the general defection of the people, and diſplayed the ſtandard of rebellion. His intereſt was ſupported by David, king of Scotland, who entered England at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated as far as Northallerton, in Yorkſhire.

Several of the Engliſh barons, who ſtill continued firm in their allegiance, entered into an aſſociation to give battle to the northern invaders, and deliver their country from the dreadful ravages of the enemy, or periſh in the noble attempt. They erected upon a wheel-carriage the maſt of a ſmall ſhip, on the top of which was a ſilver crucifix; and the pole decorated with the enſigns of St. Peter, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred.

The Engliſh ſurrounded this ſuperſtitious enſign in a cloſe compacted body; and to break the firſt ſhock of the enemy, the front was compoſed of pikemen and archers intermixed. The attack was begun by the Galloway men, who formed the van of the Scottiſh army, with all the fury ſo natural to their character. But their efforts were in vain; the Engliſh ſtood firm, and plied them ſo inceſſantly with their arrows, and other miſſiles, that they were put to flight. The prince of Scotland now advanced, at the head of a choſen body of knights and archers, and attacked the Engliſh with ſo much impetuoſity, that they gave way, and he pierced to the rear-guard; but not being properly ſupported by his followers, he was in the utmoſt danger of being taken priſoner; and eſcaped by throwing away his badge of diſtinction, and mixing with the Engliſh; where he remained undiſcovered till the battle was over, and then made his eſcape. The other part of the Scottiſh army, by a falſe report that their king was ſlain, were ſeized with a panic; and David himſelf, after exerting in vain his utmoſt power to rally them, was hurried away with the torrent, and obliged to retreat to Carliſle, where he was afterwards joined by his ſon, and great part of his army.

This engagement, known by the appellation of the battle of the ſtandard, might have been fatal to the intereſt of Maud and her brother, had Stephen known how to profit by his victory. But flattering himſelf that he had now ſecured the peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, he ſet no bounds to his ambition. Succeſs rendered him confident: he engaged in a controverſy with his clergy, to whom he was indebted for the crown, and to whoſe authority he could not be a ſtranger. Stephen had for ſome time determined to correct the error he had committed, in permitting the nobility to fortify their caſtles. The evil was every day increaſing, and the monarch perceived that the kingdom was garriſoned againſt himſelf. The biſhops, in imitation of the temporal lords, had erected caſtles on their eſtates; and Stephen determined to begin his intended reformation by attacking the ſtrong holds of the clergy. Accordingly he ſeized the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln, and obliged them, by menaces, to deliver up their caſtles.

A. D. 1139. Exaſperated at the attempt of his brother to infringe the privileges of the church, Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had lately been inveſted with the legantine authority, convoked a ſynod at Wincheſter, and ſummoned Stephen to appear in perſon. The king, who deſpiſed the hypocritical pretences to ſanctity, whereby the eccleſiaſtics impoſed upon the credulity of the people, refuſed to obey the ſummons. He, however, ſent one Aubery de Vere, the moſt learned lawyer of his age, who juſtified the king's proceedings with great eloquence and force of argument. He obſerved, that the followers of the meek and humble Jeſus could not, with the leaſt pretence to propriety, endeavour to oppoſe their ſovereign with the arm of fleſh: that it was irreconcileable with their functions as the preachers of peace, to engage in the tumults of civil diſcord; and that the caſtles they had fortified could be conſidered in no other light than the ſanctuaries of diſcord, and the aſylums of rebellion. The legate loſt all patience at this bold remonſtrance; and he was juſt going to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema on the king, and all his adherents; when Aubery gave him to underſtand, that whoever dared to pronounce any ſpiritual interdict againſt his and their ſovereign, ſhould never live to behold the fruits of his inſolence. This ſpirited declaration had more effect than all his reaſoning. Aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the deputy, and dreading the conſequences of Stephen's reſentment, the ſynod did not think it prudent to proceed. The prelates departed; and the two complaining biſhops were obliged to part with their caſtles.

The empreſs Maud conſidered the differences that ſubſiſted between Stephen and the church as a very fortunate circumſtance, and determined to turn it to her own advantage. She ventured to come over to England, attended by her brother the earl of Glouceſter. Their whole retinue, however, conſiſted of no more than an hundred and forty men; a force that could give no alarm to Stephen. But the earl of Glouceſter was himſelf an army. He was the idol of the people, who were deſirous of fighting under his banners, and driving from the throne a prince who had forfeited, by his actions, every claim to ſincerity. The empreſs repaired to Arundel caſtle, where ſhe was affectionately received by the queen dowager, who reſided in that fortreſs. The earl of Glouceſter retired to Briſtol, a great number of his friends reſiding in the neighbourhood of that city.

Stephen was alarmed at the arrival of the empreſs and her brother. He feared the popularity of Glouceſter, and that the nation would join his ſtandard, in order to place his ſiſter on the throne of her anceſtors. He advanced immediately to Arundel-caſtle, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, in order to make himſelf maſter of that fortreſs. The queen dowager was alarmed at the approach of Stephen; and diſpatched a meſſenger, requeſting that he would not beſiege the empreſs in her palace, but give her liberty to retire to ſome other place; aſſuring him, that ſhe had received her as a gueſt only, not as a competitor for the crown; and flattered herſelf, that ſhe ſhould not be compelled to violate the rights of hoſpitality. Stephen very readily complied with her requeſt; and the empreſs naming Briſtol as the place ſhe choſe for her reſidence, the king ordered his brother Walleran, earl of Mellent, to eſcort her to that city.

On her arrival at Briſtol, ſhe openly declared her title, and aſſerted her claim to the crown of England. The people flocked to her ſtandard; and Miles, high conſtable of England, having recognized her title, carried her to the caſtle of Glouceſter, which he had prepared for her reception.

A. D. 1140. The whole kingdom now became a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion; almoſt every individual declaring for one or other of the contending parties; ſome ſwayed by affection, and others by intereſt. The powerful barons attacked each other's territories with all the rage of the moſt implacable enemy. Caſtles, churches, monaſteries, towns and villages, were every day levelled to the ground, or laid in aſhes, to gratify the private animoſity of contending nobles. The moſt inhuman cruelties were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants, whoſe only crime conſiſted in their weakneſs. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that theſe horrid attempts received no countenance, either from Stephen or the earl of Glouceſter; they ſaw with concern the miſeries of the people, and exerted all their force to terminate this ſcene of deſtruction, and bring the ferocious barons to a ſenſe of their ſhocking enormities.

A. D. 1141. Several negotiations were begun, but ſoon rendered abortive; and the horrors of a civil war continued to increaſe. All hopes of peace were now abandoned, and both parties propoſed to decide the important controverſy by a deciſive action. But the ſiege of the caſtle of Lincoln being undertaken by Stephen, precipitated theſe meaſures, by bringing on a battle between the two armies much ſooner than was expected. That caſtle was conſidered as a place of the utmoſt importance; and

Glouceſter determined, if poſſible, to relieve it. Accordingly he marched with the utmoſt expedition, and his troops having forded the Trent, appeared in the neighbourhood before Stephen had received any information of his approach. A general engagement was now irretrievable; and both armies prepared for a conteſt that was to decide the fate of the crown of England. The battle was begun by William de Ypres, one of Stephen's generals, and conſidered as the beſt general of his age. He fell with the utmoſt fury on a body of Welſh poſted in the left wing, and put them to flight; but purſuing the broken ſquadron too far, his diviſion was charged in flank, and entirely broken. The earl of Glouceſter, taking advantage of this ſucceſs, fell with amazing impetuoſity on the infantry, which compoſed the center of the royal army, where Stephen himſelf fought in perſon. The conteſt was dreadful; the field was covered with the ſlain; but Stephen's infantry, being deſerted by the the horſe, were obliged to retreat. Stephen himſelf, diſdaining to turn his back to the enemy, diſputed every inch of ground againſt an amazing ſuperiority. At laſt, he was felled to the ground by a ſtone thrown by an unknown hand, and obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the earl of Glouceſter. He was treated with the greateſt reſpect by that accompliſhed nobleman; but he experienced a humiliating reverſe of fortune, on his being delivered into the hands of the empreſs. That imperious princeſs treated him with every indignity, committed him a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Briſtol, and loaded him with chains like a common malefactor.

The friends of Stephen deſerted him on this reverſe of fortune; the city of London, and the county of Kent, where his queen Matilda, his ſon Euſtace, and his friend William de Ypres, ſtill retained their authority, were the only places that continued faithful to the impriſoned monarch. Even his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, courted the favour of the empreſs: the attractions of power were ſtronger than the bonds of fraternal affection. Henry declared for Maud, who, in return, promiſed him all the honours his ambition could deſire, or which a churchman could receive. Armed with the legantine authority, and proud of diſplaying his power, Henry ſummoned a ſynod, and after aſſerting that the clergy were intruſted by heaven with the right of electing and ordaining kings, he declared that it was the will of the Moſt High, that the empreſs Maud ſhould be placed on the throne of England. The only laymen ſummoned to this council were the deputies of London. Their preſence alarmed the legate; for they were ſo far from agreeing with the unexpected declaration of Henry, that they peremptorily demanded the liberty of their king. The legate only anſwered, by recapitulating the errors of Stephen's adminiſtration. "He connived," ſaid the prelate, "at the licentious behaviour of all men; ſo that virtue and peace abandoned this country, and tyranny and oppreſſion filled their ſeats: biſhops have been impriſoned contrary to law; abbies have been put up to ſale; and churches and convents plundered of their treaſures tho' devoted to the ſacred purpoſes of religion. For theſe and other offences, heaven itſelf has viſibly interpoſed, and wreſted the ſceptre from the hand of my brother; and this aſſembly have unanimouſly agreed to preſent it to the empreſs Maud, to whom it of right belongs." Aſtoniſhed at the inſolence and wickedneſs of the legate, the deputies, after ſolemnly proteſting againſt the proceedings of the ſynod, returned to London; and Henry pronounced an anathema againſt all the adherents of the impriſoned monarch. Thus was the ſceptre of England diſpoſed of by an aſſembly of ambitious churchmen, who dared to trample upon the authority of the nobles, and deſpiſed the liberties of the people. The power of the mitre was exalted above the power of the crown: and the rights of Engliſhmen ſacrificed at the ſhrine of eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

Had Maud ſtill ſuffered herſelf to be guided by the counſels of the earl of Glouceſter, ſhe had enjoyed, during her life, the crown of her father: but pride and inſolence, the two capital features in her character, ſoon rendered all his attempts abortive. Beloved by the people for his virtues, and feared for his valour, that accompliſhed nobleman found means to procure a majority in the magiſtracy of London in favour of his ſiſter, and ſhe was received into the capital with great demonſtrations of joy. The ceremony of the coronation only was now wanting to conſtitute Maud the ſovereign of England: but that impotence of mind which proſperity alone diſcovers, delayed the ſolemnity and hurled her from the throne. Haughty and contemptuous by nature, and obſtinate from power, ſhe formed the ridiculous opinion, that no human being had a right to examine her actions; and reſolving to ſhew her independence, ſhe determined to refuſe every petition. Neither the ſoft whiſpers of humanity, aſſiſted by the powerful interceſſions of the earl of Glouceſter, could prevail over the obſtinacy of her ſoul; ſhe perſevered in her reſolution, till ſhe loſt the affections of her people. The city of London requeſted her either to mitigate the ſeverity of the Norman laws, or reſtore thoſe of Edward the confeſſor. But ſhe was deaf to their petition; even the remonſtrances of Glouceſter, who placed in a proper light the madneſs of ſuch proceedings, were urged in vain: ſhe looked upon all advice as an inſult on her underſtanding.

Glouceſter ſaw with grief the inflexibility of his ſiſter, and trembled for the conſequence. The citizens were at once incenſed and alarmed. They complained loudly of the tyranny of the empreſs; and the people catched the infection from the capital. The Londoners entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. The earl of Glouceſter was apprized of the aſſaſſination, and uſed every method in his power to ſoothe the citizens, and fix them in the intereſts of his ſiſter; but his attempts were in vain; they conceived ſo deep a deteſtation of her inſolent behaviour, that all the endeavours of that popular nobleman could not eraſe. He was greatly affected at this reverſe of ſentiments; he perceived the gathering ſtorm that threatened the empreſs and her whole party with deſtruction, and prudently withdrew with Maud and her friends to Oxford. They had hardly left the city, when the populace aſſaulted the palace of the empreſs, and ſtripped it of all its rich furniture.

The legate ſaw this reverſe of fortune, and again embraced the party of his brother. The allegiance he had ſworn to the empreſs was forgotten: his oaths were not proof againſt intereſt. He, however, reſolved to conceal his ſentiments, but fortified his caſtle at Wincheſter, and furniſhed it with proviſions and military ſtores. Maud was no ſtranger to the real ſentiments of the legate, but reſolved to practiſe the diſſimulation of the churchman. She advanced at the head of her troops, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Wincheſter. Orders were immediately diſpatched to Henry, commanding his attendance at a council the empreſs had ſummoned to meet in her camp. The legate ſaw the ſnare, and eſcaped through a poſtern gate; but the caſtle fell into the hands of the empreſs. Henry fled to London, joined Euſtace and William de Ypres, and openly declared in favour of Stephen. A reſpectable body of forces were ſoon raiſed, and the legate, attended by his aſſociates, marched to Wincheſter with ſuch expedition, that the empreſs and her friends had hardly time to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle before it was inveſted by the enemy.

Henry had furniſhed the fortreſs with ſuch a ſtock of proviſions that the beſieged held out ſeven weeks, and every attempt to take it by aſſault was rendered abortive by the valour and conduct of the earl of Glouceſter. But famine at length effected what force had attempted in vain; the garriſon had but one alternative, either to cut themſelves a paſſage through the legate's forces, or ſurrender at diſcretion. They choſe the former, and made the neceſſary preparations for the deſperate attempt. The care of the perſon of the empreſs was committed to the main body of their forces; while Glouceſter himſelf, at the head of two hundred followers, ſallied out of the caſtle, and atttacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt fury. Alarmed at the vigour of this party of the beſieged, the legate's army left their poſts to repulſe ſo formidable a band of deſperate aſſailants. The expected opportunity now offered; and the empreſs, attended by the principal part of the army, made her eſcape. She fled to Glouceſter, where ſhe was joined by Miles, who had long ſerved her with great fidelity.

But though the empreſs eſcaped by the noble efforts of the earl of Glouceſter, his valour proved fatal to his liberty. He was taken priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Rocheſter. The empreſs, ſenſible that every hope of ſucceſs depended on the valour and abilities of her brother, conſented to exchange Stephen for him.

The legate now ſummoned a ſynod of the clergy, and endeavoured to vindicate his conduct with regard to his brother; but even the clergy ſeemed not affected by his harangue. The legantine power, indeed, with which he was inveſted, commanded their ſilence; they feared the anger of the pope more than the anger of heaven. But a lay-deputy from the empreſs nobly undertook what a daſtardly clergy had refuſed. He entered a proteſt againſt the legate's proceedings; accuſed him of complicated perjury; affirmed, that the landing of the empreſs in England was owing to his repeated invitations; and the cruel treatment his brother had met with, was in conſequence of his pernicious advice. He concluded with charging him, on the faith he had ſworn to the empreſs as his ſovereign, not to do any thing in that aſſembly againſt her title and dignity. The legate anſwered only by a profound ſilence; conſcious guilt, or a policy beyond the depth of common comprehenſion, effectually ſealed his lips. He, however, recollected himſelf ſufficiently to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the counteſs of Anjou, and all her adherents. The whole aſſembly were ſtruck with ſurprize and indignation: they could not hear, without horror, eccleſiaſtical cenſures, ſo directly oppoſite in their tendency, pronounced, without any other reaſon than that of ſatisfying his own pride and malevolence. This was, however, the laſt time he exerted this authority. Pope Celeſtine II. on his acceſſion to the papal chair, deprived him of the legantine power, and beſtowed it on Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1142. The ſword of civil diſcord was now once more unſheathed, and threatened to ſpread deſtruction over this unhappy country. But Glouceſter ſoon perceived the alarming effects of his ſiſter's unſeaſonable pride and obſtinacy. Her party was conſiderably decreaſed in numbers, and even many of her powerful friends had forſook her ſtandard. He ſaw that ſhe could now never hope to aſcend the throne by the ſuffrages of the Engliſh, and feared it was too late to recover the popularity ſhe had loſt through her own haughtineſs. He, however, determined to perſevere in the cauſe he had undertaken, till death, or a deciſive victory, put an end to the conteſt. A council of Maud's principal friends was ſummoned at the Devizes, where it was reſolved to ſollicit a foreign aſſiſtance; and Glouceſter was diſpatched to the continent to engage Geoffrey of Anjou to land in England at the head of his forces.

Stephen exerted all his abilities to profit by this defection of Maud's friends, and the abſence of the earl of Glouceſter. The empreſs had no army capable of meeting the enemy in the open field, and was obliged to elude the forces of Stephen by retreating from one caſtle to another. At laſt ſhe retired to Oxford, then one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the kingdom, and determined there to wait the arrival of the ſuccours from her huſband. Stephen immediately made himſelf maſter of the city, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle.

Glouceſter could not prevail upon the earl of Anjou to paſs over into England at the head of his forces: all he could obtain was a reinforcement of four hundred men, under the command of Henry, his eldeſt ſon. With this ſmall body of troops the earl of Glouceſter landed in Dorſetſhire, and immediately laid ſiege to Wareham caſtle, in order to induce Stephen to abandon Oxford; but that prince was not to be diverted from his purpoſe. The arrival of Glouceſter, and the young prince Henry, greatly leſſened his army: the troops under his command deſerted in ſuch numbers, that ſome of the avenues to the caſtle were left open. Maud determined to ſeize this favourable opportunity of making her eſcape. It was now the depth of winter, the ground covered with ſnow, and the waters of the river entirely frozen. Encouraged by theſe favourable circumſtances, ſhe dreſſed herſelf, and all her attendants, in white, in order to prevent their being ſeen by the centinels; croſſed the river on the ice, and walked on foot above ſix miles to Abingdon, the ſnow driving all the way full in their faces. The caſtle of Oxford ſurrendered the next morning to Stephen, who was ſufficiently mortified in finding all the fruits of his labours ſnatched from him at the very time when he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs. The empreſs retired the next day to Wallingford, where ſhe was joined by her brother, and the young prince her ſon. The ſight of this object of her affections excited the full force of parental tenderneſs; and ſhe forgot, for a moment, all her afflictions, and all her fears.

A. D. 1147. From the time of the eſcape of the empreſs from Oxford, nothing material happened between the two contending parties; a few caſtles were taken, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from each army, but nothing deciſive. This year was, however, marked with an event of the utmoſt conſequence to the empreſs. The earl of Glouceſter, the principal ſupport of her cauſe, died of a fever, and was buried at Briſtol. In this accompliſhed nobleman, the empreſs loſt the only perſon that deſerved her intire confidence, perhaps the only one that ſerved her without views of intereſt. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and ſincere; an enemy to tyranny, an enemy to injuſtice, an enemy to deceit. He was beloved by his friends, beloved by his ſoldiers, beloved by his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himſelf dropped a tear of reſpect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empreſs. She ſaw it would be impoſſible for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deſerted, her friends acted with coolneſs, and every thing indicated a ſad reverſe of fortune. She wiſely prevented the blow that was aimed at her liberty, by paſſing over to the continent, and leaving Stephen in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1150. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the huſband of Maud, now perceived his end approaching; and deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion of his dominions on the ſureſt foundation, inveſted young Henry with the honours and revenues of his dutchy. The king of France, incenſed at this reſignation without firſt obtaining his conſent as ſovereign lord of the fief, invaded Normandy, and laid ſiege to Arques. He ſuſpected that Henry was too young to give him any great oppoſition; but he was miſtaken: he made ſo powerful a diverſon in France, that Lewis was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. and march to the defence of his own dominions. A peace was ſoon after concluded, and Lewis inveſted Henry with the dutchy of Normandy. Geoffrey now paid the debt of nature. Henry was left in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; and his power was ſoon after greatly increaſed by an unexpected event.

Lewis the younger, king of France, was more ſcrupulous than virtuous. In one of thoſe petty civil wars, which the feudal government in France rendered inevitable, the king's troops had ſet fire to the church of Vitry, and all the people who had taken ſanctuary in it periſhed in the flames. St. Barnard, who had exerted all his abilities in preaching up a cruſade againſt the infidels, perſuaded Lewis, that the only method of expiating the crime committed by his forces, was that of going to Paleſtine. He liſtened to the voice of the eccleſiaſtic, took the croſs, and, with his young queen, Eleanor, of Guienne, ſet out for the Holy Land. The hopes of certain victory drew after him a prodigious number of knights, all clothed in complete armour. It is ſaid that they did not amount to leſs than ſeventy thouſand men. He croſſed the Boſphorus, and was ſurprized, among the rocks near Laodicea, by the ſultan of Iconium, and loſt the greater part of his army. He retired to Antioch, where Raymond, prince of that city, was ſuſpected of having fallen in love with Eleanor: it is even ſaid that ſhe forgot all the fatigues of ſo painful a journey in the arms of a young Turk of exquiſite beauty. Lewis, on his return, diſſolved his marriage, under a pretence of conſanguinity, and returned Eleanor all her large poſſeſſions. Henry, ſoon after, married this young heireſs; and obtained the rich provinces of Guienne, Poictou, and Xaintonge, which Lewis had returned. Theſe acquiſitions rendered him the moſt powerful ſubject in France. But, according to the inſtitutions of chivalry, all gentlemen, and even kings themſelves, were deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to all who were deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in the military profeſſion. Henry obtained this honour from his great uncle, David, king of Scotland; and making ſeveral incurſions into England, he ſignalized himſelf by his abilities and valour. His conduct gave the moſt flattering proſpect of his future greatneſs, and raiſed the hopes of his party, ſo much depreſſed by the death of the earl of Glouceſter.

Stephen had imprudently involved himſelf in a quarrel with the pope, at a time when his crown tottered on his brow. The holy father had, indeed, given him ſufficient reaſon for his reſentment. He had ſummoned a council to meet at Rheims; but inſtead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the five deputies required, the pope nominated them himſelf. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonſtrances. Enraged at this inſult, the king refuſed them permiſſion to attend; and the pontiff, in revenge for this interpoſition, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this ſentence all the offices of religion were ſuſpended; the churches ſhut up, and the dead were not ſuffered to be interred in conſecrated ground. An univerſal terror ſpread through the nation; and it became neceſſary to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, in order to procure a reverſion of the ſentence.

A. D. 1152. The quarrel with his holineſs being thus happily finiſhed, Stephen, deſirous of fixing the Engliſh ſceptre in his family, attempted to procure his ſon Euſtace to be crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe power was increaſed by the legantine authority, abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity. Incenſed at this peremptory denial, Stephen ordered the archbiſhop to be confined; but he found means to corrupt his guards, and paſſed over to the continent. This flight rendered the king's attempt to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family abortive; it being then conſidered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury poſſeſſed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

A. D. 1153. Henry was now convinced that the Engliſh were far from being ſatisfied with Stephen's adminiſtration, and determined to attempt the recovery of a crown which had been wreſted from his family. He landed on the ſixth of January, at the head of a very ſmall body of troops; but their number was ſoon increaſed by the greater and moſt reſpectable part of the nobility in the kingdom. Stephen ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and laboured aſſiduouſly to break its force. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon had no effect to leſſen his ardour. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badneſs of the roads ſo greatly retarded his progreſs, that Henry made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles before Stephen could afford the garriſons the neceſſary relief. At laſt the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great conteſt for the Engliſh crown. But the nobles, unwilling to ſheathe their ſwords in the bowels of their countrymen, interpoſed their authority: a ceſſation of arms was concluded; and, ſoon after, a general peace took place between the contending princes; by which it was ſtipulated, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life, and Henry ſucceed him as lawful heir by hereditary right.

A. D. 1154. Stephen being, by this reconciliation, freed from all apprehenſions of an enemy, employed himſelf to remove the ſufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his bleeding country. He reformed many abuſes; he iſſued ſeveral wiſe and ſalutary edicts, and gave many ſtriking inſtances of his great abilities and love of juſtice. In a word, he ſeems to have determined to devote the remainder of his days to the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects; to purſue every method for ſecuring their properties, protecting their perſons, and diffuſing through the whole kingdom univerſal harmony and undiſturbed repoſe. But while he was employed in theſe offices of juſtice and humanity, death put a period to his life, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Ambition was the ruling paſſion of Stephen. To gratify this darling object of his ſoul, he trampled on the laws of juſtice, and plunged an innocent people into all the horrors of civil diſcord. He ſought happineſs (where it can never be found) in ſwaying the ſceptre of a divided people. At the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged, that he was a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity, prudence, and generoſity. He harboured not the paſſion of revenge, and malevolence ſeems to have been a ſtranger to his breaſt. He diſpenſed juſtice impartially to his ſubjects, and cheriſhed the virtue of forgiveneſs. In a word, he was poſſeſſed of ſo many amiable virtues, that had he aſcended the throne by the right of inheritance, and lived in happier times, he would, in all probability, have been tranſmitted to poſterity with applauſe, and conſidered as one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of the Norman race.

The hiſtory of learning during this period is ſhort and defective. The numerous rebellions and civil wars that deſolated the kingdom, diſturbed the repoſe of the ſtudious, and prevented the muſes from taking up their abode in Britain. The little learning that ſubſiſted was confined to the cloiſter, and chiefly employed in eccleſiaſtical controverſies, that had no other tendency than that of ſetting the nation in a flame, and exalting the authority of the mitre above the power of the crown; of rendering eccleſiaſtics independent of the laws of civil government, and of placing the obſervance of ſuperſtitious ceremonies above the practice of pure morality. A few, indeed, there were, who employed ſome part of their time in the ſtudy of hiſtory and the antiquities of their country, and to whoſe labours we are indebted for our knowledge of the tranſactions of theſe uncultivated ages. Like beacons diſperſed on the ſummits of diſtant mountains, they have thrown a glimmering light over this night of ſuperſtitious ignorance, and faintly irradiated the gloom of Gothic barbarity. Their names, therefore, claim a place in the hiſtories of this country, becauſe their memories deſerve to be handed down with applauſe to poſterity.

Florence, a monk of Worceſter, often called Florentius Baronius, compoſed a chronicle of the world, from the creation to the year 1118. He was never celebrated for his genius, but always conſidered as a careful and indefatigable hiſtorian. His ſtyle, tho' unpoliſhed, abounds not with thoſe abſurd and groſs barbariſms, which have crept into the writings of his cotemporaries. He paid the debt of nature in 1119.

Alfred, or Alured, a prieſt and treaſurer of the college of Beverly. He appears to have been a writer of genius and abilities; but his hiſtory has ſuffered greatly by the hands of ignorant tranſcribers. He died in 1136.

Eadermus, an author of ſenſe and gravity, was cotemporary with Alfred, and intimately connected with the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He wrote the hiſtory of William I. William II. and Henry I. and, if we make ſome allowances for his being a profeſſed advocate for the papal authority, his works may be conſidered as impartial. The time of his death is uncertain.

William of Malmſbury is deſervedly placed at the head of all the Engliſh hiſtorians of his time. His ſentiments are bold and manly; his ſtyle nervous and elegant, far ſuperior to what might have been expected from the barbarous age in which he lived. His principal work is intituled, De Geſtis Anglorum, with an appendix called Hiſtoriarum Novellæ. He was a monk, and librarian of the college of Malmſbury, in Wiltſhire; and died in 1142.

Simeon of Durham compoſed an hiſtory of the Engliſh Tranſactions till the year 1129. He was both a monk, and preceptor in the convent of Durham; but the time of his death is uncertain. Leland tells us, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable care and aſſiduity in collecting the monuments of Engliſh learning that had eſcaped the ravages of the Danes.

Henry of Huntingdon wrote an hiſtory of England in ten books, ending with the death of king Stephen. This work is very defective in method; and abounds with a number of fabulous ſtories, tranſcribed from Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory. Beſides this work, he wrote a continuation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and a chronological table of the kings of England. He was archdeacon of Huntingdon, and the time of his death is uncertain.

But the moſt eminent monument of the learning of theſe ages, is the Saxon Chronicle, which begins with the birth of Chriſt, and ends with the death of Stephen. It is ſufficiently evident from the difference of the ſtyle, and other infallible marks, that theſe annals were compoſed by ſeveral authors, and at various periods of time. But their authenticity has never been diſputed, eſpecially with regard to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; and has been the foundation of all our hiſtories to the Norman conqueſt. Dr. Gibſon, afterwards biſhop of London, publiſhed at Oxford, in 1692, an accurate edition of this celebrated Chronicle, with an elegant tranſlation.

# BOOK VI.

## From the reſtoration of the Saxon line under Henry II. to the death of King John.

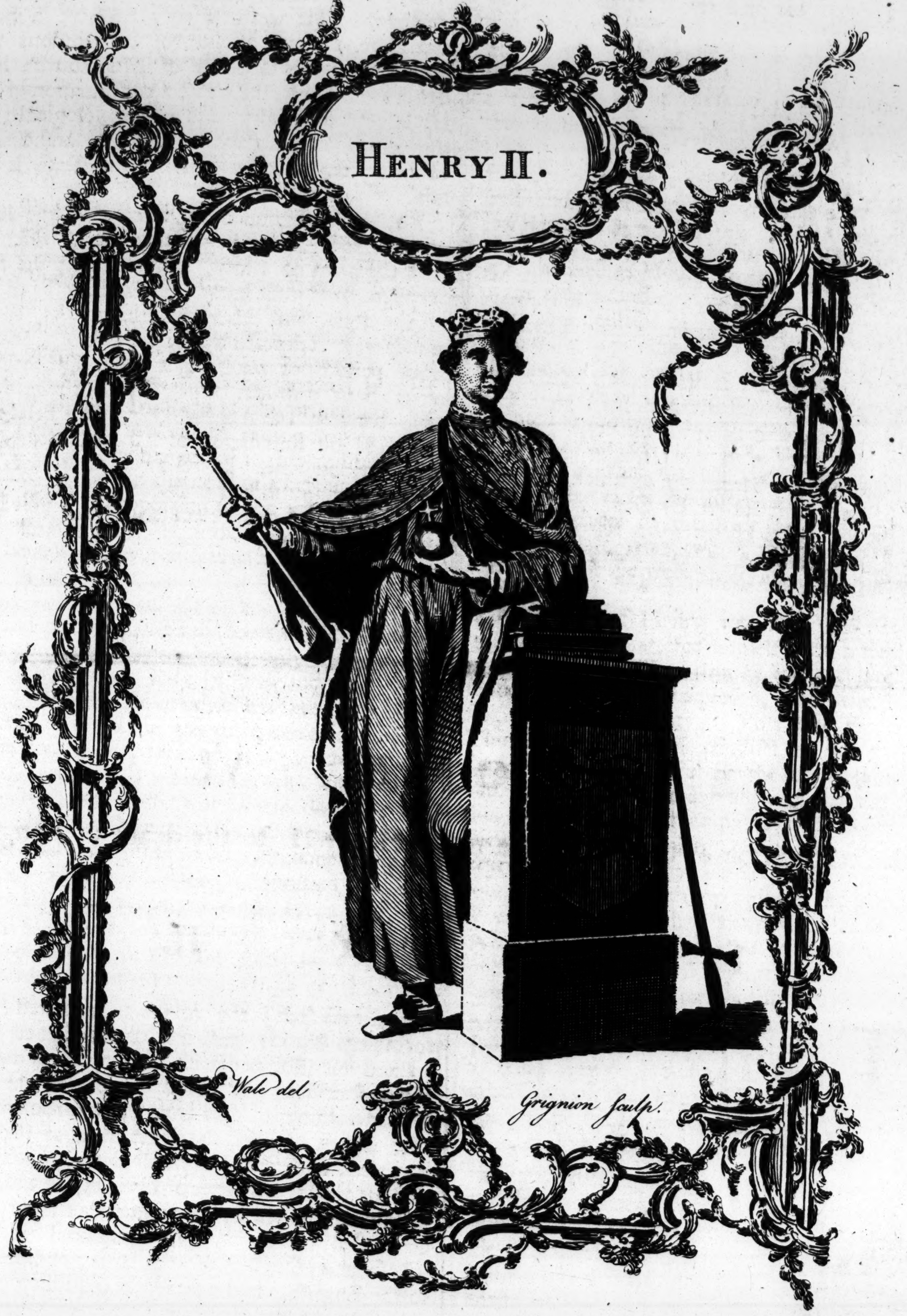
# HENRY II.

A.D. 1154. THE death of Stephen reſtored the Engliſh crown to the undoubted heir of Henry I. The king of France, though he was already alarmed at the great power of Henry, oppoſed not his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors; and the Engliſh, worn out with the miſeries of civil diſcord, joyfully acknowledged a ſovereign whom they flattered themſelves would eſtabliſh tranquillity in their exhauſted country. Henry was received with great affection by the nobility, and crowned at Weſtminſter on the nineteenth of December, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The Engliſh had conceived a very flattering idea of the virtues and abilities of Henry; and the firſt acts of his government convinced them that their opinion was founded on juſtice. He exerted himſelf to remove the complaints of his ſubjects, and introduce univerſal harmony among his people. The mercenary ſoldiers of Stephen were diſmiſſed, by which the kingdom was freed from a burden that had occaſioned the moſt affecting complaints. The bands of robbers, who had ſo long ravaged the country, were deſtroyed, and every ſpecies of violence repreſſed; the powerful were reſtrained from acts of tyranny, and the licentious from diſturbing the repoſe of the innocent. The laws were armed with authority; none dared diſpute the power of the magiſtrate. The fortreſſes raiſed by the nobles, who had ſo often ſpread deſolation over various counties, were demoliſhed; the coin was regulated; and the turbulent barons reduced to obedience. Henry wanted not aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing theſe meaſures of national utility; the people ſupported their king; he had nothing to fear from a few turbulent barons, who at firſt oppoſed the deſtruction of their caſtles. But what rendered Henry ſtill dearer to his ſubjects, was his paſſing a charter of liberties, in which all the privileges granted by his grandfather Henry I. were confirmed, with ſeveral additional immunities. Theſe, and other acts of popularity, endeared Henry to the Engliſh; and a perfect tranquillity reigned in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1156. While Henry was employed in promoting the happineſs of his people, his brother Geoffrey endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of Maine and Anjou; but Henry ſoon reduced the inſurgents; and Geoffrey conſented to accept of a penſion, and relinquiſh his title to the countries in queſtion. Indeed, he had no other claim than a promiſe made him by his brother, before he obtained the crown of England, that he would put him in poſſeſſion of theſe dutchies as ſoon as he was ſettled on the throne of his anceſtors.

A. D. 1157. The Welſh, ever reſtleſs and uneaſy, had invaded ſeveral of the counties bordering on their territories; and Henry marched, at the head of an army, to revenge the inſult; but the cowardice of his ſtandard-bearer rendered the attempt abortive, and had almoſt proved fatal both to Henry and his whole


HENRY II.
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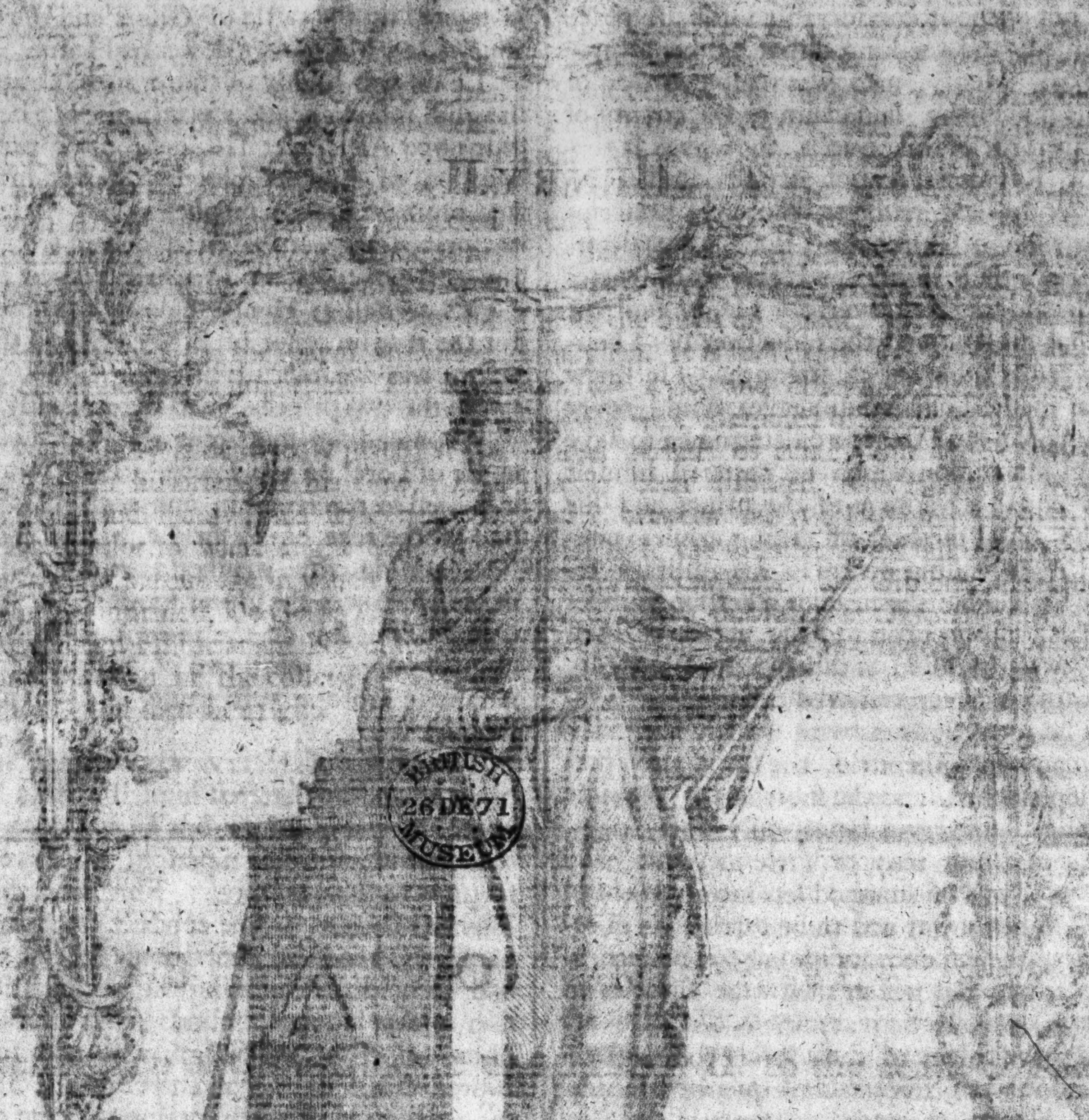
*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



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whole army. The attack of the Welſh was made with all the fury inherent in that valiant people, and ſo terrified Henry de Eſſex, who carried the royal ſtandard, that, throwing down the enſign, he fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Alarmed at miſſing the royal ſtandard, the Engliſh were intimidated, and, perſuaded that the king was ſlain, fell into confuſion. Henry perceived the cauſe, and rode through the ranks bare-headed, to convince them of their miſtake. Aſhamed of ſuch puſillanimous conduct, the Engliſh returned to the charge and drove back the enemy, but not without conſiderable loſs. A peace ſoon after enſued, and the king diſbanded his army.

A. D. 1159. Henry, who was ſtill deſirous of encreaſing his poſſeſſions, laid claim to the county of Thoulouſe, in right of his queen, to whom it belonged; but Raymond, count of Thoulouſe, refuſed to deliver up the territories, pleading preſcription, and his right of purchaſe. Both were determined to ſupport their rights, and the ſword therefore was to decide the controverſy. Henry ſaw the difficulties that muſt attend the reduction of Thoulouſe, a city remarkable for its ſtrength. He knew that the uſual method of raiſing armies would never anſwer his purpoſe, and therefore determined to have recourſe to an innovation which he flattered himſelf would be of equal advantage to the prince and his people. The uſual method of raiſing armies conſiſted in the king's ſending orders to his military tenants to take the field at the head of a certain number of their vaſſals, in proportion to the value of their fiefs. Henry was diſguſted at this ſpecies of military ſervice; becauſe it never anſwered the monarch's intentions. The great ſlowneſs with which the military tenants came into the field, the ſpirit they poſſeſſed of independence, and the ſhortneſs of the time they were obliged to ſerve, being only forty days, rendered the armies not only of little uſe, but even dangerous. Nor was this method leſs inconvenient to the ſubject. When a war was to be carried on in remote countries, the expences of going to and returning from the army, and which they were obliged to bear themſelves, was very great; their domeſtic affairs ſuffered; the tillage of their lands was neglected, and a famine was often the conſequence of military ſervice. Henry, therefore, commuted the perſonal ſervice of his military tenants, for a proportional ſum of money. The people were delighted with this exchange; it was far more agreeable to them to advance money than to furniſh troops, and to head them in perſon. And Henry was pleaſed to find he had united his intereſt with the happineſs of his people. He received the ſtipulated ſums, and hired mercenary forces, over whom he had a more certain authority, and whoſe time of ſervice was unlimited.

Henry began his military operations againſt Cahors, the capital of the generality of Quercy, and was ſoon maſter of the place; but the city of Thoulouſe made a noble defence, and the Engliſh monarch exerted all his abilities to take it. Lewis, king of France, was alarmed at Henry's progreſs. He feared that if the Engliſh monarch was ſuffered to make himſelf maſter of the principal places in the heart of France, his ambition might puſh him on to farther conqueſts, and even advance to the very gates of Paris. He therefore marched at the head of a ſmall body of forces, and threw himſelf into Thoulouſe, before Henry could completely inveſt the city. The military operations immediately ceaſed, Henry declaring that he owed ſo much reſpect to his ſuperior lord, that he would not attack a place defended by him in perſon. He raiſed the ſiege, and a treaty of peace was ſoon after concluded between the monarchs of France and England.

A. D. 1161. But this peace was of no long continuance: ambition ſoon diſſolved the bands of amity. Henry's eldeſt ſon had, for ſome time, been affianced to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed by the marriage treaty, that the princeſs ſhould have city of Giſors with part of Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that theſe places ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Knights Templars, till the marriage was celebrated. Deſirous of obtaining the poſſeſſion of thoſe valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Piſa and Pavia to grant him a ſynodical decree, diſpenſing with the nonage of the parties. The nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but ſeven, and the princeſs only three years of age; and the Templars, conſidering themſelves as free from their engagements, delivered up the caſtle of Giſors and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's dower to Henry.

Lewis was highly offended at the ſtratagem of the Engliſh monarch, and a war broke out between them; but pope Alexander III. deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, offered his mediation, and brought about a reconciliation. Alexander, who the preceding year had been driven from Rome, by the anti-pope Victor IV. had retired into France, Lewis as well as Henry having acknowledged him for the true ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the pontiff in return was deſirous of bringing about a peace between the two princes, who were equally his friends. The contending monarchs met his holineſs at the caſtle of Torci on the Loire. They immediately diſmounted to receive him, and each of them holding one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his ſide, and in this manner conducted him into the caſtle. Such was the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the times! Can we wonder at the pride and inſolence of the Roman pontiff, when two of the moſt powerful monarchs in Europe were guilty of ſuch unpardonable weakneſs?

The power of Henry was now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and he flattered himſelf with a long ſeries of peace and tranquillity: but he was deceived; he was rendered unhappy by a perſon, who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas Becket, whoſe conduct ſet the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the ſcheme which Henry had formed for confining the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within proper bounds; and of repreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the clergy, who had for ſome time expreſſed an open contempt of the laws of their country. Forgetting that religion is the genuine baſis of civil order, they had inverted its tendency, and endeavoured to demoliſh the very ſtructure it was intended to ſupport. They arrogated to themſelves rights and immunities totally ſubverſive of the peace of ſociety. Henry was determined to correct theſe enormities, and, without depriving the church of her real privileges, to eſtabliſh proper limits to the pretenſions of the clergy. Becket was conſidered as a proper perſon for executing this noble deſign, and whoſe utmoſt aſſiſtance Henry flattered himſelf he might command.

That famous eccleſiaſtic was the ſon of a citizen of London, and had ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was endowed with very ſingular talents, and with a ſpirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had recommended him to Henry, who made him his chancellor. In the execution of that high office he was equally diſtinguiſhed by the extent of his capacity, and the ſplendor and gaiety of his life. Far from being tinctured with the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the times, he abandoned himſelf to the pleaſures of the age. He was an aſſiduous courtier, and ſhared with his prince his amuſements and his military toils.

A. D. 1162. Perſuaded that Becket would readily ſacrifice his own intereſt to promote that of his ſovereign, Henry, on the death of Theobald, promoted him to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury. The whole behaviour of Becket was changed on his being placed at the head of the Engliſh church. He reſigned his office of chancellor, and ſent the ſeals to Henry, who was then in Normandy; renounced all concern in ſecular affairs, ſubmitted to the moſt rigid mortifications, and became laviſh in his generoſity to the poor. The gay and ſplendid miniſter was changed into a ſaint.

Becket having thus acquired the veneration of the people, ſoon convinced Henry that he muſt not expect any aſſiſtance from him in limiting the privileges of the clergy. He attempted to recover all the lands that had been alienated from the ſee of Canterbury : pretending that none of his predeceſſors had any right to diſpoſe of the property of the church. Nor was he contented with this attempt to extend his juriſdiction, he aſſerted that it was the prerogative of the archbiſhop to fill vacant church livings in the manors of his military tenants, as well as thoſe of the churches of Canterbury. Accordingly, he collated one Laurence to the rectory of Areſford ; but the patron, who was a peer of the realm, reſolved not to ſubmit to ſo inſolent an intruſion, and immediately ejected Laurence from the benefice. Becket conſidered this as an unpardonable affront offered to the mitre, and pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt the patron.

Henry was at once aſtoniſhed and alarmed. He wrote to Becket, inſiſting that the cenſure ſhould be taken off, which the haughty prelate peremptorily refuſed. A little reflection, however, convinced him of his error : a law, paſſed in the reign of William the conqueror, inflicted the penalty of high-treaſon on any churchman, who ſhould promulgate an eccleſiaſtical cenſure on any military tenant of the crown, without the king's conſent. The prelate did not chuſe to incur the penalty, and therefore annulled the ſentence. Henry was now ſufficiently convinced that he had been deceived in the opinion he had formed of Becket, and at the ſame time confirmed in his former reſolution of reducing the authority of the eccleſiaſtics. An event ſoon after happened, that called upon him, as the father of his people, to carry his deſign into immediate execution.

A clergyman in Worceſterſhire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, murdered the father to conceal the offence. Henry ordered that the criminal ſhould be tried in the ſecular court, and puniſhed according to the laws of the kingdom. Becket inſiſted on the immunities of the church, and maintained that no greater puniſhment could be inflicted upon him than that of degradation, and his being ſhut up in a monaſtery during the remainder of his life. Adding, that to ſubject an eccleſiaſtic to the cognizance of the civil magiſtrate, was a high infringement of the privileges of the church, and which he would always oppoſe to the utmoſt of his power. Aſtoniſhed at the inſolence of the prelate, and diſdaining to anſwer a declaration ſo ſubverſive of the peace of civil ſociety, the king turned his back upon the prelate, and left him with contempt.

Henry now aſſembled an aſſembly of all the prelates of England at Weſtminſter, and ſolemnly demanded, " whether they conſented and allowed, that ſuch clergymen as were convicted of felony ſhould be degraded, and immediately upon their degradation be delivered over to a ſecular officer for corporal puniſhment." This demand, which was perfectly agreeable to juſtice, and the ancient laws of England, met with very little oppoſition from any of the clergy, except the archbiſhop, who peremptorily refuſed his aſſent, alledging, that it was contrary both to the divine law, and the inſtitutions of the church, for a delinquent to undergo a double puniſhment for one offence. Telling his brethren at the ſame time that it ill became them, who were forbid, by the ſacred writings, to have any concern in ſentences of death, to expoſe any perſon of their own order to capital puniſhment. Swayed by the authority, and fearing the power of Becket, the biſhops declined coming to any reſolution on the ſubject of the king's demand. Henry was exaſperated at their obſtinacy, and aſked them this preciſe and deciſive queſtion, " Whether or not they were willing to ſubmit to the ancient laws of the kingdom ?" The anſwer was equivocal ; a ſalvo was added, with regard to their order and immunities of the church ; and Henry left the ſynod with all the marks of indignation and contempt.

Alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, the biſhops repreſented to Becket, that his unſeaſonable obſtinacy would, in all probability, be fatal to the privileges of the clergy ; and therefore adviſed him, from the regard to the common cauſe of all the eccleſiaſtics in this kingdom, to make ſome conceſſions to offended majeſty : but the archbiſhop was deaf to their intreaties, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his life in ſupport of the canons of the church. Aſtoniſhed at his inflexible obſtinacy, the biſhops, who were not equally blinded by enthuſiaſm, conſidered that whatever honour their perſeverance might reflect upon them at the court of Rome, yet as Engliſh barons, they had every thing to fear from the reſentment of an active and warlike prince. Inſtigated by theſe motives, they waited upon the king, and gave him an abſolute promiſe to ſubmit themſelves to the laws of the kingdom. Becket himſelf followed their example, and promiſed, upon the faith of an honeſt man, to obſerve the laws of the kingdom without any ſalvo or qualification.

A. D. 1164. The only difficulty that now remained was, to explain and define thoſe laws, and to aſcertain the proper limits of the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions. For this purpoſe a general council of the nobility and prelates was aſſembled at Clarendon. And in this aſſembly the following articles were framed into the form of laws.

" I. All ſuits about the preſentation and advowſon of churches, between either laity or clergy, ſhall be tried and determined in the king's court.

" II. Churches of the king's fee cannot be given away in perpetuity without his conſent.

" III. Clergymen accuſed of any crime whatever, and ſummoned by the king's juſtices, ſhall appear in the king's court, and plead to ſuch articles as the court ſhall require, and in the eccleſiaſtical court, to ſuch as are cognizable therein ; provided the king's juſtices ſend an officer to inſpect the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical court ; and in caſe a clerc is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to loſe his privilege, and be protected by the court no longer.

" IV. No archbiſhops, biſhops, or prieſts, may go out of the realm without the king's leave ; and if they have leave, they ſhall give ſecurity not to aſk or attempt any thing either in their paſſage, ſtay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

" V. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath, or give ſecurity, to continue upon the place where they live, but only to ſtand to the judgment of the church in order to their abſolution.

" VI. Laymen ought not to be accuſed in the eccleſiaſtical court, but by legal and reputable promoters and witneſſes, and in the preſence of the biſhop ; yet ſo as the archdeacon loſe not his right or any of his dues : and if the offenders are ſuch that nobody will or dare accuſe them, the ſheriff, at the biſhop's requeſt, ſhall cauſe twelve legal men of the town or vicinage to make oath before the biſhop, that they will declare the truth of the matter, according to the beſt of their knowledge.

" VII. None, either of the king's tenants in capite, or of his miniſterial officers, may be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unleſs application be firſt made to the king, if he be in England, or, in caſe he be out of the realm, to his juſticiary, that he may ſee juſtice done in their caſe ; ſo that what is cognizable in the king's court may be there determined, and what belongs to the eccleſiaſtical may be remitted thither.

" VIII. If appeals ariſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, they are to be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop, and from the biſhop to the archbiſhop ; in failure of juſtice from the archbiſhop, recourſe muſt be had to the king, that by his precept, the ſuit may be determined in the archbiſhop's court. Nor ſhall it be lawful to proceed farther without the king's conſent.

"IX. If a ſuit ariſe between a clergyman and a layman, which the firſt pretends to be held by Frank-Almoine; (a tenure of lands or tenements beſtowed for perpetual alms) and the latter maintains it to be a lay-fee, the tenure ſhall be tried before the king's juſticiary by the verdict of twelve legal men, ſummoned according to the cuſtom of the courts, by the order of the king's chief juſtice; and if the tenement is found to be held in frank-almoine, the ſuit ſhall be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, the ſuit ſhall be carried on in the king's court, unleſs they both hold of the ſame lord, either ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe it ſhall be tried in his court; provided, however, that the perſon ſeiſed with the tenement in queſtion be not, on account of ſuch verdict, diſſeiſed till the ſuit is determined.

"X. If any inhabitant of a city, caſtle, borough, or demeſne manor of the king, be cited for any time by the archdeacon or biſhop, and will not make ſatisfaction upon their ſummons, they may interdict him from divine ſervice; but they ought not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the place be made acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the perſon to make ſatisfaction to the church; and if ſuch officer fail in ſo doing, he ſhall be fineable at the king's pleaſure; and the biſhop may then exert his eccleſiaſtical authority upon the accuſed perſon.

"XI. All archbiſhops and biſhops, and other clergymen poſſeſſed of eccleſiaſtical dignities or benefices, who hold of the king in capite, are to look upon their eſtates as baronies, and ſhall appear before the king's juſtices and officers, to anſwer the duties of their tenure; and ſhall obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices; and ſhall hold themſelves, as other barons, obliged to be preſent at judicial proceedings in the king's court, till ſentence comes to be given againſt life or limb.

"XII. When any archbiſhopric, biſhopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king ſhall enter thereupon, and receive all the iſſues and profits thereof as of his own demeſne lands; and when he ſhall think fit that ſuch church be provided for, the king ſhall ſend his mandate to the chief chapter or convent, and the election ſhall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's conſent, and by the advice of ſuch dignitaries of the realm as the king ſhall call together for that purpoſe: and the perſon ſo elected ſhall there, before his conſecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for life, limb, and earthly honour, ſaving his order.

"XIII. If any of the chief nobility of the realm ſhould violently oppoſe the archbiſhop or biſhop, or archdeacon, in doing juſtice on themſelves, or on their tenants, the king ſhall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige them to ſubmit to juſtice. And if any deny the king his rights, and decline ſtanding to the judgment of the court, the archbiſhop, biſhop, and archdeacon, ſhall employ their authority and cenſures to oblige them to make the king ſatisfaction.

"XIV. The goods and chattels of ſuch as have forfeited to the king, ſhall not be detained in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them from being ſeized according to law, becauſe they belong to the king wherever they are found, as well within the precincts of the church as without.

"XV. All actions and ſuits for debt, due either upon oath, or ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted, ſhall be tried in the king's court.

"XVI. The ſons of villeins, or copyholders, are not to be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor where they were known to be born."

Such are the famous articles, ſo well known under the title of "The Conſtitutions of Clarendon." The biſhops, overawed by the barons, who were all gained over to the king's party, readily ſigned the Conſtitutions; but Becket had now changed his reſolution, retracted his promiſe, and abſolutely refuſed to ſet his hand to the articles. At laſt, by the repeated ſollicitations of the nobility and clergy, he relented, ſigned the Conſtitutions, and promiſed "legally with good faith, and without fraud, to "obey them."

Henry tranſmitted the articles to pope Alexander, in order to have them confirmed by a bull. But the pontiff was ſo far from complying with the wiſhes of the king, that he did not heſitate to condemn and annul them, as incompatible with the rights of the church. Becket no ſooner perceived that he might hope for ſupport from the ſee of Rome in his oppoſition to the conſtitutions, than he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for having joined in theſe conceſſions: he redoubled his auſterities, and refuſed to exerciſe any part of his archiepiſcopal function, till he ſhould receive abſolution from the pontiff.

Henry was now ſo thoroughly exaſperated againſt Becket, that it was generally feared his ruin was determined. The archbiſhop himſelf was alarmed, and applied to Henry for leave to viſit the pope, in order to confer with him on ſome important affair relative to his church, but was refuſed. The prelate then repaired to Woodſtock, where Henry reſided, and was refuſed an audience.

Another council was now ſummoned at Northampton, where no leſs than four impeachments were preferred againſt him. Paſſion now, rather than juſtice, dictated the proceedings of Henry. Becket was convicted of contumacy, and condemned to pay a very large fine. The king commanded him to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, which the archbiſhop abſolutely refuſed. It was now apparent that Henry was determined to humble this imperious churchman; but Becket was not to be intimidated. He dreſſed himſelf in his pontifical robes, and carrying the croſs of Canterbury erect before him, entered the preſence chamber. Every perſon preſent was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at his inſolence and folly. The biſhops were aſhamed and confounded; and the biſhop of Hereford requeſted that he might bear the croſs before him, but he aſked in vain. Henry himſelf remonſtrated concerning his conduct, and reminded him, that he had himſelf ſubſcribed the articles of Clarendon. Becket replied, that the cauſe of God and the church had rendered his conſent to thoſe articles of no force; and that he put himſelf under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the ſupreme head of the church, to whom he appealed againſt the ſentences that either had or might be pronounced againſt him, and ſtrictly inhibited his ſuffragans not to join in any enterprize contrary to the immunities of the church. The barons, exaſperated at his conduct, determined to commit him to priſon; but he refuſed to hear the ſentence pronounced, left the aſſembly immediately, and retired, with his croſs erect before him, to the monaſtery of St. Andrews. He ſoon after ſent three biſhops to aſk a ſafe conduct for his departure; but being denied, he retired privately in the night, attended only by two ſervants, and eſcaped to the continent. He was received by Lewis king of France, and pope Alexander, who was ſtill at the court of that monarch, with every mark of reſpect and eſteem. By the munificence of the former, he lived with the utmoſt magnificence in the monaſtery of Pontigni, and the latter prepared to iſſue bulls to revenge his diſgrace. All the thunder of the Vatican was intended to be launched againſt the head of the Engliſh monarch and his miniſters.

Henry was no ſooner informed of the eſcape of Becket, than he immediately diſpatched a very reſpectable embaſſy to the pope, to ſollicit the depoſition of the primate; offering to double the revenue of Peter's-pence, and render it a perpetual tax. But the pope was inflexible; he refuſed the offer, and the ambaſſadors immediately returned to their maſter. On their arrival, Henry ſummoned an aſſembly of the nobles, where it was determined to ſequeſter all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy, who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domeſtics, both clergy and laity, were baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1165. But Henry was ſtill uneaſy. The troubles excited in Germany and Italy by the thunder of the Vatican, alarmed both him and his nobles. He therefore paſſed over to the continent, in order, if poſſible, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom, by a perſonal conference with the pope. An interview was accordingly propoſed, and it was agreed that Becket ſhould not be preſent. The archbiſhop was alarmed at this excluſion; he feared that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore ſuggeſted to his holineſs, "that he might be impoſed upon by the fluent and plauſible ſpeeches of Henry, unleſs he himſelf was preſent to interpret their meaning by what he knew of the inward ſentiments of his heart." The weak pontiff liſtened to this artful ſuggeſtion of the prelate; he gave up his own infallibility to depend upon that of Becket, and inſiſted on the archbiſhop's being preſent at the interview. Henry diſdained to ſubmit to this propoſal, and immediately embarked for England.

A. D. 1166. The king, convinced that the pope would now exert all his power in favour of Becket, took every precaution in his power to render the attempt abortive. He prohibited all his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holineſs or the archbiſhop, and from making any appeals to them. Becket now exerted all his power; he thundered out anathemas againſt his enemies, and at laſt denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and abſolved every one from the oaths which they had taken to obſerve them. At the ſame time, by virtue of the legantine authority conferred on him by Alexander, he commanded the Engliſh biſhops to attend him under the penalty of an anathema, and even proceeded ſo far as to write threatening letters to the king. But Alexander being engaged in a dangerous war with the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, was afraid of drawing upon him the reſentment of ſo powerful a prince as Henry; he therefore ſuſpended the effects of Becket's denunciations.

A. D. 1167. Henry, however, was unwilling to expoſe his kingdom to thoſe revolutions which the thunder of the Vatican had produced in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately, the obſtinacy of the archbiſhop was equal to the ſtatelineſs of the monarch. Lewis, king of France, interpoſed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all diſputes; and to ſubmit to the king, ſaving his honour, the poſſeſſions of the church, and the rights of others. At laſt an interview was agreed to, and Becket met the kings of France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was ſo unreaſonable and haughty, that Lewis was perſuaded it would be impoſſible to bring about an agreement. Henry, deſirous of a pacification, ſaid to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have alſo been many archbiſhops of Canterbury; let Becket act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his predeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." But Becket refuſed to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a propoſal. Lewis was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, diſguſted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbiſhop; but the correſpondence and friendſhip between the monarch of France and the prelate was ſoon after renewed.

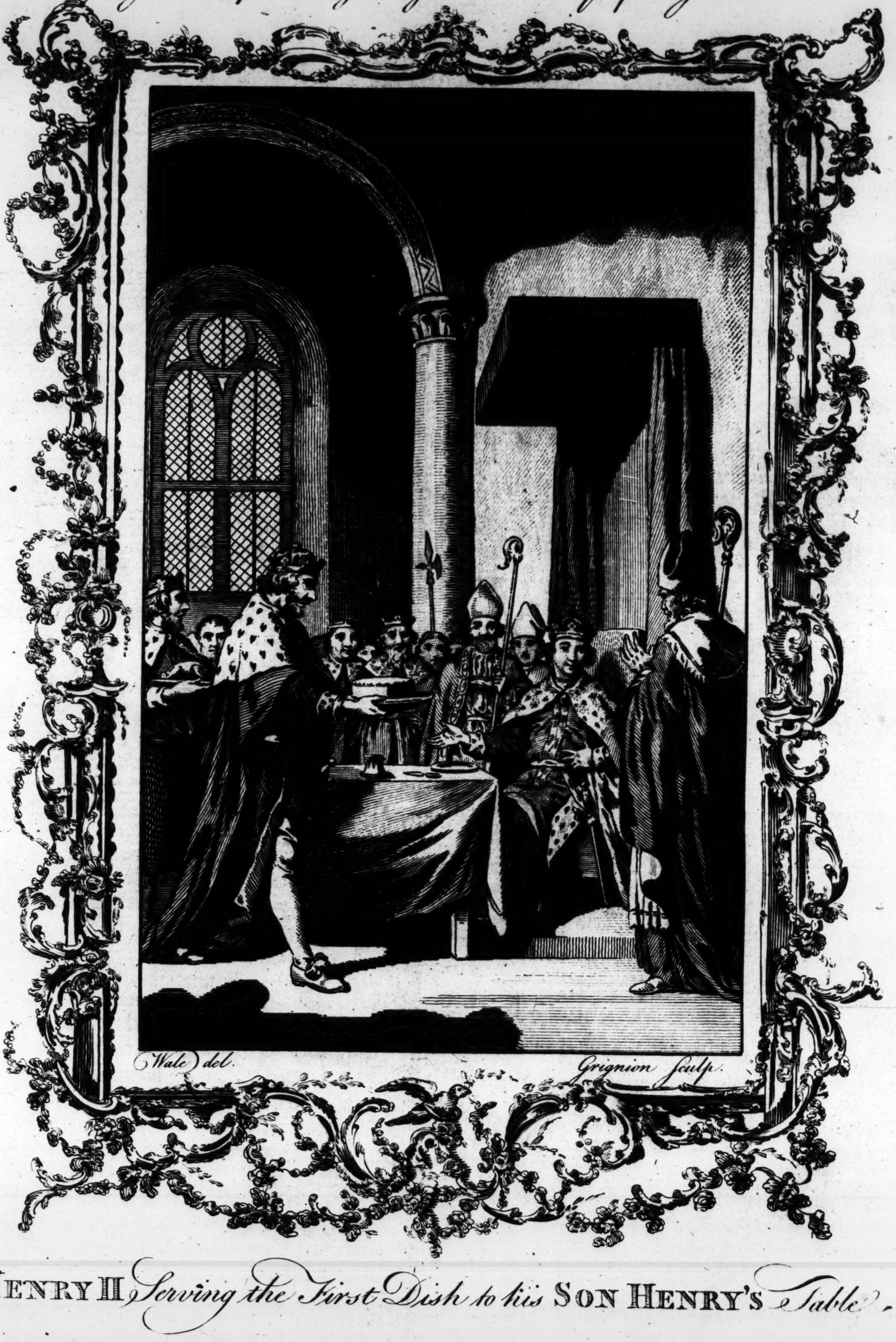
A. D. 1169. Henry now gave Normandy, Le Maine and Anjou, to his eldeſt ſon, Henry; Poictou and Guienne to his ſon Richard; and Britanny to Geoffrey, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and ſwore fealty to his eldeſt brother. Lewis, as lord paramount of theſe fiefs, confirmed the grants, and the young princes did homage to the French monarch for their reſpective territories.

A. D. 1170. Having provided for the tranquillity of his foreign dominions, Henry returned to England, and ſummoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windſor. In this aſſembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights, and clergymen, appointed commiſſioners, to make a progreſs through theſe diviſions, in order to take cognizance of all abuſes committed by the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiſition produced the moſt ſalutary effects; the ſubject was eaſed of many exactions, various grievances were redreſſed, and peace eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom.

But theſe acquiſitions, however great, however valuable, were not the only objects of Henry's deſign; he had formed another of ſtill greater importance, which he thought proper to conceal till the very moment of its execution, leſt the turbulent primate ſhould find means to render the whole abortive. He remembered with ſorrow the little regard the Engliſh had paid to their oaths of eventual fealty in the caſe of his mother, and was therefore determined not to ſubject his own children to the ſame misfortune, by placing the crown on the head of Henry, his eldeſt ſon, then in the ſixteenth year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national aſſembly from Windſor to London. No perſon, not even the young prince himſelf, was acquainted with the real intention of Henry. The aſſembly was, however, remarkably full, in order to receive the report of the commiſſioners. As ſoon as the report was read, Henry informed them of the reſolution he had formed with regard to the coronation of his ſon, and was pleaſed to find it received with univerſal approbation. The only difficulty conſiſted in finding a prelate who was properly authoriſed to perform the ceremony. It was generally underſtood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but on this occaſion it was performed by Roger, archbiſhop of York, who had lately been inveſted with a legantine authority for Scotland; together with a bull, which granted him the eventual privilege of crowning the king of England, an immunity which ſome of his predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed. Accordingly that prelate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry. And immediately after the ceremony, William king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls, barons, and franktenants of England, took the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the new king.

The younger Henry was of a haughty and imperious diſpoſition; he was a ſtranger to generous paſſions; gratitude was not among his virtues. His father, deſirous of diſplaying, before this auguſt aſſembly, every mark of paternal love and diſtinction for his favourite ſon, ſerved the firſt diſh at his table with his own hands, ſaying, with an endearing ſmile, "You may now boaſt, my ſon, of being as honourably ſerved as any monarch upon earth." But the ſoul of young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this engaging condeſcenſion in a parent. He turned to the archbiſhop of York, and whiſpered, with a contemptuous ſneer, "That he thought it no great degradation for the ſon of a petty count to ſerve the heir of a great king." Henry heard not the ungenerous reflection of his ſon; he was yet a ſtranger to his ingratitude.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*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HENRY II *Serving the First Dish to his* SON HENRY'S *Table.*

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

The coronation of young Henry, without his aſſiſtance, filled the breaſt of Becket with malevolence and rage; he threatened vengeance againſt the prelates who had performed the ceremony, but his fury ſpent itſelf in vain; the pope ſuſpended the effect of his anathemas, till a proper inquiſition could be taken. In the mean time Henry paid a viſit to his foreign dominions, where another effort was made for terminating the differences between the king and the ambitious primate. The pope, indeed, was juſt going to launch the flaming bolt of interdiction upon all Henry's dominions; the day was fixed, and the Roman council ſummoned to attend. The powerful effects of ſuperſtitious bigotry, on the minds of the moſt daring, was now conſpicuous. The intrepid ſoul of Henry could not ſupport the ſhock; the mighty monarch, at whoſe nod the nations trembled, crouched like an abject ſlave beneath the uplifted rod of papal tyranny. A conference was held in a meadow between Charton and Maine, where all differences between the king and the archbiſhop were finally adjuſted. It was agreed, that the king ſhould receive the archbiſhop, his exiled clergy, adherents, and relations into his favour; that the prelate ſhould be reſtored to his rights and poſſeſſions in the ſee of Canterbury, and be empowered to hold them in the ſame manner as before the conteſt began; that ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the ſee of Canterbury for the violation of its rights, in the coronation of the young king.

Theſe terms were certainly as favourable as even Becket himſelf could wiſh; and Henry hoped, that the archbiſhop, in return for theſe conceſſions, would lay aſide all rancour and malice, and apply himſelf to the proper duties of his office, the cultivation of peace, and promoting brotherly love and charity throughout the kingdom. He was deceived. Becket no ſooner mounted his archiepiſcopal chair, than he thundered out the ſentence of excommunication againſt the biſhops of London and Durham, ſeveral of the king's miniſters, officers of the houſhold, juſticiaries, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom. Henry was informed of thoſe violent meaſures at Bayeaux, and cried out in the bitterneſs of grief and aſtoniſhment, "What! will none of my ſervants rid me of this ungrateful and imperious prelate." This exclamation was not uttered in vain. Four barons, or knights of his houſhold, ſwore to revenge the cauſe of their maſter, privately withdrew from court, and paſſed over into England. Henry was informed of their departure, and fearing his exclamation might induce them to violent meaſures, diſpatched meſſengers after them, to prevent any fatal accident. But it was too late. The four conſpirators followed the archbiſhop into the church, and murdered him before the altar of St. Benedict.

Such was the tragical end of St. Thomas of Canbury, a prelate of the moſt imperious and inflexible ſpirit. He fell a victim to his own pride and obſtinacy in a cauſe which he fancied juſt, and in which he was guided by the moſt deſtructive prejudices. Unable to bear the leaſt contradiction, and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all that oppoſed him with a virulence of behaviour, and a ſeverity of vengeance, which neither ſuited the character of a chriſtian biſhop, nor a decent member of ſociety. He ſcrupled not to add the ſanction of the moſt ſacred oaths to infamous falſehoods, in order to carry any favourite point. And we may learn from his example the amazing influence, which opinion often obtains over the minds even of ſuperior men, and thence perceive the dangers of thoſe falſe principles which ignorance and ſuperſtition have too often ſubſtituted in the place of the genuine and pure maxims of the goſpel. Alexander, convinced of the great ſervices of Becket in promoting the exorbitant power aſſumed by the papacy, cauſed him to be canonized and revered as a martyr about two years after his death, without the uſual proceſs generally obſerved in caſes of a ſimilar nature. Pilgrimages were made to Canterbury, and devotions made at his tomb.

A. D. 1171. The death of Becket deeply affected the mind of Henry. He dreaded the conſequences of the papal thunder, and knew that his enemies would exert all their influence with the pontiff to launch the flaming bolt of interdiction on his dominions. He feared the ſpiritual much more than the temporal ſword. He diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome, to clear him of all ſuſpicion of being concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at firſt, refuſed an audience to Henry's ambaſſadors; but by the proper diſtribution of large ſums among the members of the ſacred college, the intention of Henry was fully anſwered. The pope, however irritated againſt Henry, contented himſelf with iſſuing general denunciations againſt the principa's and accomplices of Becket's murder. The archbiſhop of Sens, who had always been an implacable enemy to the Engliſh monarch, laid an interdict upon all the French provinces ſubject to Henry; but the pope prevented the conſequences that might have reſulted from that ſentence. Two cardinals were ſent with legantine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct with regard to the murder of Becket, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, where Henry and his eldeſt ſon aſſiſted, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was ſettled, and all differences between Henry and the pope were terminated on the following conditions: The king declared, upon oath and the relicts of the ſaints in the church of St. Andrew, that he had neither commanded nor deſired the murder of Becket; but that as ſome words had eſcaped him, in his agony of grief, which might have given occaſion to it, he was deſirous of atoning for that offence by ſtipulating to pay a ſum of money ſufficient to maintain two hundred knights for one year in the Holy land; and, if the pope required it, to ſerve himſelf three years againſt the infidels. He farther engaged not to inſiſt on any cuſtoms derogatory to eccleſiaſtical privileges, that had been introduced during his own reign; nor to hinder appeals to the pope; but content himſelf with exacting ſufficient ſecurity from thoſe who left his dominions, that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the rights of his crown and kingdom. Thus Henry, by a maſter-ſtroke of policy, extricated himſelf from the moſt difficult ſituation on the eaſieſt terms. For notwithſtanding his promiſe, he had it always in his power to prevent appeals to Rome, by demanding ſuch ſecurities as the parties could not procure. And becauſe the conſtitutions of Clarendon were nothing more than the ancient cuſtoms of the kingdom, they were ſtill in force.

A. D. 1172. Henry having now no enemy to fear, reſumed the ſcheme he had ſome years ſince formed for the conqueſt of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, deſirous of augmenting the powers and revenues of the holy ſee, encouraged Henry to purſue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull with ample privileges. The reader will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to ſee this curious inſtrument at large, as it affords a convincing proof, that the popes of Rome, even in theſe early times, uſurped the power of conferring kingdoms and ſtates on whom they pleaſed.

" ADRIAN ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his ſon in Chriſt Jeſus, Henry king of England, ſends greeting and apoſtolical benediction.

" The deſire your highneſs expreſſed to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in heaven the prize of eternal happineſs, deſerves commendations. As a good catholic prince you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the church, to ſpread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and the ignorant, and to extirpate the weeds of vice in the garden of the Lord, for which you apply to us for countenance and direction. We are confident that your enterprize will be crowned with ſucceſs, becauſe you have undertaken it from the nobleſt motive; for whatever is taken in hand from a principle of faith and religion, is always ſure to ſucceed. It is certain, as you yourſelf acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other iſlands that have the happineſs of being enlightened by the ſun of righteouſneſs, and have embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, are undoubtedly St. Peter's right, and belong to the juriſdiction of the Roman ſee. We, therefore, think, after mature conſideration, that to ſettle in that iſland colonies of the faithful, will be well-pleaſing to God.

"You have informed us, that you intend to make an expedition into Ireland, to ſubject the iſland to juſt laws, and to extirpate vice, which has long prevailed in that country. You promiſe to pay us, out of every houſe, a yearly acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the church without the leaſt infringement or diminution. Upon theſe conditions, we conſent and allow, that you make a deſcent upon that iſland, to enlarge the bounds of the church, to check the progreſs of immorality, to reform the manners of the inhabitants, and to promote the growth of virtue and the Chriſtian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you ſhall judge neceſſary to advance the honour of God, and the ſalvation of the people, whom we charge to ſubmit to your juriſdiction, and own you for their ſovereign lord; provided always that the rights of the church be inviolably obſerved, and Peter-pence duly paid. If, therefore, you think proper to carry your deſign into execution, labour, above all things, to improve the inhabitants in virtue. Uſe both your own endeavours, and the endeavours of ſuch as you ſhall judge worthy of being employed in this work, that the church of God be more and more enriched, that religion flouriſh in the country; and that the things tending to the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls, be diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner, as may entitle you to an immortal fame upon earth, and an eternal reward in heaven."

Such was the bull granted by Adrian for the conqueſt of Ireland, which had excited the ambition of Henry. There is the greateſt reaſon to believe that Ireland was originally peopled from England; but the Iriſh ſtill remained in the ſtate of ſavages; they were even ignorant of agriculture; no traces of the arts were found among them; they were deſtitute of laws, of manners, and of learning. The iſland was divided into a number of ſmall principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they exerciſed perpetual violences againſt each other. They were incapable of making any defence againſt regular forces; but it was no eaſy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholeſome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they oppoſed every attempt to civilize them; and, like the ancient Britons, when attacked by a ſuperior force, fled to their foreſts, mountains and caverns, for ſafety.

An accident happened about this time, which gave Henry a favourable opportunity of claiming the pretended title he had derived from the bull of Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whoſe wife he had carried off, applied to the Engliſh monarch for aſſiſtance to recover his territories. Henry liſtened to the Iriſh chief, and empowered him to levy troops in England. He alſo gave a general leave to his ſubjects to aſſiſt the prince in perſon, but declined to embark himſelf in the enterprize. The romantic notions of valour that then prevailed, excited the ambition of ſeveral of the Engliſh barons to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince. Among theſe, Richard, earl of Striguel, ſurnamed Strongbow, called by ſeveral of our hiſtorians Richard earl of Pembroke, was the chief. That nobleman, whoſe ambition was boundleſs, enjoyed ſeveral large eſtates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the ſituation of his territories very convenient for paſſing over into Ireland. Strongbow undertook to aſſiſt the Iriſh chief, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his dominions. Accordingly theſe adventurers, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, landed in Ireland, defeated very numerous armies of the wild Iriſh; and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, meditated the reduction of the whole iſland. Jealous of their ſucceſs, and deſirous of acquiring the honour of being the conqueror of Ireland, Henry paſſed over in perſon, at the head of a powerful army; but the Iriſh were already conquered; there remained nothing for him but to receive the ſubmiſſion of a vanquiſhed people. Henry, without the effuſion of a ſingle drop of blood, became maſter of Ireland in leſs time than would have been neceſſary to travel over it. Moſt of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and ſwore allegiance to the Engliſh monarch. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country ſubject to England ever ſince Adrian had iſſued a bull for that purpoſe, met in a general aſſembly at Waterford, where they ſigned their ſubmiſſion, and delivered the inſtruments to Henry, who tranſmitted them to Rome. Alexander, pleaſed with acquiring ſo conſiderable an addition of power and intereſt to the ſee of Rome, readily confirmed the title.

Henry had now reached the pinnacle of human grandeur, and flattered himſelf with enjoying a ſeries of happineſs and tranquillity. He was deceived. His children proved a ſource of the moſt ſevere diſquietude. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, a prince of a very haughty and inſolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France; and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated, in order that his conſort might be included in the ſolemnity. He had alſo been permitted to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, and continued ſome time at the court of France. Lewis, ever attentive to excite commotions in England, embraced this opportunity of kindling the flames of domeſtic diſcord in the family of Henry. He perſuaded the prince, that in conſequence of the ceremony of the coronation, he was intitled to an immediate poſſeſſion of a part of the dominions of his father. Imperious by nature, and full of this extravagant idea, young Henry returned to England, and demanded from his father, either the kingdom of England, or the dutchy of Normandy. Henry was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected requeſt, and began to fear that his hopes of happineſs were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his ſon of the extravagance of his demand; and painted in proper colours the folly of a requeſt which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But his endeavours were in vain: the prince diſcovered the higheſt diſcontent, blended with inſolence, at his father's refuſal; retired to France, and put himſelf under the protection of Lewis, whoſe deſire of leſſening the power of Henry had given riſe to this domeſtic diſcord. But the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon was not the only misfortune that diſturbed the happineſs of Henry. His queen, Eleanor, carrying her jealouſy of her huſband to extremity, encouraged her two younger ſons, Richard and Geoffrey, to follow the example of their brother, fly to the court of France, and inſiſt upon being put into actual poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned them by their father.

A. D. 1173. Lewis was not the ſole monarch who dreaded the too great power of Henry. William, king of Scotland, had long beheld it with terror, and trembled for the conſequences. He followed young Henry to France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottiſh and French nations; but in reality to concert proper meaſures for diſtreſſing the king of England. Several of the moſt powerful barons both in England and Normandy, joined in the unnatural alliance for ſupporting the unreaſonable claim of an undutiful ſon, on the dominions of an indulgent parent. Henry, alarmed at the departure of his ſon, demanded him from the court of France; but received a very inſolent anſwer.

Nothing leſs than the amazing abilities of the Engliſh monarch could have extricated him out of the innumerable difficulties with which he was now ſurrounded. The deſertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reaſon to fear, that his own ſubjects would deſert him in the day of battle; and he was therefore determined to have recourſe to foreign mercenaries for aſſiſtance. He accordingly took twenty thouſand Brabanders, all of them veteran troops, into his pay, and by his liberality attached them firmly to his perſon and fortunes. Theſe Brabanders, ſometimes called Routiers, and Colleraux, were a kind of banditti, or free-booters, who lived upon plunder; they infeſted, at that time, all the ſtates of Europe, defied the cenſures of the church, and engaged in the ſervice of any prince who could pay them punctually. But though they were mercenaries by profeſſion, yet, when well paid, no troops could behave with greater fidelity: and though accuſtomed to plunder, yet, in time of action, they were rigid obſervers of military diſcipline.

Henry had experienced the power of the papal thunder in the cauſe of Becket, and hoped it might have the ſame effect on his rebellious ſons. He was ſenſible, indeed, of the danger attending the interpoſition of eccleſiaſtical authority in civil diſputes; but the alarming conſequences of the unnatural attempts of his own children, induced him to ſacrifice political caution to his own ſafety. He accordingly applied to pope Alexander, who immediately promulgated anathemas againſt young Henry and all his adherents. But the ſpiritual thunder, whoſe effect was irreſiſtible in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, loſt its power when employed in a diſpute merely temporal: the flaming bolts of the vatican fell harmleſs to the ground.

But Henry was far from placing his whole dependence on the ſpiritual arm of the Roman pontiff; his own abilities, and the powerful aſſiſtance of his foreign forces, rendered him ſuperior to all his enemies. His virtues never ſhone with ſo much luſtre as in this alarming criſis. The ſight of impending dangers animated him with freſh courage. Bleſt with the moſt aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and wholly a ſtranger to fear, he viewed, with the moſt intrepid coolneſs, the many dangers with which he was ſurrounded, and planned the moſt prudent meaſures to render them all abortive. He was perſuaded, and perhaps with reaſon, that Eleanor his queen was the principal cauſe of this domeſtic inſurrection, and accordingly cauſed her to be impriſoned, at the very moment ſhe was endeavouring to make her eſcape.

The operations of the confederated princes begun by Richard, who repaired into Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms againſt his father. Geoffrey ſtirred up a rebellion in Britany, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, aſſiſted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The Scottiſh monarch led an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leiceſter, landed in Eſſex at the head of a large body of Flemiſh troops, to excite an inſurrection among the Engliſh. The ſoul of Henry now towered above misfortunes. He ſaw his dangers; but was not intimidated. He had taken ſuch precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers, that the French monarch, after loſing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thouſand Brabanders, ſent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. The army of Leiceſter was routed at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, and above ten thouſand Flemings ſlain on the ſpot. Henry advanced at the head of his army againſt the inſurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had ſeized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his authority.

A. D. 1174. Henry now haſtened to the defence of his kingdom, which the Scottiſh army threatened with deſolation. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, ſubmitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impoſe upon him. He knew the powerful effect of ſuperſtition over the minds of the vulgar; he knew that the ridiculous ſtories of Becket's miracles were firmly believed by a weak and bigotted people; and that he himſelf lay under very ſevere ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to his death; and therefore determined to remove every ſhadow of complaint, by joining in the reigning devotions of the times. He ſet out immediately for Canterbury, and as ſoon as he perceived the cathedral, though three miles diſtant, he alighted from his horſe, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the ſaint; proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relicks. When the morning appeared he aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put ſcourges into their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the diſcipline and laſhes of theſe eccleſiaſtics. He afterwards made a ſolemn proceſſion to all the altars in the cathedral; and, retiring to the ſhrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum to ſupport a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb. True devotion is more decent and leſs oſtentatious. Henry was deſirous of acquiring the affections of a ſuperſtitious people, and a ſecret penance, however ſevere, would not have anſwered his purpoſe.

The king had hardly left the cathedral, before advice arrived that a deciſive victory had been obtained over the Scottiſh army, and their king taken priſoner. Such remarkable ſucceſs was immediately attributed to the protection of the ſaint; and this opinion ſpreading through the whole kingdom, tended greatly to ſoften and repreſs the ſpirit of rebellion. Many of his reſtleſs barons were, however, ſtill in arms, and Henry marched immediately to chaſtiſe them, and reſtore that peace to his kingdom which their unnatural rebellion had deſtroyed. He firſt inveſted the caſtle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the moſt powerful of the Engliſh malecontents. Bigod was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Henry to attempt defending his fortreſs to extremities; he opened a negotiation, and obtained his pardon on condition of delivering up his caſtles of Framlingham and Bungay. The biſhop of Durham, who had effected an entire independence, delivered up the caſtle of Norham and Alverton. The officers of the earl of Leiceſter followed the biſhop's example; they gave up the caſtles of Montſorrel, Groby and Leiceſter. Mowbray delivered up the caſtle of Thirſk, and the earl of Ferrers thoſe of Stotville and Duſelde.

Such was the iſſue of this unnatural rebellion in England. The whole kingdom, in a few days, from the moſt imminent danger of being loſt to the younger Henry, was reduced under his government. Lewis had laid ſige to Rouen, and was now joined by the earl of Flanders. This reinforcement enabled the French monarch to puſh the ſiege with great vigour; and he flattered himſelf with being able to make himſelf maſter of the place before the arrival of Henry. He was deceived. The garriſon made a noble defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could ſubdue even the outworks. The preſence of the Engliſh monarch ſtruck the enemy with terror, the ſiege was immediately raiſed; and the combined forces fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their baggage behind them.

A peace now became neceſſary. Henry's three rebellious ſons made their ſubmiſſion, and were received with the indulgence and affection of a parent. All their adherents were pardoned, and large penſions ſettled upon themſelves. William, king of Scotland, gave up the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty: he did homage to Henry as his liege lord; and engaged, that the nobility and prelates of his kingdom ſhould alſo do him homage. The caſtles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were delivered up to the Engliſh as ſecurities; and William returned to his own kingdom.

A. D. 1176. Henry now applied himſelf to cultivate the arts of peace, and gain the affection of his Engliſh ſubjects. He ſummoned a general council of the barons and prelates at Northampton. In this aſſembly the laws of Edward the Confeſſor were revived, to the intire ſatisfaction of the people. And in order to carry thoſe laws into execution, he cauſed the kingdom to be divided into ſix parts, and aſſigned to each three itinerant juſtices. Thoſe diviſions differ very little from the circuits ſtill in uſe. Henry alſo reſtored the barons, who had joined his rebellious ſons, to their eſtates. But as he had learned from experience the danger of ſuffering ſo many caſtles to ſubſiſt in the very heart of his kingdom, he ſeized many of them into his own hands, and demoliſhed others. Theſe wiſe regulations eſtabliſhed tranquillity in his kingdom, and afforded him that ſatisfaction which he had ſought in vain from power and grandeur. His people were protected, contented, and happy.

A. D. 1179. While Henry was enjoying the fruits of his labours for the ſervice of his people, Lewis, alarmed at the danger of his ſon, who was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, reſolved to make a pilgrimage to Becket's ſhrine, in order to obtain the interceſſion of that ſaint for the recovery of his ſon. Henry met the French monarch at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both paid their devotions at the altar of St. Thomas; and Lewis offered at his tomb a maſſy cup of pure gold, and beſtowed upon the monks a grant of two hundred gallons of wine annually, and freed them from all duties on ſuch goods as they might purchaſe in his dominions. Lewis died ſoon after his return, and was ſucceeded by Philip, an ambitious and politic prince, who took every occaſion to depreſs the power of the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1180. Henry was deſtined to experience all the calamities which undutiful children can inflict on an indulgent parent. Young Henry now renewed his pretenſions, again unſheathed the ſword of rebellion againſt his father; and was protected by Philip, who favoured his unnatural deſigns. But while he was preparing to commence hoſtilities, he was ſeized with a violent fever at Martel, a caſtle in the neighbourhood of Limoges. Perceiving himſelf paſt all hopes of recovery, he diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, intreating the favour of a viſit, that he might die with the ſatisfaction of having procured the forgiveneſs of a parent he had ſo groſsly offended. But fearing to truſt himſelf in the power of thoſe about the perſon of his ſon, Henry refuſed to viſit him; but ſent one of his prelates, together with a ring, as a token of his bleſſing and pardon. The biſhop found him tottering on the brink of eternity; and received his dying requeſt, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their ſalaries; and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The biſhop promiſed to relate his requeſts to his father. He faithfully performed his promiſe; but before any anſwer could be returned, the prince paid the debt of nature, on the eleventh of June, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

Henry was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon. He fainted thrice, and burſt forth into the moſt exceſſive lamentations of grief and ſorrow. He accuſed himſelf of inhumanity in having refuſed his dying requeſt, in not giving him in perſon that aſſurance of forgiveneſs, which he had only ſent by another hand. The death of this prince, however, ſuſpended for a time the rebellion concerted by the three unnatural brothers; and an event that happened ſoon after, ſeemed to have put a period to Henry's domeſtic miſfortunes.

A. D. 1185. Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand-maſters of the Knights Templars and Hoſpitalers, on an embaſſy from Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Henry againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch preſented the Engliſh monarch with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Tower of David, in token of their deſire of placing the crown of the Holy City on his head. Henry, however, refuſed the offer, but promiſed to aſſiſt the Chriſtians with a large ſupply of money.

A. D. 1187. It was now hoped that the two ſons of Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, had laid aſide their rebellious intentions; but the Engliſh monarch perceived himſelf miſtaken. The former, diſguſted at a deſign formed by his father of ſettling Guienne as an appanage upon John, his youngeſt brother, departed the kingdom, and prepared to ſeize by force the dominions to which he was intitled by his birth. And Geoffrey demanded that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his dutchy of Britany. This demand was abſolutely refuſed by Henry; and Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France, to ſollicit aſſiſtance againſt his father. But before Philip had given any anſwer to his requeſt, Geoffrey was killed in a tournament at Paris. That accident delivered Henry from the enterprizes of the moſt vicious of his ſons. Geoffrey was a prince in whom pride, diſſimulation, and perfidy, were equally united. No principle of honour could bind, no precept of religion could reſtrain that headſtrong prince. He was acquainted with every vice, and generally diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of The Child of Perdition.

Soon after the death of Geoffrey, the melancholy news arrived, that the city of Jeruſalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladine, ſultan of Egypt; and that Guy de Luſignan, the laſt prince that ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels. This diſmal intelligence rekindled at once the ardour and the enthuſiaſm of the warriors of Europe. Philip and Henry, for a time, ſuſpended their quarrels, and vied with each other in their readineſs to ſuccour Paleſtine. They both took the croſs; and both ordered, that ſuch of their ſubjects as did not chuſe to engage in the cruſade, ſhould pay the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects to defray the expence of the armament. This impoſt was called "Saladine's tax." The clergy inſiſted that they ought to be excepted, notwithſtanding they were the chief inſtigators of theſe pious enterprizes.

A. D. 1188. But Philip, who was more deſirous of enlarging his own dominions than of recovering Paleſtine, took advantage of a quarrel that happened between Richard, and Raymond, count of Thoulouſe, and led his army into Berry, burnt Mount-Richard, and took ſeveral towns in Auvergne. Henry upbraided him with this flagrant breach of faith. He had not only ſworn to ſuſpend all hoſtilities till the cruſade was over, but alſo to undertake the protection of Henry's foreign dominions. While Richard continued to aſſiſt his father, Philip was every where defeated; and peace again took place between them. But this was of no long continuance. Richard revolted anew againſt his father, did homage to the king of France for the

provinces

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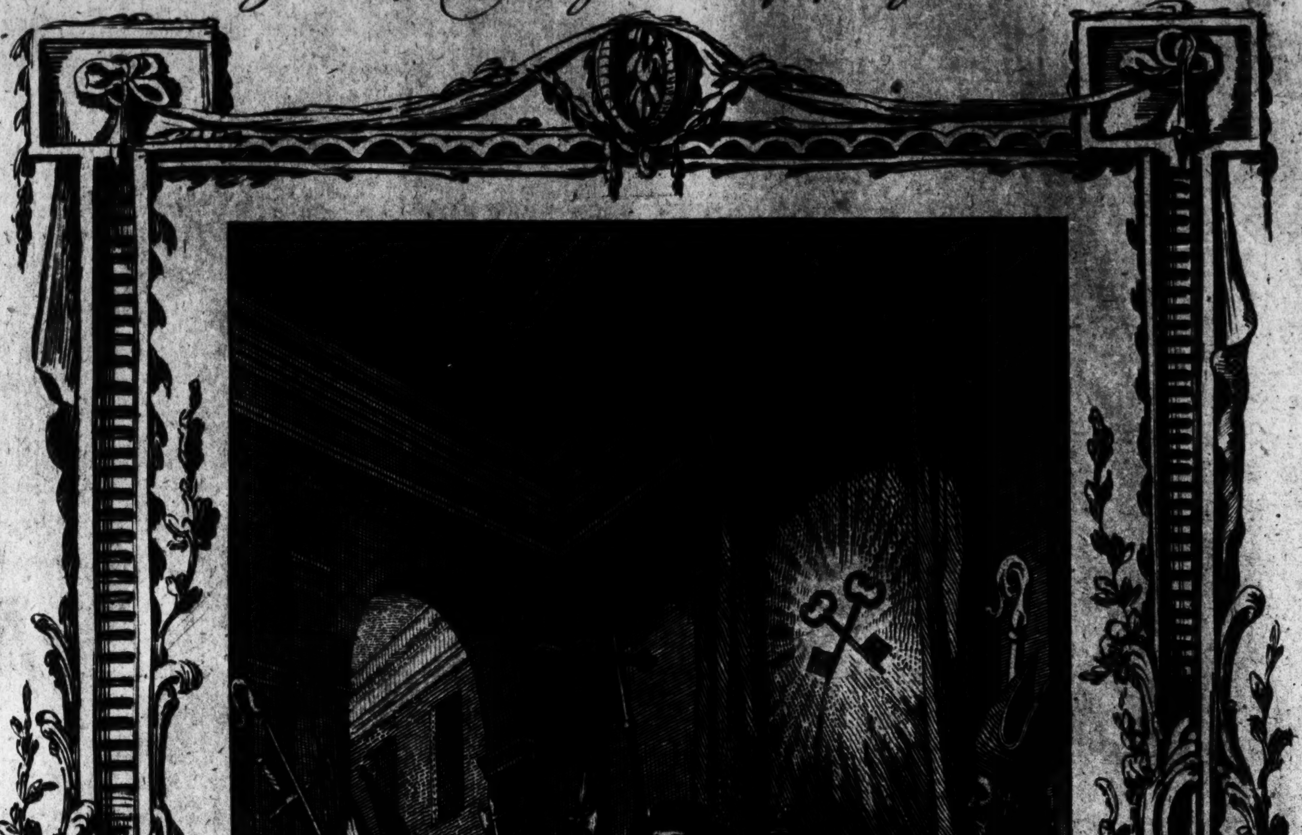

Wale delin.

Rennoldson sculp.

The Armour of the Bishop of Beauvais presented to the **POPE** by order of **RICHARD I.**

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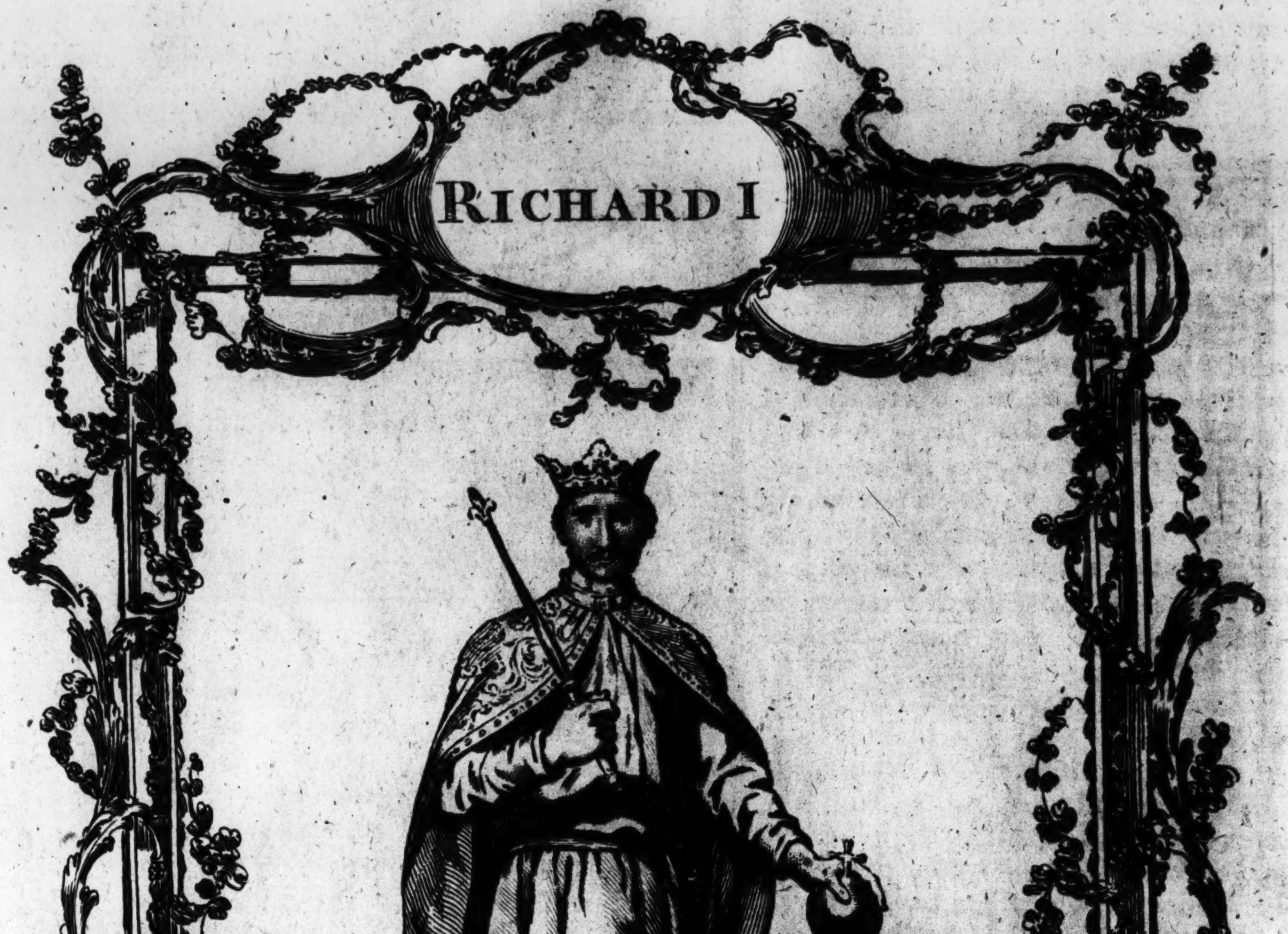
RICHARD I
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

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provinces poſſeſſed by Henry on the continent, and received the inveſtiture of them.

The pope, alarmed at the war between theſe two princes, interpoſed his authority, and excommunicated Richard, as the principal cauſe of hindering the cruſade. But this cenſure produced not the expected effect. The king of France told the legates, “that the pope had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of his kingdom, eſpecially as nothing more was intended than the chaſtiſement of a vaſſal who had taken up arms againſt his lord.”

A. D. 1189. Henry now found it impoſſible to defend his Norman dominions againſt the joint efforts of Philip and Richard. He found himſelf abandoned by his friends and ſubjects, and on the point of being ſtripped of his dominions, his crown, and perhaps his life, by the unnatural rebellion of an undutiful ſon. The neutral princes could not behold this inhuman connection without regret. They interpoſed their authority to ſtop the flames of rebellion, and ſheathe the ſword of deſolation. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Azay near Tours; by which it was ſtipulated that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to Philip; that all his ſubjects both in England and his tranſmarine dominions, ſhould ſwear fealty to Richard; that thoſe barons who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, ſhould receive an indemnity for their offence; that his own nobles ſhould engage to compel him to obſerve this treaty; and in caſe of his violating it ſhould join Philip and Richard againſt him.

Henry ſigned this humiliating treaty; and to complete his misfortunes, when he demanded a liſt of the barons who were to receive his pardon, he found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, and in whom he had placed the moſt implicit confidence. This ſhock was too great to be ſupported by human nature, already ſtooping under a weight of infirmities, and a ſeries of ill ſucceſs. He broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair, curſed the hour of his birth, and laid his irrevocable malediction on his ſons. He retired to Chinon, in all the anguiſh of a forſaken father, where he died of a broken heart on the ſixth of July, two days after he had ſigned the treaty of Azay, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry was endowed with many virtues, but they were allayed with many faults. His genius was piercing, and his learning, conſidering the age in which he lived, uncommon. His judgment was ſolid, and his memory remarkably tenacious. He was prudent in council, moderate in proſperity, firm in adverſity. He was the moſt conſummate general of his age, and always collected amidſt the greateſt dangers. He was a generous enemy, a wiſe legiſlator, a faithful friend. His religion was that of the pious and ſenſible chriſtian. The princes of Europe entertained ſo high an idea of his ſtrict regard for juſtice, that the kings of Caſtile and Navarre ſubmitted their differences to his deciſion; and the ſentence he pronounced was revered by both parties. He was temperate, good-natured, and the politeſt prince of his age. But he was ambitious, violent and haughty. His paſſion for women awakened the jealouſy of his queen, and proved the ſource of thoſe numerous calamities which diſturbed the latter part of his reign, and embittered his domeſtic happineſs. But notwithſtanding all his faults and all his misfortunes, he is juſtly placed in the firſt claſs among the kings of England. His virtues were beneficial to his ſubjects, his vices pernicious only to himſelf. He was at once the king, the prieſt, and the father of his people.

He enacted many wholeſome laws for ſecuring the peace and promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects; thoſe againſt murder, robbery, falſe coining, and the burning of houſes, were remarkably ſevere; becauſe their conſequences were highly pernicious; and experience had ſufficiently ſhewn, that pecuniary commutations for crimes were ineffectual to anſwer the purpoſe intended. He did not, indeed, aboliſh the ordeal and ſingle combat, becauſe the people were ſtill ignorant and ſuperſtitious; but he admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders. It is aſſerted, that from the beginning of his reign till his diſpute with Becket, no leſs than an hundred aſſaſſinations were committed with impunity by eccleſiaſtics. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to aboliſh their immunities, in order to preſerve the lives of the innocent. The conſtitutions of Clarendon were calculated to remove this egregious enormity. The clergy were ſubjected to a trial before a civil magiſtrate; and the murderers of clergymen, beſides the common puniſhment, were ſubjected to the forfeiture of their eſtates, and the confiſcation of their goods and chattels. Before theſe laws were enacted, the clergy were equally expoſed to the ſwords of the laity; penances and ſubmiſſion only formed the puniſhment inflicted on the aſſaſſin of an eccleſiaſtic. Hence the murderers of Becket, after making a pilgrimage to Rome and performing the penances required, were acquitted of their crime. The conſtitutions of Clarendon, therefore, were calculated to protect and promote the happineſs both of the clergy and laity.

# RICHARD I. ſurnamed Coeur de Lion.

A. D. 1189. The death of Henry put the undutiful Richard in poſſeſſion of that crown he had endeavoured to obtain by an unnatural rebellion. But Richard, though of a furious and headſtrong diſpoſition, was no ſtranger to the ſoft whiſpers of humanity. At the firſt ſight of the dead body of the late king, he felt the whole force of the ſtings of a guilty conſcience, and exclaimed that he had been the murderer of his father. He viewed with horror his baſe and unnatural conduct; and ſaw in a very different point of light the ſervices of his pretended friends, who had inſtigated him to draw the ſword of rebellion, and lift his hand againſt the life of the moſt indulgent parent. He diſcharged them from his ſervices, and, inſtead of the recompences they expected, he loaded them with reproaches. He deſpiſed the courtiers who had baſely deſerted the intereſt of their maſter, and gave his confidence to thoſe who had ſerved his father with zeal and fidelity. It would have been happy for himſelf and happy for his people, had theſe prudent meaſures flowed entirely from wiſdom or virtue. But it ſoon appeared, that Richard was governed by the ſallies of paſſion: his conduct was founded on no ſettled principles; he formed no regular plan for the government of his people. One of his firſt acts of regal power, was the releaſing his mother from her confinement, and beſtowing on her the adminiſtration of affairs in England during his abſence. He remembered not the unnatural part ſhe had acted in arming children againſt their father, and ſacrificing the lives of thouſands at the altar of jealouſy.

Eleanor, however, exerted all her authority in favour of Richard; ſhe ſecured for him the oaths of allegiance from all the orders of the ſtate; ſo that on his arrival, nothing remained but to have them renewed and ratified. This was accordingly done on the third of September, when he was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The ceremony, which was prodigiouſly magnificent, occaſioned a ſcene of deteſtable barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the Chriſtians by the Infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthuſiaſtic madneſs. Whatever had even the moſt remote connection with this ſpiritual warfare, was ſufficient to ſet the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a deſpiſed people, and the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem now raiſed the hatred of the people againſt them to the higheſt pitch. Richard knew this, and prudently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Weſtminſter during the ceremony of the coronation. That deſpiſed people had long endeavoured, by their aſſiduous application to traffick, to compenſate for the infamy with which they were treated. But their riches, inſtead of procuring them favour, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Deſirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, the Hebrews collected among themſelves a very conſiderable ſum of money, which they were deſirous of preſenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the moſt eminent among them were accordingly ſelected; and, thinking their buſineſs a ſufficient exemption from the general prohibition, waited at the gates of Weſtminſter-hall to tender him their preſent, and their compliments of congratulation. The ſight of theſe Jews, and their diſregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the people all the fury of reſentment. A tumult was immediately excited, and the poor defenceleſs Hebrews torn in pieces by the populace. But this ſacrifice was far from ſatisfying the fury of the multitude; they entered the city, and maſſacred all the Jews that fell into their hands, plundered their houſes, and laid them in aſhes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the chief juſticiary to appeaſe the tumult. Several thouſands of that unfortunate people fell a ſacrifice to the blind enthuſiaſtic fury of a bigotted populace.

Richard was highly incenſed againſt the authors of this inhuman tragedy. He cauſed ſeveral of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death, as a warning and terror to others. He alſo publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding any inſult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be under his immediate protection.

Richard had always, during the life of his father, expreſſed the utmoſt jealouſy of his brother John, whom he conſidered as a very dangerous rival. But either this paſſion was now totally annihilated, or abſorbed in political conſiderations; for immediately after his coronation, he laviſhed his favours on a brother who deſerved not his confidence. He granted him the eſtate of William Pepperel, the caſtles of Marlborough, Luggerſhal, Le Pec, Balſover, Lancaſter, Nottingham, Tikhill, and Wallingford, with all the honours and foreſts annexed to them. Nor were theſe thought ſufficient by the imprudent Richard; he gave him alſo the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaſter, and Glouceſter. This generoſity was at once profuſe and dangerous. But his zeal againſt the infidels opened another, and more fruitful ſource of misfortunes.

Richard had, ſome time ſince, taken the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop of Tours, and was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land in perſon. He was, indeed, more a ſoldier than a devotee; and, to gratify his paſſion for military glory, and gather laurels in the fields of Paleſtine, he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice at once the intereſt of his crown and the welfare of his people. His whole attention was now engroſſed with forming ſchemes for raiſing money to defray the neceſſary expences of the expedition. He had already ſeized upon his father's treaſures; and the biſhop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiſcated his eſtate, which was very conſiderable. He exacted the moſt rigorous impoſts from the people; he expoſed the crown lands to ſale; and even diſpoſed of the great ſeal of England to William Longchamp, his firſt miniſter. Ralph de Glenville, chief juſticiary, expoſtulated with Richard on theſe proceedings, at once ſo derogatory to his own dignity, and oppreſſive to the ſubject. The king replied, "That he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer." This anſwer ſhocked the upright juſticiary; he was alarmed for his country, and remonſtrated freely with the king on the conſequences that muſt attend ſuch precipitate meaſures. But Richard was not patient of admonition; he ſo highly reſented the liberty taken by the juſticiary, that he deprived him of his poſt, and committed him to priſon; nor would he ſuffer him to be releaſed, till he purchaſed his freedom at the price of the fifteen thouſand pounds. At the ſame time, he ſold the poſt of juſticiary to the biſhop of Durham for a thouſand marks. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to diſcharge from the cruſade all who were unable to undertake the expedition; and excuſe others who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on paying a proportional ſum of money. The king of Scotland purchaſed, for ten thouſand marks, his right of ſuperiority over that kingdom, together with the important fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Berwick; acquiſitions of the greateſt conſequence ever made by his father. By theſe iniquitous proceedings he acquired a prodigious ſum, amounting, on a moderate computation, to ſeven millions and a half of our preſent money.

While Richard was accumulating treaſures to defray the expences of the expedition, the clergy were zealouſly labouring to procure him ſoldiers. The pulpits reſounded with the great merit of ſerving in the holy war. The confeſſors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand deſign of recovering Paleſtine out of the hands of the infidels, and freeing the Chriſtians in that country from the dreadful burdens laid upon them by the declared enemies of the goſpel. The people were fired with enthuſiaſm; the army ſoon became numerous; nor was there an officer or common ſoldier but what furniſhed himſelf with common neceſſaries, either from his own ſtock, or by the aſſiſtance of his friends.

The ſame caprice and unaccountable ſpirit of deſpotiſm that had directed Richard in amaſſing treaſure, directed him alſo in the choice of perſons to conduct the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence. He conſulted not his council, nor liſtened to the voice of the people. Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, and Pudſey, biſhop of Durham, were conſtituted regents of the kingdom. The former was a Norman of mean extraction, of a dangerous character; and being inveſted with a legantine commiſſion, he ſeemed to be armed with authority for the deſtruction of England. Four of the principal barons of the kingdom were appointed their aſſiſtants and counſellors in the adminiſtration.

A.D. 1190. Having thus provided for the ſafety of his kingdom, Richard paſſed over to the continent, and met Philip of France at Gue de St. Remi. Here the two princes ſwore mutually to maintain an uninterrupted peace; and defend each other's territories, in caſe either ſhould be attacked by any other power. It was alſo agreed between them, that in caſe either of them died during the cruſade, the other was to ſucceed to the command of his army, and become maſter of his treaſures, in order to carry on the war with ſucceſs againſt the infidels.

While Richard was engaged in ſettling the neceſſary articles with Philip, Longchamp was employed in raiſing farther aids for his maſter; who was hardly departed the kingdom, before the Jews were threatened with a general maſſacre. Mad with enthuſiaſm, and exaſperated at the cruelties exerciſed on the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, the people were perſuaded it was a meritorious act to extirpate every perſon who refuſed to believe the doctrines of the goſpel. Reaſon and humanity pleaded in vain; the unfortunate Hebrews were deſtined to deſtruction. The maſſacre began at Lynn, where theſe diſtreſſed people were murdered, and their houſes burnt to the ground. A ſimilar fate attended thoſe who reſided at Stamford, Norwich, St. Edmundſbury, and Lincoln. But the moſt bloody perſecution raged at York, where five hundred men, beſides women and children, fell a ſacrifice to the barbarous fury of religious zeal. The deſpiſed Hebrews, dreading the fate of their brethren, prevailed upon the governor to admit them into the caſtle; hoping, by that means, to avert the ſtorm of popular fury, which threatened their deſtruction. They were fatally deceived: the bigotted multitude ſurrounded the caſtle, and attacked the works with the utmoſt violence. The Jews offered to purchaſe the liberty of retiring at the price of all their riches; but they pleaded in vain! the ear of bigotry was deaf to the voice of compaſſion. Driven to deſpair, and finding it impoſſible to defend the place againſt ſuch multitudes of enemies, they murdered their wives and children; and after throwing the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, they ſet fire to the houſes, and periſhed in the flames. Longchamp made a ſtrict but fruitleſs inquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiouſneſs of a ſuperſtitious people.

The two princes, Philip and Richard, now embarked for the Holy Land; the former at Genoa, and the latter at Marſeilles. They met at Meſſina, where contrary winds, and other accidents, detained them ſeveral months. Here thoſe feuds and animoſities firſt broke out, which ultimately defeated the principal deſign of the expedition. It was not, indeed, reaſonable to expect, that two kings, in the flower of youth, haughty and violent, ambitious, valiant, competitors in power, and rivals in honour, would long continue to act in concert, and ſacrifice their own paſſions to the intereſt of the cruſade. Could this, indeed, have been effected, the intention had been anſwered, and the Holy Land intirely recovered from the infidels. But it ſoon appeared that a mutual harmony was not to be expected; the torch of diſcord was lighted up by the hand of jealouſy, and threatened both armies with deſtruction. Philip could not behold, without envy, the forces of his vaſſal ſo much ſuperior to his own. The power of Richard filled the breaſt of Philip with malignity.

Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily, trembled for his dominions. He knew that his deſpotic adminiſtration had excited the hatred of his people, and dreaded the conſequences of their putting themſelves under the protection of either of theſe powerful princes. He therefore determined to ſow the ſeeds of animoſity between them; and prevent, by their diſcords, any application being made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the ſiſter of Philip; and the princeſs had been ſent, when very young, to the court of England. The conſummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furniſhed Philip with reaſons for quarrelling with Henry II. but now ſeemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by inſinuating to Philip, that his honour was concerned in the marriage of his ſiſter, and that there was room ſufficient to ſuſpect the ſincerity of Richard. Philip, alarmed at the ſuggeſtions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard ſhould conſummate the nuptials; but the Engliſh monarch furniſhed proofs that Alice had been with child by Henry. Philip was amazed; but thought it more prudent to bury in ſilence the diſhonour of his family, than inſiſt any farther on the performance of his rival's engagement. Richard ſoon after married the princeſs Berengara, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, and carried her with him to Paleſtine. Queen Eleanor conducted the princeſs to Meſſina, and gave her ſon a faithful account of the ſtate of affairs in England. Longchamp, diſdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the biſhop of Durham into priſon, and governed the nation by his ſole authority, and with all the ſtate and tyranny of a deſpotic monarch. The king was now convinced of his error, in appointing a perſon of ſuch mean extraction to direct the affairs of government. He ſigned a charter, appointing a council, without whoſe concurrence Longchamp was not to act. This charter Richard ſent to England by the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Striguel. But Longchamp was ſo confirmed in his power, that it was thought proper to conceal, for ſome time, the charter of Richard; John, the king's brother, only was informed of this commiſſion.

An event, however, ſoon happened, which exaſperated the nobility, clergy and people, againſt this imperious churchman. Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, had, ſome time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, been elected into the ſee of York; but ſome diſputes ariſing between them, Geoffrey had promiſed his brother not to reſide in England during his abſence in Paleſtine. Queen Eleanor, however, having procured a diſpenſation of his promiſe, Geoffrey paſſed over into England to take poſſeſſion of his ſee. Longchamp ordered him to be arreſted; but the archbiſhop having received intelligence of his deſign, fled to the monaſtery of St. Martin, and took ſanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the ſanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his ſacerdotal robes, and committed him to Dover caſtle.

This tyrannical proceeding excited the deteſtation of all ranks of people. The clergy were particularly alarmed. The biſhop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this ſacrilegious violence, and the ſentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The biſhops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately releaſed. The regent was now ſufficiently alarmed, and Geoffrey was ſet at liberty. But this was not ſufficient: it was determined to put a final period to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Longchamp. A general aſſembly of the nobles and prelates was accordingly aſſembled, where the king's charter was read, and the legate ſummoned to attend. He promiſed to aſſiſt at the conference; but conſcious that his actions would not bear inſpection, he fled to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. He ſoon found that it would be impoſſible to defend the fortreſs any length of time, and therefore ſubmitted to appear before the great council of the nation, where he was deprived of his poſts; and finding himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had baſked in the ſunſhine of his greatneſs, he paſſed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redreſs. The great ſeal of England was given to Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, a perſon of great prudence, modeſty and integrity. He always conſulted his colleagues in the affairs of government; and, by his prudent management, reſtored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom.

When Eleanor departed from Sicily, the two princes made preparations for paſſing into Paleſtine. The emperor Frederic had left Germany ſome time before the kings of France and England were ready to embark; and paſſed into Aſia, at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men. He obtained two victories over the ſultan of Cogni; but bathing himſelf in the river Cydnus, when in a profuſe ſweat, he was ſeized with a violent fever, and died a few days after. This misfortune rendered his conqueſts of no advantage to the Chriſtians.

His victories muſt, however, have been dearly purchaſed; for at the death of the emperor, when the command devolved upon Conrade, his ſon, the army was diminiſhed to eight thouſand fighting men. During two years, theſe troops, joined with the Chriſtians of Aſia, had been employed in the ſiege of Acre; but the city receiving continual ſuccours by ſea, and the army of Saladine haraſſing the beſiegers by land, very little hopes remained of their becoming maſters of the city, or even of being able to ſupport themſelves againſt the attacks of the enemy. Repeated diſpatches were therefore ſent to Meſſina, imploring the aſſiſtance of Philip and Richard. The former embarked his forces, and ſailed immediately to the relief of the Chriſtian army before Acre; but the latter continued ſome time longer in Sicily, waiting for expreſſes from England.

Richard left Meſſina on the tenth of April, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty large ſhips, and fifty-three gallies, and directed his courſe towards Acre. But before he could reach the coaſt of Syria, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated his fleet, and ſtranded three of his largeſt ſhips on the iſland of Cyprus. Iſaac, the emperor, or tyrant of that iſland, though a profeſſor of the Chriſtian religion, was ſo far from aſſiſting theſe diſtreſſed ſoldiers, who were paſſing into Aſia, to defend the perſecuted followers of their common Maſter, that he uſed them in a very cruel manner, and committed them to priſon. Exaſperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken ſhelter in the harbours of Candia, ſent a meſſenger to the tyrant, demanding that his ſubjects ſhould be ſet at liberty, and their effects reſtored. But Iſaac, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a demand, returned an inſolent anſwer. Richard immediately ſailed to Cyprus, landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Iſaac, whom a ſingle ſtroke of adverſity humbled in the duſt, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who ſent him, in ſilver chains, to Tripoli; and Richard was placed, by the general conſent of the people, on the throne of Cyprus.

The Engliſh monarch, however, ſtaid no longer in the iſland than was neceſſary to ſecure his new conqueſt. He embarked his forces, and ſailed for Paleſtine. In his paſſage, he took a very large ſhip belonging to Saladine, having on board proviſions and military ſtores for the garriſon of Acre, together with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men. The loſs of this ſhip was of the moſt fatal conſequence to the Infidels, who were now driven to deſpair; while the appearance of the Engliſh fleet inſpired the Chriſtian army with the ſincereſt joy. The military operations, which had languiſhed for ſome time, were now revived with double fury; the moſt amazing acts of valour were every day performed, and the beſieged ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Saladine, finding it impoſſible to ſuccour the city, gave the garriſon leave to ſurrender. The articles of capitulation were accordingly ſigned, and the city delivered up to the cruſaders, together with five hundred Chriſtian captives.

Elated with this ſucceſs, the two leaders formed the deſign of marching directly to Jeruſalem, in order to wreſt that city out of the hands of the Infidels. Every thing was ready for the march of the army, and the hopes of the cruſaders were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when a diſſention aroſe between the two chiefs, and fruſtrated all thoſe pleaſing expectations. The prodigious valour of Richard during the ſiege of Acre, his liberality to the ſoldiers, and the magnificence he diſplayed on every occaſion, procured the hearts of the cruſaders, and filled the breaſt of Philip with malignant jealouſy. He, however, concealed his paſſion, till a diſpute, which now happened between Guy of Luſignan, and Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, gave him an opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment. Richard eſpouſed the pretenſions of the former, and Philip thoſe of the latter. During this conteſt, which, in reality, had nothing more than an empty title for its object, ſeveral ſharp meſſages paſſed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obſtructed the progreſs of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to ſacrifice every perſonal conſideration to the intereſt of the cauſe they had undertaken to ſupport at ſuch immenſe expence.

Philip was now determined to abandon the enterprize; but aſhamed to avow his real motives, had recourſe to artifice and deception. He pretended, that the climate of Paleſtine did not agree with his conſtitution, and therefore deſired Richard would permit him to return. The moſt ſolemn promiſe having been made between them not to abandon the expedition without their joint conſent; Richard, after exacting from him the moſt dreadful oath, that he would not attempt any thing againſt his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmoſt of his power, conſented to his departure, and even furniſhed him with two of his beſt ſhips for carrying that prince and his retinue to Europe.

Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy; and after giving him public orders to pay the ſame obedience to the king of England as to himſelf, he ſailed for his own dominions, which he ought not, perhaps, to have left, but to which he certainly ought not to have returned without bringing with him new acquiſitions of glory. Nor was Philip the only perſon who deſerted the enterprize; multitudes followed his example; ſo that the numerous army of the Chriſtians was very greatly reduced.

Richard now remained the undiſputed maſter of the field of honour, and determined to attempt ſome enterprize worthy the name of the leader of the Chriſtian armies. He accordingly made a general attack upon Saladine's camp; but met with ſo noble a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. This check, however, made no change in Richard's reſolutions: that martial ſpirit, which formed his ruling paſſion, ſupported him under every misfortune. He determined to march from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that fell into his hands. Saladine poſted himſelf in the road, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men, to oppoſe his paſſage. The martial ſoul of Richard glowed at this opportunity of ſignalizing his courage. He was alſo perſuaded, that by defeating the army of Saladine, he ſhould open to himſelf a free paſſage to Jeruſalem, and, perhaps, make himſelf maſter of that famous city in a ſhort interval of time. Both armies prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thouſands, and, poſſibly, of Paleſtine itſelf.

The right wing of the Chriſtian army was commanded by James d'Aveſnes, the left by the duke of Burgundy; while Richard in perſon led the center, or main body. Saladine had concealed part of his troops on the right behind ſome hills, which covered them from the ſight of the Chriſtians. On this body of reſerve he placed his greateſt hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his poſition, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens ſupported the ſhock with great reſolution; and, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, put that body into great diſorder. Their leader, James d'Aveſnes, was ſlain, in endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more againſt the Infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens, for ſome time, ſupported themſelves with great reſolution; but on receiving orders from Saladine to retreat as they fought, the duke was deceived, and followed them a conſiderable way beyond the body of the army. Saladine perceiving that his left wing ſtood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was ſeparated from the reſt of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. Theſe troops deſcending the eminences in prodigious numbers, ſurrounded the duke's forces, and made a dreadful ſlaughter.

The fate of the Chriſtian army now depended on the valour and conduct of Richard. He had been very ſucceſsful where he had made his attacks; and though he met with a ſtout reſiſtance, had compelled the troops that oppoſed him to retreat in diſorder. He was ſtill purſuing the broken forces, when he was informed of the diſorder of his right wing, and the danger of his left. He immediately gave over the purſuit; and marching to the duke of Burgundy's aſſiſtance, fell upon the victorious troops of Saladine with ſuch impetuoſity, that he ſoon wreſted from them the palm of victory, which they thought they had obtained. Richard, on this occaſion, performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour; and thoſe who before were filled with envy, were now ſtruck with admiration. He is ſaid to have met the famous Saladine, and to have diſmounted that celebrated leader, who muſt have fallen into the hands of the Engliſh monarch, had not the Saracens uſed more than common efforts to reſcue him from his dangerous ſituation. But however that be, the valour of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladine was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his victorious troops on the left. This motion, which cauſed ſome diſorder in that part of the Saracen army, gave the right wing of the Chriſtians time to recover themſelves; and finding the oppoſition they had before met with to grow weaker and weaker, they quickly rallied; and falling with the utmoſt fury on the Saracen troops that oppoſed them, forced them to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

Richard ſtill maintained the battle on the right with an intrepidity more than human, in ſpite of the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, who now directed their whole force againſt the Engliſh monarch. He was, however, in danger of being overpowered by numbers, had not his right wing, meeting with no farther oppoſition, advanced to his aſſiſtance. Finding themſelves attacked in flank by a freſh body of forces, the Saracens began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladine, though he exerted his utmoſt, to rally them. The Chriſtians took advantage of this diſorder, and preſſed the Saracens with ſo much vigour, that they betook themſelves to flight. Above fifty thouſand of the Infidels were left dead on the field of battle. James d'Aveſnes was the only perſon of diſtinction among the Chriſtians that fell in this memorable engagement.

This defeat ſtruck the Saracens with a panic: they abandoned the maritime cities of Aſcalon, Cæſarea, and Joppa, after demoliſhing the fortifications. Richard marched directly to Joppa, where he ſtaid ſome time to repair the fortifications; that if he ſhould be obliged to retreat, he might have a ſecure port to embark his forces for Europe. While he continued at Joppa, he frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chace, with only ſix perſons in his train, he alighted from his horſe, laid himſelf down under a tree, and fell aſleep. He was, however, ſoon rouſed by the approach of a ſmall party of Saracen horſe, paſſing by the place. Richard immediately mounted his horſe; and as the Saracens were few in number, purſued them to ſome diſtance. The enemy pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew him into an ambuſcade, where he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a ſquadron of horſe. He defended himſelf for a conſiderable time with great bravery, without the leaſt thought of retreating, notwithſtanding the prodigious diſparity of numbers. But even the valour of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable preſence of mind, ſaved him from the impending danger. Four of his attendants were already ſlain, when William Deſpreaux, the only ſurviving friend of Richard, cried out, in the Saracen language, "Hold! "I am the king of England!" Every eye was now directed to Deſpreaux; and thoſe who were engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might have a ſhare in ſeizing the perſon they imagined to be the Engliſh monarch. This ſtratagem gave Richard an opportunity of eſcaping from the enemy. Deſpreaux did not diſcover himſelf till he came before Saladine; when falling at his feet, he ingenuouſly confeſſed the deception he had made uſe of to ſave his maſter. Saladine commended his fidelity, and treated him with the utmoſt reſpect; but ſenſible that Richard would never ſuffer a perſon who had ſo ſignally aſſiſted him to remain in confinement, demanded ten Saracen emirs in exchange for ſo faithful a ſervant.

Having finiſhed the fortifications of Joppa, Richard began his march towards Jeruſalem, fully determined to wreſt that famous city out of the hands of the Infidels. Saladine drew up his army on the plains of Rama, to oppoſe his paſſage. A ſecond battle enſued, and Saladine was a ſecond time defeated. Nothing now oppoſed his march to Jeruſalem; but the Knights Templars, who were in the intereſt of Philip of France, and therefore envious of the glory which Richard muſt obtain by the conqueſt of the Holy City, perſuaded the Engliſh monarch to lay aſide his deſign till the enſuing ſpring, and take up his winter quarters at Aſcalon. Richard, who ſuſpected not the real motive of the knights, followed their advice, marched directly to Aſcalon, and repaired the fortifications which Saladine's forces had demoliſhed.

A. D. 1192. The diſpute between Guy de Luſignan and Conrade, with regard to the crown of Jeruſalem, was now revived; and the duke of Burgundy refuſed to act any longer in conjunction with the Engliſh. The French troops retired into places of ſafety, and paſſed their time in luxury and indolence. Still deſirous of making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, the great object for which the cruſade had been undertaken, Richard put an end to the diſpute, by declaring Conrade king of Jeruſalem. But at the ſame time, he indemnified Guy for the loſs of a nominal, by preſenting him with a real crown. He beſtowed upon him the kingdom of Cyprus. Pleaſed with having obtained the honour he had ſo long deſired, Conrade, who was now at Tyre with his fleets, made preparations for joining the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon. But before he could embark, he was ſtabbed in the ſtreets of that city by two aſſaſſins ſent for that purpoſe by a Saracen prince, generally ſtiled The Old Man of the Mountains. The ſubjects of that chief eſteemed aſſaſſination meritorious, when ſanctified by his mandate: they courted death, were it even in the extremities of Europe, in the execution of his orders. The prince juſtified this cruel proceeding, in a letter he wrote to the duke of Auſtria, ſome time after; and declared, that the marquis fell by the poniards of his ſoldiers, in revenge for his having put to death one of his merchants, whoſe ſhip was forced into Tyre by a ſtorm.

The death of the marquis proved a freſh obſtruction to the progreſs of the Chriſtian army; but his widow being ſoon after married to Henry, count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jeruſalem; and, at his inſtances, the French conſented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Paleſtine, which he was determined to beſiege. But juſt as he reached the neighbourhood of that city, he fortunately met the caravan paſſing from Babylon to Jeruſalem. The whole conſiſted of three thouſand camels, and four thouſand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the Eaſt, and eſcorted by ten thouſand horſe. The Saracens no ſooner perceived the Chriſtian army than they began to retreat; but Richard, at the head of five thouſand cavalry, attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were put to flight; and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Chriſtians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, diſtributed the whole booty, which was of prodigious value, among the ſoldiers.

Soon after this ſucceſsful incident, the army aſcended the neighbouring eminences, from the ſummits of which they had a fair proſpect of the celebrated city of Jeruſalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himſelf ſure of conqueſt, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by diviſions among the leaders of the confederated army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the ſcarcity which then reigned in the neighbouring countries, would render it difficult, if not impoſſible, to procure proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. Theſe reaſons were far from convincing Richard; he was determined to beſiege the city, which was now almoſt deſtitute of troops, the greater part of the garriſon having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladine. The duke of Burgundy perceiving it would be impoſſible to divert Richard from his purpoſe, and envious of the glory which the Engliſh monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jeruſalem, ſeparated his forces from the allied army, and marched directly to Tyre. The duke of Auſtria followed the example of the French general: he abandoned Richard at a time when fortune offered them the palm of victory, and the Saracens, ſhut up within the walls of Jeruſalem, trembled for their liberty.

Richard now ſaw all his hopes of conqueſt vaniſh like the morning cloud. It would have been abſolute madneſs for him to beſiege a city famous for its ſtrength, eſpecially as Saladine, at the head of a numerous army, hovered on the mountains, ready to ſeize the maritime places the moment they were deſerted by the Chriſtians. But the deſire of reducing Jeruſalem was ſtill the darling paſſion of his ſoul. He even ſubmitted to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, and the king of Jeruſalem himſelf undertook the office of ambaſſador. But every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpoſe of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Paleſtine, he refuſed to join the Chriſtian army, under pretence of his having no authority to expoſe the troops of his maſter in ſuch deſperate ſervice. The Engliſh monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, before advice arrived that Saladine had taken Joppa, and was preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle with ſo much fury, that the garriſon muſt ſurrender, unleſs ſpeedily relieved. Richard, who never abandoned his ſoldiers in diſtreſs, ordered his army to march to the relief of Joppa; while he himſelf, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen troops, embarked at Acre, and reached Joppa ſome time before his army. The name of Richard was terrible to the Infidels: he fell immediately on the beſiegers with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the Saracens, who were very ſlightly armed for defence, abandoned the enterprize, and retreated to the neighbouring mountains.

But it was impoſſible for valour, however extraordinary, when aſſiſted only by a handful of followers, to defeat the numerous armies of Saladine, and carry their victories to the gates of Jeruſalem. At the ſame time, the enthuſiaſm of the cruſaders began to yield to time and fatigue: they were now more deſirous of viſiting their own country than the capital of Paleſtine; and of forgetting their labours and toil in their native vallies, than repoſing on the top of the hill of Sion. Richard was no ſtranger to their wiſhes, and therefore determined to ſeize this favourable opportunity of concluding a three year's truce with Saladine, on the following conditions: That the ſea-coaſt from Tyre to Joppa ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, without any moleſtation from the Saracens: That the Chriſtians ſhould have free liberty to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and be permitted to trade in any part of the Sultan's extenſive dominions.

Saladine, who ſurpaſſed all the princes of the cruſade in humanity and moderation, in ſcience and knowledge, continued faithful to his engagements. He gave an illuſtrious proof, at the taking of Jeruſalem, that he was always attentive to the ſoft whiſpers of compaſſion. He granted to the wife of Luſignan a capitulation ſhe could not hope to obtain. He permitted her to retire wherever ſhe pleaſed, without demanding any ranſom for the Greeks who inhabited the city. On his making his entry into Jeruſalem, many women came and threw themſelves at his feet; ſome begging he would reſtore to them their huſbands; and others, their children or their fathers, who were then his priſoners; and he granted their requeſts with a generoſity of which that part of the world had yet afforded no example. But that generous prince, who had formed the higheſt idea of Richard's military virtues, lived not to ſee the expiration of the truce; he died at Damaſcus juſt before that period arrived, lamented even by the Chriſtians. The laſt action of his life deſerves to be handed down with applauſe to poſterity; it would have ſhone conſpicuous even in a conſtellation of Chriſtian virtues. He ordered his winding-ſheet to be carried through every ſtreet of Damaſcus; while a crier, preceding it, proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladine, the "conqueror of the Eaſt." By his laſt will, he left large charities to be diſtributed to the poor of every denomination: the Chriſtian, the Jew, and the Mahometan, ſhared equally his bounty.

Richard, deſirous of paſſing, with the utmoſt expedition, into England, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary to regulate the affairs of government, embarked in a ſingle veſſel, but was unfortunately ſhipwrecked near Aquileia. He knew the danger of croſſing ſo large an extent of territory with his numerous attendants, and therefore diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the ſafeſt way, to his own dominions. But he was unable to conceal himſelf from the piercing eye of curious inquiry. Some German officers, who had ſerved under duke Leopold of Auſtria, at the ſiege of Acre, knew the royal pilgrim, and gave their maſter the pleaſing information. Rejoiced at having it in his power to retaliate the affronts he had received from Richard in the Holy Land, he cauſed him to be ſeized in the night, at Gynacia, a village near Vienna, and ſent in chains to the emperor Henry VI. A Chriſtian prince did not bluſh to load with irons, and confine in a loathſome priſon, the hero of the cruſade.

It has been already mentioned, that Longchamp was obliged to quit the kingdom for his mal-adminiſtration. Practiſed in the paths of vice, and a ſtranger to every ſentiment of juſtice, he exerted all his abilities to excite the reſentment of the Roman pontiff againſt the Engliſh. He repreſented them as a rebellious generation, ready to trample upon the ſpiritual authority of St. Peter's ſucceſſors; and that their proceedings againſt him were nothing more than a prelude of attempts of a much higher nature, the deſtruction of the pontifical dignity. Celeſtine III. who now filled the papal chair, was alarmed for his power. Without making any inquiry into the truth of Longchamp's report, he furniſhed the prelate with letters to the Engliſh biſhops, commanding them to excommunicate prince John, and all who were concerned in the deprivation of the late chancellor. But the people of England no longer trembled at the papal thunder; they had learned to diſtinguiſh between fanaticiſm and a reaſonable ſubmiſſion to the orders of the church: they firmly defended the conſtitution of their country, and the flaming bolt of ſpiritual tyranny was launched in vain.

But this oppoſition, though virtuous in its nature, was excited in defence of a perſon who merited not the care of the Engliſh. John never ſcrupled to trample upon the laws of equity and religion, when impelled by his own intereſt. Ambitious of power, and careleſs of the means by which he attained it, he exerted all his abilities to pave his way to the crown, ſhould any accident happen to his brother during his abſence. He was, indeed, ſenſible that he had no claim either to the ſceptre of England, or the foreign dominions of Richard, while Arthur, duke of Britany, ſon to his elder brother Geoffrey, lived; and therefore had recourſe to every artifice for depriving the legal heir of his juſt rights, and uſurping a throne to which he had no pretenſions. He invited Longchamp, whom he had formerly baniſhed from the kingdom, to return, hoping, that by joining their intereſt, they ſhould be able to diſtreſs an adminiſtration that had ſo nobly defended the liberties of England. Pleaſed with the acquiſition of ſo powerful a protector, the biſhop landed in England, and diſpatched a meſſenger with the news of his arrival. But the miniſtry were not to be intimidated; they informed the prelate, that unleſs he immediately left the kingdom, they would ſeize his perſon as a traitor. Longchamp, whom vice had rendered timorous, waited not the conſequences; he embarked directly, and returned to the continent.

Soon after his departure, the news of Richard's impriſonment reached England, and cauſed a general conſternation. John conſidered it as a very fortunate event, and determined to improve it to his own advantage. He paſſed over into France, and threw himſelf into the arms of Philip, the ſworn enemy of his brother. Queen Eleanor, on the other hand, exerted herſelf in the cauſe of Richard, and conjured the council to take every precaution to prevent the fatal conſequences that might attend this alarming accident.

A. D. 1193. Philip now hoped to be amply revenged on Richard for the indignities he had ſuffered. He revived the calumny, that the marquis of Montferrat was aſſaſſinated by Richard, though it was well known that he fell by the enthuſiaſtic ſubjects of the Old Man of the Mountains. But under this frivolous pretence he perſuaded his vaſſals, that the oaths they had taken not to invade the dominions of a prince engaged in the cruſade, were no longer binding in regard to the king of England. He alſo concluded a treaty with John, who now proved himſelf at once an unnatural brother and a traitor to his country. He ſtipulated to deliver into the hands of Philip a great part of Normandy; and received, in return, the inveſtiture of all Richard's tranſmarine dominions. The title of young Arthur, as well as his own oaths, were forgotten by the ambitious Frenchman. In conſequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, at the head of a powerful army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, and extended his ravages to the gates of Rouen. But the time of the ſervice of his vaſſals being expired, he concluded a truce with the Engliſh, who ſtipulated to pay him twenty thouſand marks.

While the ſword of perfidy was thus laying waſte the dominions of Richard, that prince himſelf was ſuffering, in a German priſon, every kind of inſult and indignity. A warrior, who, at the head of his army, made even the mighty Saladine tremble, was now treated with contempt by a petty prince of the empire. He was produced before the diet, and accuſed of ſeveral crimes, which had no exiſtence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He juſtified himſelf with an eloquence that confounded his perſecutors, and covered them with confuſion. He remonſtrated againſt the ungenerous treatment he had met with from thoſe whom he had reſcued from the power of the Infidels before Acre; and complained, that after demonſtrating his zeal in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, he had been confined in a priſon, and experienced a treatment hardly proper for ſlaves, in a country that had expreſſed the utmoſt ardour for the cruſade, and by princes who profeſſed the tenets of the goſpel.

The pope now declared loudly in his favour: he threatened to lay the whole empire under an interdict, if Richard was not releaſed. The princes of the diet were aſhamed of the emperor's conduct; and loudly declared, that they could not ſuffer the Germanic body to be ſtained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in priſon, without any juſt cauſe, the perſon of a great king, who had ſo nobly ventured his life in the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The emperor was alarmed, and offered to ſet Richard at liberty; but demanded one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, about three hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money, for his ranſom; of which one hundred thouſand were to be paid before he was releaſed from priſon, and hoſtages delivered for the payment of the remainder.

The demand of the emperor was no ſooner known in England, than every method was put in practice for raiſing the enormous ſum. Twenty ſhillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money already paid into the treaſury applied to purchaſe the liberty of a prince, who had ſo nobly reſiſted the power of the Infidels. The churches and monaſteries melted down their plate; the nobles, biſhops, and abbots, paid a fourth part of their annual revenues, and the parochial clergy a tenth of their tythes. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thouſand marks towards the king's ranſom. The neceſſary ſum being thus raiſed, queen Eleanor, and Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, paſſed over to the continent, paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria; and Richard was ſet at liberty, in preſence of the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, and moſt of the German nobility.

A. D. 1194. Fortunately for Richard, he eſcaped the perfidy of the emperor. Ambaſſadors from Philip of France arrived ſoon after his deliverance, offering prodigious advantages, if the emperor would confine the Engliſh monarch one year longer. The baſe ſoul of Henry embraced the offer, and diſpatched meſſengers to arreſt Richard, and bring him back to the Imperial court. But his treacherous deſigns were rendered abortive by the agility of Richard, who embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and loſt ſight of the German ſhore before the emperor's meſſengers arrived at Antwerp. Philip was aſtoniſhed when he heard that Richard was ſet at liberty; and wrote a letter to John in the following terms: "Take care of yourſelf; the devil is broke looſe."

Richard was received with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy and affection by his ſubjects. They beheld with rapture a prince who had ſuffered ſuch a dreadful captivity, after ſo nobly defending the cauſe of the Chriſtians, and cauſing the name of an Engliſhman to be revered in nations before unacquainted with the appellation. This endearing behaviour baniſhed from the mind of Richard the idea of all the indignities he had experienced during his impriſonment; all his alarms, his fatigues, and his ſufferings, were buried in oblivion. He ſeemed even deſirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity by ordering the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated. He ſoon after declared his intention of making a reſumption of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had made before his departure for the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchaſers had already indemnified themſelves by the profits of the eſtates; that neceſſity had compelled him to make theſe grants; that the money had been ſpent in an expedition favoured both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjuſt the crown ſhould bear the whole burden. Theſe reaſons were unneceſſary; none diſputed the juſtice of this reſumption. All the purchaſers gave up the poſſeſſions they had obtained from the king, and ſeemed to vie with one another who ſhould be the firſt to make the required ſurrender. A parliament was alſo called at Northampton, where Richard demanded juſtice againſt his brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, biſhop of Coventry. They were both cited to appear within forty days, and anſwer the charge exhibited againſt them. They refuſed to obey the ſummons; on which John was attainted of high treaſon; and the prelate ordered to be tried by the biſhops in his ſacerdotal capacity, and in the king's court, as ſheriff of the county.

Theſe tranſactions did not, however, divert the attention of Richard from the reſolution he had formed of taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy. A monarch leſs paſſionate and haughty than Richard could not have been eaſily prevailed upon to pardon ſuch deteſtable conduct. He raiſed a powerful army, and paſſed over into Normandy, vowing to execute the moſt dreadful revenge againſt the faithleſs Philip, who, contrary to the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity. But the hoſtilities between two ſuch powerful monarchs, thoroughly exaſperated againſt each other, produced no memorable events. A few caſtles taken, a few ſtraggling parties ſurpriſed, and a rencounter of horſe, form the principal actions of this campaign. The only action of any conſequence happened at Fretteval, between the French and Engliſh cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip loſt his chartulary, or regiſter of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the ſeveral particulars of the revenues of the prince, a liſt of his vaſſals, and the ſtate of the ſlaves and freemen. This misfortune obliged Philip to make a new regiſter, in which his prerogatives were rather increaſed than diminiſhed. During this war, prince John, who was deſtitute both of honour and integrity, deſerted the king of France, as he had formerly done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garriſon of Evreaux, where he commanded, he cauſed them to be maſſacred, put the whole garriſon to the ſword, and delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded, and the king received him into favour. "I forgive him," ſaid Richard, "and hope to forget his injuries as eaſily "as he will my clemency."

About this time the duke of Auſtria having cruſhed his leg by a fall from his horſe at a tournament, was ſeized with a fever; and finding his end approaching, was ſtruck with remorſe for his cruel behaviour to Richard. An intire reſtitution was not in his power; but he ordered, by his will, that all the Engliſh hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the remainder of the king's ranſom remitted. His ſon ſeemed inclined to diſobey the orders of his father; but the clergy interpoſed, and obliged him to perform them.

A. D. 1196. The animoſities which ſubſiſted between Philip and Richard occaſioned a continual ſeries of hoſtilities and truces, which were broken almoſt as ſoon as concluded. They were, indeed, nothing more than neceſſary ceſſations from war, till both princes could recruit their armies. To ſupport theſe military expeditions, Richard was obliged to load the Engliſh with taxes, which excited an univerſal complaint among the people; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief juſticiary, were hardly ſufficient to prevent the general diſcontent from breaking out into open rebellion.

Theſe diſturbances were greatly increaſed by the daily harangues of one William Fitz Oſbert, a perſon of mean birth, and ſtill meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor; and in order to render himſelf ſtill more remarkable, he ſuffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumſtance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the ſpirit of reſentment in the poor againſt the rich, by the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches; pretending there was a colluſion among the great to eaſe themſelves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the ſhoulders of the labouring people, who were conſidered in no better light than that of beaſts of burden. Theſe inſinuations produced the deſired effect; the fury of the people was raiſed to a height bordering upon madneſs; and a tumult enſued in St. Paul's church, where ſeveral perſons loſt their lives.

This dangerous inſurrection alarmed the juſticiary, who ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was ſo far from obeying the ſummons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of his followers were ſtruck with horror at this inhuman action: they abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people, and a few of the loweſt of the rabble only now followed Longbeard. He ſaw the deſertion of the greater part of his audience, but continued, for ſome days, to rob and murder his fellow citizens with great barbarity. It was now time for the government to interpoſe, in order to prevent an open rebellion. A ſtrong party of ſoldiers were accordingly ſent into the city, with ſtrict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. The rioters were ſtruck with terror, and retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where they ſhut themſelves up, hoping that a general inſurrection would be excited in their favour. They were deceived; the citizens ſaw their error, and abandoned the wretch, who had deceived them, to puniſhment. Longbeard, however, refuſed to ſurrender; and being driven from the body of the church, he retreated, at the head of his followers, into the ſteeple, from whence they diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones, darts, and other miſſiles, on the heads of the aſſailants. Unwilling to expoſe the lives of his ſoldiers to the attacks of a company of deſperadoes, the officer cauſed a large quantity of wet ſtraw to be carried into the body of the church, and ſet on fire. The ſmoke effectually put an end to all oppoſition; and the inſurgents, to avoid ſuffocation, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Longbeard was ſentenced to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the principal ſtreets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains, with nine of his principal accomplices.

A. D. 1197. The war in Normandy was ſtill carried on with unremitted animoſity, but produced few remarkable events. In one of theſe battles, Peter de Dreux, biſhop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and couſin-german to the king of France, was taken priſoner. Richard, who hated that prelate, threw him into priſon, and loaded him with irons. The biſhop applied to the pope for redreſs. The pontiff immediately demanded his liberty, calling him his ſon, and inſiſting highly on the privileges of the church. The king ſent the coat of mail, which the biſhop had worn in battle, and which was beſmeared with blood, with the words of Jacob's ſons to their father, "This have we found: know now "whether it be thy ſon's coat or not." The pontiff replied, "That the coat ſent by the king did not "belong to a ſon of the church, but to a ſon of "the camp; and that the priſoner was at Richard's "mercy." The prelate, thus abandoned, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the price of ten thouſand marks.

A. D. 1199. Philip finding no advantage could be gained over the Engliſh monarch by arms, and weary of a war which exhauſted his country, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his requeſt; and ſent cardinal Peter into France, to act as mediator between the contending parties. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and a conſiderable progreſs made in a treaty for a durable peace, when the death of Richard put a final period to the labours of the pontiff.

A peaſant plowing a field in the lordſhip of Vidomar,

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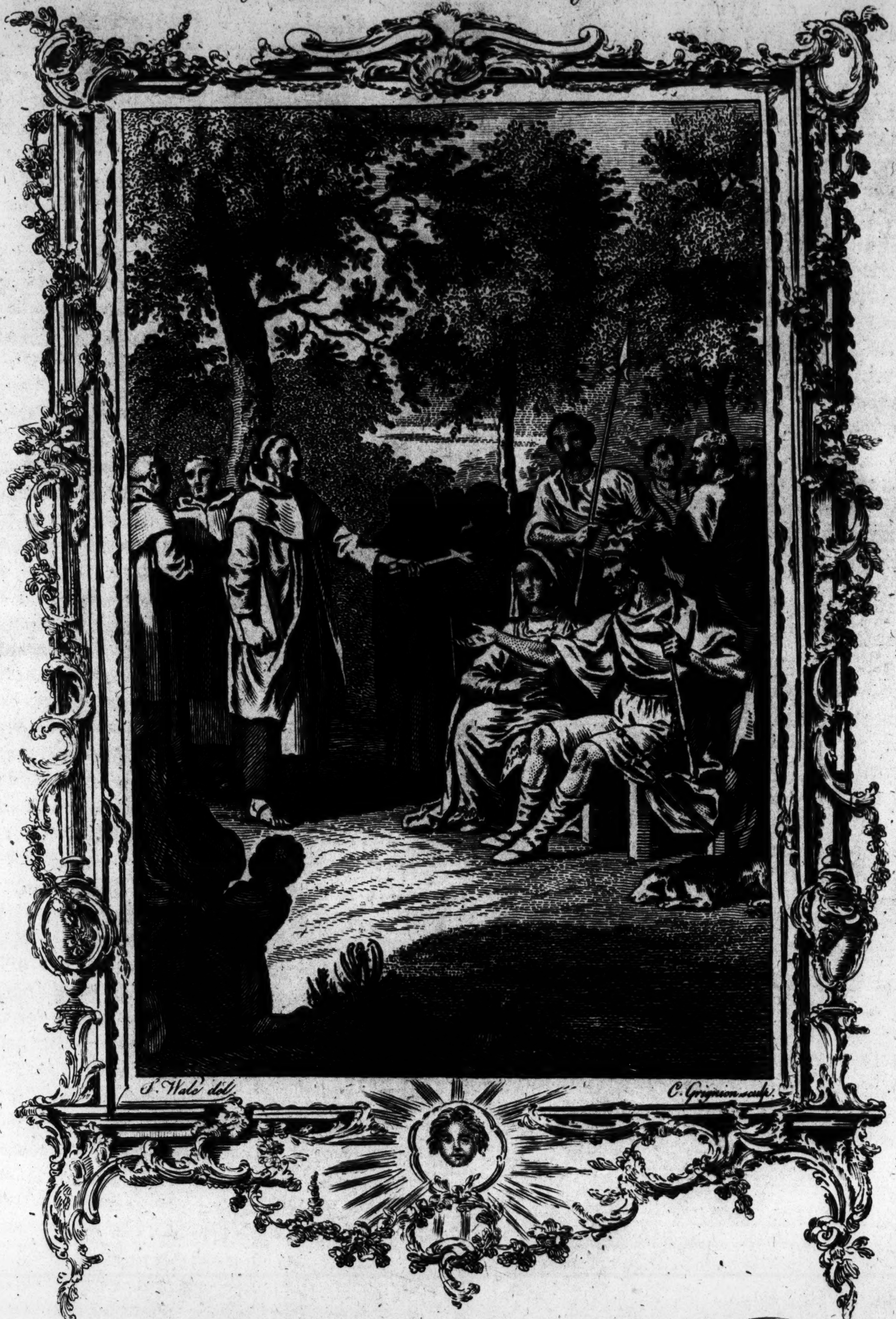
S. Wale del.
C. Grignion sculp.

*St. Austin Preaching before*
**K. ETHELBERT & Q. BERTHA**

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

Wale del.
Walker Sculp.

RICHARD I. *Mortally Wounded by an Arrow Shot by Bertram de Gourdon from the Walls of the Castle of Chilus*

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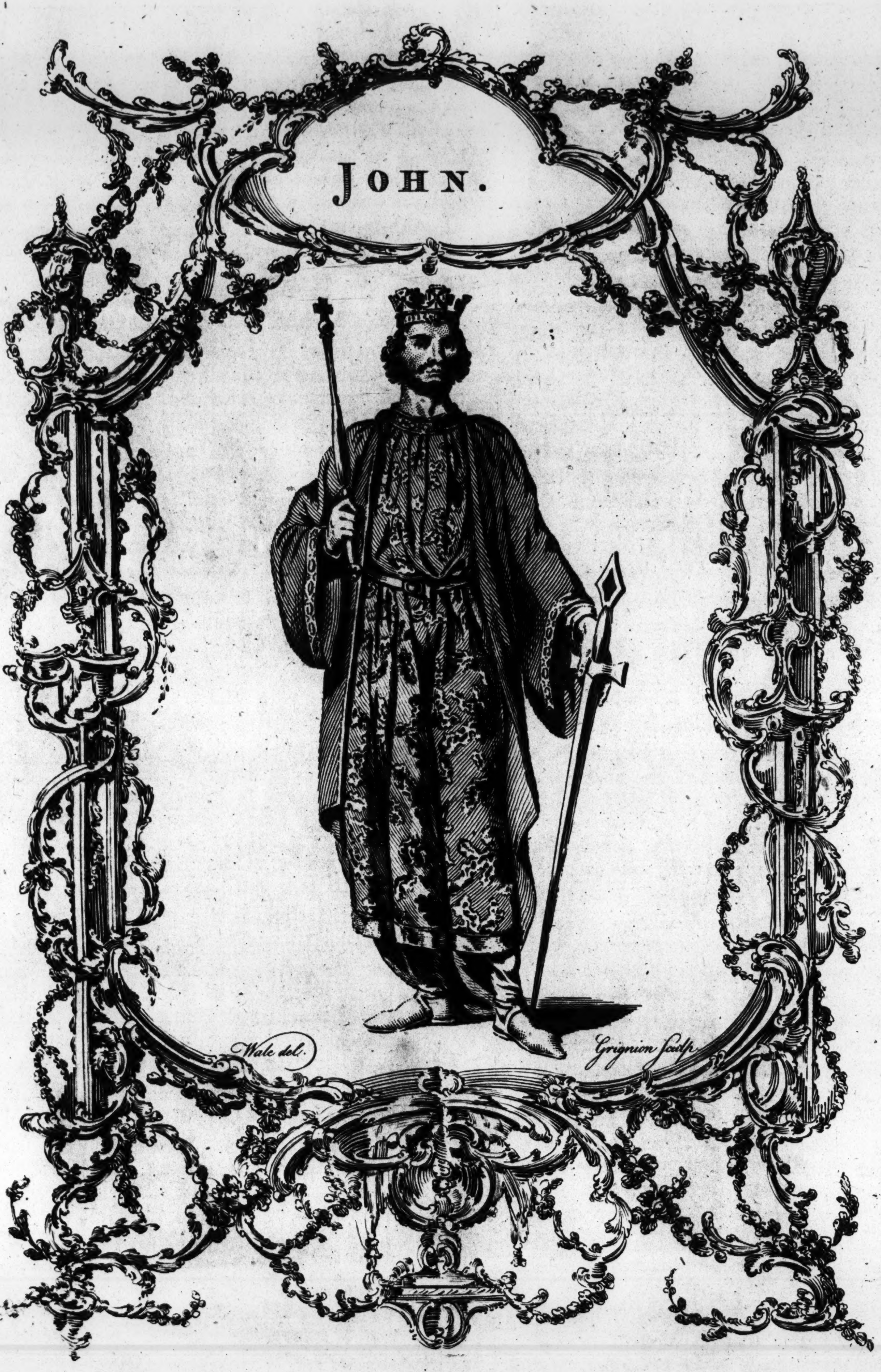
JOHN.
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

mar, viſcount of Limoges, found a treaſure, containing, beſides money, ſeveral valuable pieces of antiquity. The peaſant delivered the whole to Vidomar, who ſent a part of it to Richard as a preſent. This did not ſatisfy the prince; he claimed the whole, as ſuperior lord of the ſoil; and, at the head of a company of Brabanders, beſieged the count in the caſtle of Chalus. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but Richard replied, that ſince he had given him the trouble of coming in perſon to beſiege the place, to recover what was properly his own, he would enter the caſtle by force, and hang every one of them upon the walls. The ſame day, Richard, attended only by Marcadee, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the caſtle, to ſurvey the works; when one Bertram de Gourdon diſcharged an arrow from a croſs-bow, which pierced his ſhoulder. Richard, however, gave orders for the aſſault, took the caſtle by ſtorm, and hanged up the whole garriſon, except Bertram, whom he reſerved for a more cruel death. The wound was not, of itſelf, dangerous; but the ſurgeon, by his prepoſterous treatment, rendered it mortal. Richard perceiving his end approaching, ordered Gourdon to be brought into his preſence. "Wretch," ſaid the king, "what have I ever done to you, that you have ſought my life?" "What have you done to me," replied the priſoner with a cool and intrepid air, "you killed my father, and my two brothers, with your own hand, and you intended to hang myſelf. I am now in your power; take your revenge: I ſhall willingly ſubmit to the ſevereſt tortures, provided I can think I have delivered the world from ſo great a tyrant." Richard felt the juſtice of the reply, and ordered Gourdon to be ſet at liberty. But Macardee ſeized the unhappy archer, cauſed him to be flea'd alive, and then hanged. Richard did not long ſurvive the fate of Gourdon: he paid the debt of nature on the ſixth of April, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-ſecond of his age. He died without iſſue.

Richard excelled all the princes of his age in heroic valour; nor were his abilities as a general inferior to his courage. Theſe talents form the moſt ſhining part of his character, and procured him the appellation of The Lion-hearted, Coeur de Lion. Military glory was the darling paſſion of his ſoul, and hence his reign became a continual ſcene of oppreſſion and miſfortunes. His character is a compound of remarkable virtues, and remarkable vices. He was open, generous, valiant, and ſincere; but he was revengeful, ambitious, haughty, and cruel. He was at once both meanly avaricious, and idly profuſe. Few princes ever poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of underſtanding, a more ſolid judgment, or a more perſuaſive eloquence; but his headſtrong paſſions too often diverted them to improper objects. His ingratitude and want of filial affection are unpardonable. He was no friend to the ſuperſtitious bigotry of his age; the love of glory carried him into the fields of Paleſtine. He ſaw and deteſted the practices of the greater part of his clergy. Being preſſed by Fulk, a zealous preacher of the cruſades, to abandon his vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs, which he called the king's three favourite daughters, he returned him the following anſwer: "Your counſel is juſt. I give my pride to the Templars, my avarice I beſtow upon the monks, and my voluptuouſneſs I reſign to my prelates." But, with all his faults, he was beloved by the Engliſh, though they ſeverely felt the weight of the taxes neceſſary to ſupport his military expeditions.

# JOHN, ſurnamed LACKLAND.

A. D. 1199. JOHN, who obtained the appellation of Lackland becauſe his father left him no inheritance, had made preparations for aſcending the throne during the captivity of his brother; though Richard, before his departure for the Holy Land, had appointed Arthur, ſon to his brother Geoffrey, his ſucceſſor, and who was confeſſedly the lawful heir to the crown. Richard, indeed, afterwards changed his mind, and, by his laſt will, left his ſceptre to his brother John. Poſſibly he imagined, that Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, and wholly a ſtranger to the Engliſh, was incapable of ſupporting his pretenſions againſt the faction of his brother.

Strengthened by the declaration of Richard, John found no difficulty in prevailing on the Engliſh to declare in his favour; but the barons of his tranſmarine dominions ſupported the pretenſions of Arthur, whom they conſidered as their lawful ſovereign, whoſe right his predeceſſor had no power to ſet aſide. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared openly in his favour. But Conſtantia, the mother of Arthur, fearing the barons would not be able to ſupport the title of her ſon againſt the forces of his rival, ſent the prince to Paris, and put him under the protection of Philip. Pleaſed with the opportunity of embarraſſing the affairs of the king of England, Philip declared in favour of the young duke of Britany; garriſoned all his towns and caſtles, and cauſed him to be educated with his own ſon. But being involved in a quarrel with the court of Rome, on the ſubject of his divorce with his queen Inſelburga, he found it neceſſary to agree to an accommodation, and a final period ſeemed to be put to all diſputes.

John was now at liberty to paſs over into England, where he met with no oppoſition; and was crowned at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſeventh of May, in preſence of a numerous aſſembly of the principal nobility and clergy.

A. D. 1200. But John's vices were alone ſufficient to raiſe him very powerful enemies. He fell in love with Iſabella, daughter and heireſs of Aymar, count of Angouleſme, one of the moſt celebrated beauties of the age. His queen, the heireſs of the Glouceſter family, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was betrothed to Hugh, earl of Marche. The nuptials, indeed, on account of her tender age, had never been conſummated; but ſhe had, ſome time ſince, been delivered into the hands of that nobleman. So many difficulties ſeemed to form an unſurmountable barrier to John's deſtructive paſſion; but he diſdained to ſubmit to the laws of his country, though founded on the ſolid baſis of virtue. Under pretence of conſanguinity, he procured a divorce from Rome; and perſuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he ſoon after married. The pope was highly exaſperated at theſe irregular proceedings; but John regarded neither the thunder of the Vatican, nor the reſentment of the injured earl.

A. D. 1201. The art of conciliation was not in the catalogue of John's virtues. He took no care to ſoften the reſentment of the earl of Marche; he conſidered even the moſt diſtant advances towards ſubmiſſion as a diſgrace to royalty. He purſued the ſame imprudent conduct in England, by rigorouſly executing the foreſt-laws, which were thought to be ſufficiently abrogated by the charter of Henry II. The earl of Marche ſaw the miſunderſtanding between

John and his Engliſh ſubjects with pleaſure; and being joined by his brother the count d'Eu, they excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy. John ſummoned an aſſembly of his barons; but they refuſed to attend him into Normandy, unleſs he confirmed their privileges. But the aſſociation was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for them to ſupport their noble reſolution. The threatenings and power of royalty engaged the greater part of them to ſubmit, and John paſſed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents; but he purſued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave univerſal diſcontent: he added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as ſuperior lord; and that prince inſiſted upon John's doing them juſtice. He promiſed to redreſs all the grievances that were founded on juſtice; but as the juriſprudence of the times permitted that the cauſes in the lord's court might be decided by ſingle combat, John carried with him a number of barons whom he retained as champions to fight with his diſappointed barons. His vaſſals, deſpiſed, offended, and reduced to deſpair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppreſſion. John again promiſed to do them juſtice, and again broke his engagements. This conduct rendered him at once odious and contemptible. His perfidious and puſillanimous meaſures lighted up the torch of war and civil diſcord.

A.D. 1203. Alarmed at the dangerous character of his uncle, young Arthur determined to ſeek ſecurity in an union with Philip and the diſcontented barons. He joined the French army, which had already begun hoſtilities. Philip received him with great affection, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to ſupport him againſt the king of England. The progreſs of the French forces was remarkably rapid, and John was now deſirous of putting a period to the military operations. But Philip was thoroughly exaſperated, and openly declared that he would not ſheathe the ſword of war, unleſs the king of England would ſubmit to reſign all his tranſmarine dominions to his nephew, the lawful and undoubted heir.

But John was not yet reduced to ſuch humiliating conditions; he determined to defend his territories to the laſt extremity; but ſtill preſſed Philip for an accommodation upon more reaſonable terms. Young Arthur gave ſeveral inſtances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with ſucceſs. He knew that queen Eleanor was a ſworn enemy to his intereſt, and was therefore deſirous of ſecuring her perſon. She reſided in the caſtle of Mirabel, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garriſon too few to make any long reſiſtance. Arthur determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of attacking the caſtle, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, he precipitately led his ſmall body of forces againſt Mirabel. The caſtle was taken at the firſt aſſault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garriſon, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence. The danger of his mother rouſed John from the couch of indolence; he marched at the head of an army of Engliſh and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and moſt of the revolted barons, priſoners. The greater part of the captives were ſent over to England, but Arthur was ſhut up in the caſtle of Falaiſe, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen.

John improved not his victory. He retired in triumph into Normandy, and Philip abandoned the ſiege of Arques on his approach. Succeſs is often the deſtruction of the timorous and bloody tyrant; it rendered John the execration of mankind. He was a ſtranger to the gentle feelings of compaſſion, and poſſeſſed not the virtue of magnanimity. He conſidered young Arthur as an eternal bar to his ambition; a perpetual evidence of his treaſonable uſurpation; and imagined that he could never be truly happy till he commenced aſſaſſin. Soon after accounts were received that the young prince was no more, and no one doubted but he fell by the treacherous hand of aſſaſſination. The crime was certain, but ſome dubious circumſtances attended the execution. D'Argentré, in his Hiſt. de Bretagne, gives the following account of the death of prince Arthur. "John, ſays that hiſtorian, leading his nephew after him like a lamb to the ſlaughter, brought him from Rouen to Cherbourg, that the infernal deed might be executed with more privacy. There, late in the evening, followed only by a few friends, he mounted his horſe, and leaving his attendants, ordered the prince to ride on before him. In this manner they paſſed along the ſea-ſide, till a place was diſcovered fit for the bloody purpoſe: it was a high cliff hanging over the ſea. John immediately ſpurred his horſe cloſe to the ſide of that of Arthur, and laying hold of one of the reins of the bridle, ſtabbed the young prince ſeveral times through the body, while the terrified victim cried in vain for mercy. Having finiſhed the infernal deed, he threw the body over the precipice into the ſea." Others ſay that John aſſaſſinated the young prince in the priſon at Rouen, and threw his body into the Seine.

But in whatever manner the horrid action was performed, all Europe juſtly accuſed John of the murder: and fortunately for the inſtruction of all kings it may be ſaid, that this firſt crime was the cauſe of all his misfortunes. The feudal laws, which in other countries had been productive of ſo many diſorders, were in this inſtance attended with a ſignal example of juſtice. Conſtantia, mother of young Arthur, preſented to the court of peers in France, a petition ſigned by all the barons in Britany. The king of England was ordered to make his appearance; and the ſummons was ſerved upon him by the ſerjeant at arms. This accuſed prince ſent a biſhop to demand a ſafe conduct. "Let him come, ſaid that monarch, he ſafely may." "But will he, aſked the biſhop, be ſafe alſo in returning." "Yes, anſwered Philip, if the judgment of his peers will permit." John refuſed to obey, and ſentence was paſſed againſt him. He was declared guilty of felony and parricide; and all his ſeignories and fiefs in France were declared to be forfeited.

Philip immediately prepared to put the ſentence in execution: a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France ſo many conſiderable fiefs, which, during ſeveral centuries, had been diſmembered from it. His vaſſals were in no condition to oppoſe his intention: the inhuman action of John ſilenced all oppoſition, and carried his victorious arms into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that dutchy bore to the French of any great conſequence: it formed but a feeble obſtacle to the rapidity of Philip's conqueſts. The count of Alençon deſerted the king of England, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now ſeparated his army. Exaſperated at the deſertion of ſo powerful a vaſſal, John determined to retake Alençon, and immediately inveſted the place. Philip ſaw himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of ſuffering the capital of his new ally to be wreſted from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furniſhed him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful aſſiſtance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the proper field for diſplaying their military talents, and inflicting on a baſe parricide the puniſhment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to chaſtiſe the aſſaſſin, and marched immediately to the relief of the beſieged. John fled at their approach; and never more made any attempt to defend his dominions. He even affected to be unconcerned at the ſucceſs of Philip. "Let him go on," ſaid the

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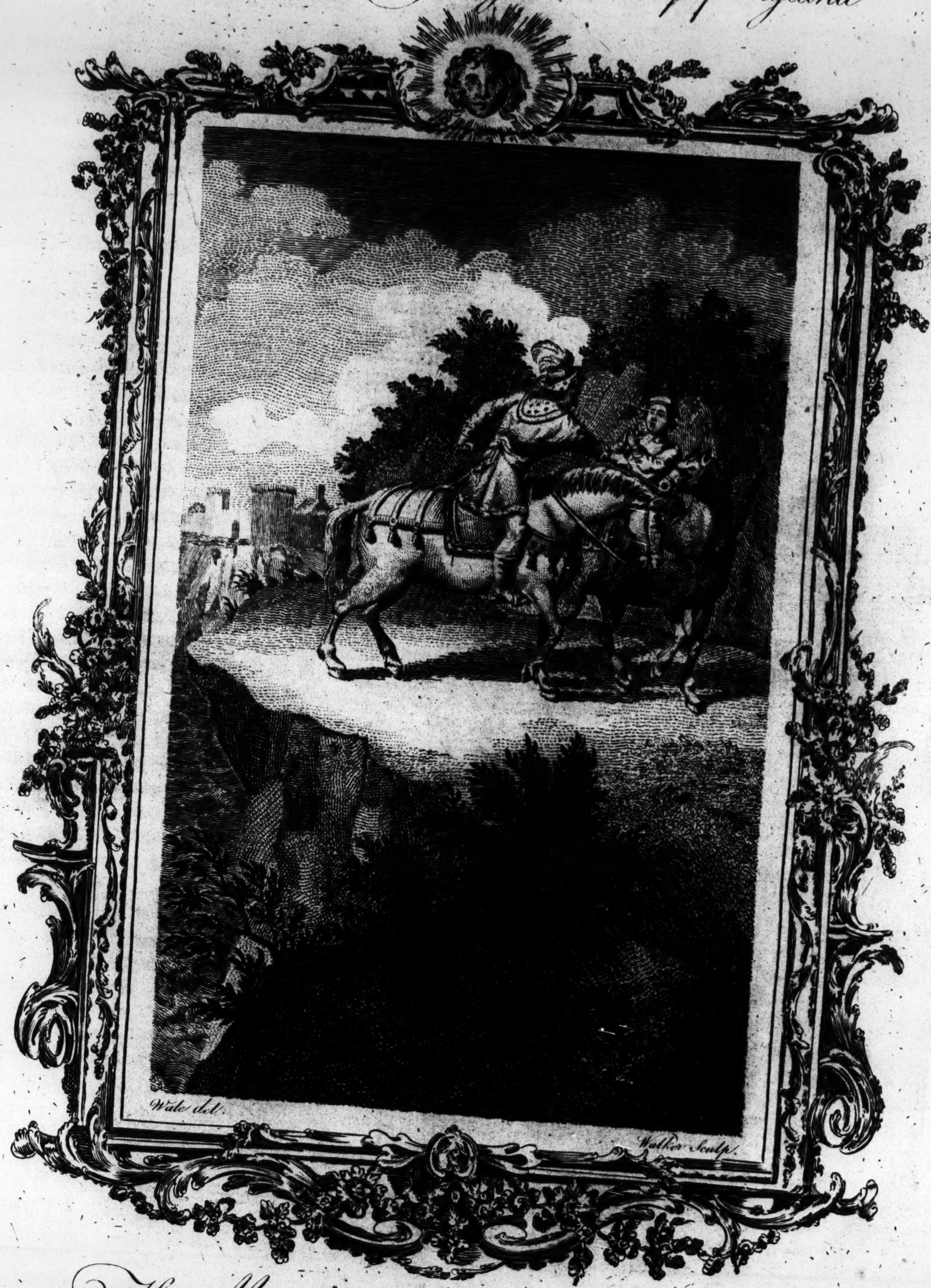


Wale del.

Walker Sculp.

The Murder of Prince Arthur by
KING JOHN.

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

the puſillanimous monarch, “I ſhall retake in one “day what has coſt him years to acquire.” John inherited the ſame diſpoſition as all tyrannical and daſtardly princes: he ſuffered himſelf to be ſtripped of his dominions, without making any efforts againſt the enemy.

But though John made no uſe of the temporal, he was deſirous of employing the ſpiritual ſword in his quarrel. Innocent III. whoſe protection he ſollicited, was pleaſed with any opportunity of exerting the authority he had aſſumed over the princes of Europe. He wrote to Philip, commanding him to put a final period to the war, and conclude a peace with the king of England. But Philip nobly oppoſed the tyranny of the pontiff, and diſclaimed the temporal authority he challenged over kings.

A. D. 1204. Richard de Laci, conſtable of Cheſter, and one of the moſt able generals of the age, was of more ſervice to John than the thunder of the Vatican. He defended Chateau Galliard for a whole year, with the greateſt firmneſs and intrepidity. The fortreſs was remarkable for its ſtrength, and Philip was obliged to ſubdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repulſed every attempt, ſupported, with remarkable patience, all the miſeries of famine, was at laſt ſubdued by a ſudden attack in the night-time, and taken priſoner, with his whole garriſon. Philip was charmed with the abilities of Laci; and notwithſtanding he had given him ſo much trouble, treated him with the utmoſt civility. True magnanimity reſpects valour even in any enemy.

A. D. 1205. Philip found little oppoſition in reducing the other towns and fortreſſes of Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at firſt determined to defend the capital; but finding all reſiſtance would be in vain, they agreed to deliver up the place, provided they were not relieved in thirty days. No ſupply arrived, and the French monarch took poſſeſſion of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital; and Philip enjoyed the honour of re-annexing to the crown of France one of the fineſt provinces of the kingdom, near three centuries after it had been ceded by Charles the Simple to Rollo the Dane.

John returned to England, covered with diſgrace. He found at firſt ſome relief in the pride of the Engliſh, who were provoked at the inſolence of the French barons, who had dared to paſs ſentence upon their king. But his conduct, which was at once tyrannical and puſillanimous, ſoon convinced them, that the loſſes he had ſuſtained in France were the natural conſequences of his perſonal cowardice. He was now looked upon with contempt; and his barons began to form conſpiracies for reducing within proper limits the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown. Nothing was wanting to complete his misfortunes, but a quarrel with the church, and this he ſoon effected by his imprudence.

Innocent III. who then filled St. Peter's chair, carried the papal uſurpations much higher than any of his predeceſſors. Not contented with endeavouring to extend the authority of the Roman pontiff over all the potentates of Europe, he was ambitious of reducing the eccleſiaſtics themſelves to the ſame degree of ſervitude. He pretended, that the diſpoſal of all benefices juſtly belonged to the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; and that they had a right to employ all the revenues of the church whenever the intereſt of the papal ſee demanded aſſiſtance. The imprudence of the monks of Canterbury ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity of carrying theſe pretenſions into execution.

A. D. 1206. Theſe monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a ſucceſſor; but it was uſual, before they filled an office of ſuch importance, to obtain the king's conſent; and it was alſo generally allowed, that the ſuffragan biſhops had voices in the election. There are, however, times, when the moſt ſacred rights are uſurped by unthinking men, who, in order to promote their own intereſt, make no difficulty of having recourſe to the moſt extraordinary methods. On the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who paid the debt of nature about the cloſe of the preceding year, the junior monks met clandeſtinely in the night, elected Reginald, their ſub-prior, to the vacant dignity, and placed him on the archiepiſcopal throne. Knowing that this election was not valid, unleſs the pope's conſent could be obtained, they enjoined him ſecrecy, and ſent him immediately to Rome, to be confirmed by the pontiff. Elated with his elevation, Reginald ſuffered his vanity to get the better of his prudence: he endeavoured not to conceal the intention of his journey; ſo that the ſecret was known in England long before he croſſed the Alps. John was highly exaſperated; the monks proteſted againſt the election; and the ſuffragan biſhops aſſerted their privilege. The juniors themſelves, aſhamed of their conduct, and diſguſted at the levity of Reginald, were very deſirous of annulling the election. The chapter was accordingly aſſembled; and John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, was choſen primate, without one diſſenting voice. Twelve monks were immediately diſpatched to Rome, to ſollicit his confirmation. The opportunity now offered which Innocent had ſo long deſired, and he determined to embrace it. He annulled both elections; and inſiſted, that the monks ſent to his holineſs ſhould elect cardinal Langton into the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury. The monks repreſented, that they had no authority from their convent to make ſuch election; and that it would not only be contrary to all the laws of equity, but alſo to the canons of the church. But Innocent was determined to be obeyed; he liſtened not to the voice of reaſon, and the remonſtrances of the monks were urged in vain. He even threatened them with the terrors of excommunication, if they refuſed to obey his orders, and uſed every menace in his power to terrify them into obedience. One of their number had the courage to perſevere in this oppoſition; the reſt were intimidated, and elected cardinal Langton archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Innocent himſelf, however bigotted to the power of the Roman ſee, could not imagine, but this flagrant uſurpation muſt excite the higheſt reſentment in the court of England; and therefore he wrote a very mollifying letter to John; ſent him a preſent of four golden rings, ſet with precious ſtones, the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many myſteries they implied. He deſired him to obſerve, with the moſt ſerious attention, the form, the matter, and the colour of theſe rings. “The “form,” ſaid the pope, “is round, repreſenting “eternity, which has neither beginning nor end; “and hence you ought to learn your duty of aſpir- “ing from earthly to heavenly objects, from things “temporal to things eternal. The number Four “being a ſquare, denotes ſteadineſs of mind, which “neither proſperity nor adverſity can ſubvert, fixed “for ever on the ſolid baſis of the four cardinal “virtues. The matter, which is gold, the moſt “precious of metals, ſhadows out wiſdom, the moſt “precious of all accompliſhments, and juſtly pre- “ferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all ex- “terior attainments. The blue colour of the eme- “rald repreſents Faith; the verdure of the ſapphire, “Hope; the redneſs of the ruby, Charity; the “ſplendor of the topaz, Good Works.”

This explanation, which, in that age, was greatly admired, though it appears extremely ridiculous in our's, produced not the deſired effect. John was enflamed with the utmoſt rage, and threatened the moſt exemplary vengeance againſt all that had been concerned in the late colluſive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to ſupport the choice, his paſſion knew no bounds. He immediately diſpatched two reſolute knights, whoſe violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent. They performed their orders with the greateſt punctuality; the fathers were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight. They left the knights in full poſſeſſion of their eſtates, their houſes and effects.

Innocent ſaw this violence with a ſecret ſatisfaction; he was perſuaded that by purſuing ſuch violent meaſures, John would ultimately ſink in the conteſt. He followed not his example; he had recourſe to the ſofter arts of perſuaſion, till he found the thunder of the vatican produce the deſired effect. He wrote a very conciliating letter to John, beſeeching him not to oppoſe the determination of his ſpiritual father, who was continually labouring for his eternal happineſs. He deſired him to reflect on the conſequences that attended a ſimilar oppoſition in his father Henry; and begged him not to reſiſt the church of God, nor perſecute any longer, that cauſe for which the holy martyr St. Thomas ſacrificed his life, and who was now ſo juſtly venerated by the people. But John was firm to his purpoſe; and had his principles of reſiſtance been founded on the ſolid baſis of virtue, his behaviour would have merited the higheſt applauſe. But the vices of John had rendered him contemptible; he could not hope to be ſupported by his ſubjects. The pope knew this, and determined to perſevere. He commanded the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter to expoſtulate with him, and if he perſevered in his diſobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict. John was exaſperated almoſt to madneſs at the inſolent behaviour of the pontiff. He ſwore that if the pope preſumed to pronounce the ſentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noſes of all the Roman clergy he could find in his dominions. In vain were all the perſuaſions of the biſhops to mitigate his fury, he wrote a letter to the pope, telling his holineſs, that he looked upon his proceedings as an inſult upon royalty; that his own kingdom furniſhed a ſufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without ſuffering thoſe of a foreign ſeminary to be intruded upon him; that he was determined to maintain the election of the biſhop of Norwich to the utmoſt extremity; and concluded with telling the pontiff, that if he refuſed to do him juſtice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his ſubjects and the Roman ſee; nor ſuffer any appeals to be made to a foreign tribunal.

Innocent, who knew the animoſity which already ſubſiſted between John and his people, was not to be diverted from his purpoſe. He thundered out the dreadful ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom. This cenſure had all the requiſites for exciting a popular commotion. The ruin of his people was involved in the puniſhment of the king. The exterior parts of religion ceaſed immediately. The altars were ſtripped of their ornaments: the images, the croſſes, the ſtatues of ſaints, and all the holy relics were laid upon the ground. The churches were ſhut againſt the laity; and divine ſervice was ſuppreſſed. Even the ſacraments were no longer adminiſtered but to dying perſons; nor the dead ſuffered to be buried in conſecrated ground. The ſevereſt penances were commanded, and every pleaſure, every entertainment, ſtrictly forbidden.

In an age of ſuperſtitious bigotry, when the people were thoroughly perſuaded that the pontiff was the true vicegerent of heaven, and that the divine vengeance and indignation were the inevitable conſequences of his ſentence, it is no wonder that the whole nation ſhould be alarmed; and that every perſon in the kingdom ſhould exert all his power to avert ſuch dreadful calamities from the kingdom. But John was not to be moved with tears and ſupplications. He oppoſed with the moſt obſtinate inflexibility, every attempt to remove the ſcourge, and reſtore tranquillity to his dominions. He puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour, all who ſubmitted to the orders of the pope, whether biſhops, monks or ſecular clergy. Some of the eccleſiaſtics, indeed, diſregarded the cenſure of the Roman pontiff. The Ciſtercian order continued to perform divine ſervice publickly; the biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich followed their examples, and ſeveral of the moſt eminent divines openly preached againſt theſe proceedings, which they called unjuſt and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigour therefore might have diſſipated the tempeſt: but John liſtened not to the voice of reaſon; he followed the dictates of his headſtrong paſſions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that threatened his deſtruction.

The kingdom laboured ſeveral years under this cenſure: but John was ſo far from being reclaimed, that he became more tyrannical than ever: his cruelties increaſed in the ſame proportion with the danger of his government. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He ſeized upon their temporalities; he drove them from their monaſteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity: he endeavoured to retaliate on them the ſufferings of himſelf and his people. But his deſpotiſm was not confined to the clergy, the laity alſo felt the weight of his oppreſſion. He not only enforced the foreſt laws, which had always excited troubles and diſtreſs, he likewiſe ordered all the mounds of his foreſts to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpreſſible diſtreſs of the huſbandmen. But ſo inconſiſtent were the meaſures of this infatuated prince, that even while he had recourſe to theſe violent oppreſſions, he felt the crown totter on his head, and had recourſe to the moſt extraordinary ſtretch of power to enforce the obedience of his barons. He compelled them to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with this demand; but when the king's meſſengers came to the caſtle of William de Barouſe, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, "That ſhe would never truſt her ſon to the care of a prince, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew." Barouſe, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the ſarcaſm of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was ſoon known, and John gave a looſe to his cruelty. The lady and her ſon were ſhut up in priſon, and ſtarved to death. The nobleman himſelf eſcaped to the continent.

A. D. 1211. John had long feared the ſentence of excommunication; and was very deſirous of averting the dreadful ſhaft. He diſpatched the abbot of Beaulieu on an embaſſy to Rome, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. Cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but the propoſals not being equal to what the pope demanded, he broke off the conference abruptly and returned to the continent. Innocent now prepared to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication againſt John, and to abſolve his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. But notwithſtanding the power of Rome, and the cruelties which John had exerciſed on his ſubjects, a few only of the Engliſh biſhops could be prevailed upon to publiſh the ſentence, which, however, produced the deſired effect. The prelate, who dreaded the power and cruelty of the king, ſtole out of the kingdom, and the barons entered into cabals againſt him. This eccleſiaſtical thunderbolt was really terrible, becauſe the pope gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to aſſert his claim. The pontiff did more, he promiſed him the remiſſion of all his ſins, if he ſucceeded in the reduction of England. He even granted the ſame indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to thoſe who went into Aſia to recover the Holy Land from the infidels. The facinating luſtre of the Engliſh diadem, wholly changed the opinion of Philip. He did not now tell his holineſs, that the pope had no right to give away crowns. His own kingdom had been interdicted ſome years before, and he himſelf excommunicated by this very pope, for attempting to marry another wife. He then aſſerted the independence of his own crown, and declared theſe papal cenſures inſolent and abuſive. He ſeized the temporalities of every eccleſiaſtic in France who had proved himſelf ſo bad a ſubject as to obey the pope: but he thought quite differently, when he ſaw himſelf commiſſioned with the execution of a bull, which was to put England into his poſſeſſion. He took again to his bed that very princeſs, whoſe divorce had been the cauſe of ſo many excommunications, and devoted himſelf intirely to execute the ſentence of the ſee of Rome. He employed a whole year in building one hundred and ſeventy ſhips, and in raiſing and diſciplining the fineſt army ever ſeen in France. The averſion which the Engliſh bore to John might, in regard to Philip, be conſidered as equivalent to another army. But by the perpetual emulation between the Engliſh and French, by the horror the people had conceived againſt the pope's arbitrary proceedings, and by the aſſiſtance of the extenſive prerogatives of the crown, John was enabled to raiſe and keep together, during ſeveral weeks, an army of ſixty thouſand men, at the head of which he advanced towards Dover, to meet the prince who had tried and condemned him in France, and was now coming to dethrone him in England.

A. D. 1213. While all Europe was in the utmoſt expectation of a battle that was to decide the fate of the Engliſh diadem, the pope was forming ſchemes for turning the whole to his own advantage. Pandolf, the pope's legate, who headed the oppoſition againſt John, procured an interview with him at Dover, under pretence of treating with the barons in favour of Philip. He repreſented to the Engliſh monarch all the dangers of his ſituation. "The "French fleet," ſaid the artful Italian, "is ready to "ſail: your troops will certainly deſert you in the "day of battle; they will never fight againſt the "arm of Omnipotence. One reſource only is left, "which is that of ſubmitting yourſelf abſolutely to "the protection of the Holy See." John was now completely humbled; he feared the power of Philip, and dreaded the deſertion of his barons. The advice of Pandolf only promiſed him ſufficient aſſiſtance, and he determined to embrace it. Accordingly he repaired to the prelate, and, in the preſence of four of his principal barons, he promiſed, that he would receive cardinal Langton as primate, that he would make reparation to the clergy, and that he would inſtantly conſign a conſiderable ſum for that purpoſe.

But this was not ſufficient to free John from his preſent embaraſſed ſituation. Philip only waited the legate's return, to embark his forces, and wreſt the ſceptre from his hand: he, therefore, thought it neceſſary to put himſelf and his kingdom under the protection of the pope. Accordingly he repaired to the houſe of the Knights Templars at Dover, where he reſigned the two kingdoms of England and Ireland to the holy ſee, acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of the pope, and promiſed to pay him an annual tribute of a thouſand marks. It was alſo ſtipulated, that if either he, or any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever infringe upon thoſe engagements, he, or they, ſhould forfeit all right to the two crowns. This diſgraceful treaty was followed by the truly humiliating ceremony of homage. The king, unarmed, and on his knees, appeared before Pandolf, ſeated on a throne. In that degrading poſture he ſwore fealty to the pope.

A ſum of money was then put into the legate's hands, as the firſt payment of this tribute; and John himſelf preſented him with the crown and ſceptre. The imperious prieſt, to ſhew his triumph over the fallen monarch, had the inſolence to trample the money under foot. He, indeed, returned the regalia to the king, but not without declaring, in an audible voice, that he muſt conſider it as a particular favour of the Roman ſee. Nor would Pandolf take off the interdict and excommunication, till the exiled clergy had received full ſatisfaction for their loſſes.

Pandolf having executed his ſecret commiſſion in England, paſſed over to the continent, where Philip was waiting for him, every thing being ready for the armament to put to ſea. The legate immediately repaired to the prince's court, and informed him, that he was no longer permitted to make a deſcent upon England, now become a fief of the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy ſee. Philip, at once ſurpriſed and incenſed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impoſtor. He told him, that he had made theſe preparations at an immenſe expence, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even all the threats of the Vatican, ſhould now deter him from proſecuting his deſign. He immediately ſummoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's inſidious proceedings in the moſt glaring colours, and deſired their advice with regard to proſecuting the deſign againſt England. They all expreſſed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended deſcent. The earl of Flanders not only diſſented from the general opinion, but declared ſtrongly againſt it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition againſt England was inconſiſtent with juſtice, and the laws of nations, as none of his anceſtors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exaſperated at this remonſtrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raiſed for an expedition into England, againſt Flanders. But William earl of Saliſbury, at the head of an Engliſh fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with ſuch fury on the French tranſports, that one hundred of them were ſunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that the total deſtruction of his ſhips was inevitable, ſet fire to the reſt, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

John was deſirous of purſuing this advantage over Philip, but his barons refuſed to join the ſtandard of an excommunicated prince. He therefore wrote a very preſſing letter to Langton, beſeeching him to come with all expedition, and give him abſolution; aſſuring him, that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, love, defend, and maintain the church and clergy againſt all their adverſaries; that he would re-eſtabliſh the wholeſome laws of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of king Edward; and that he would annul all oppreſſive edicts, and judge every man according to juſtice and equity. The prelate obeyed; and, on the above conditions, gave him abſolution in the cathedral church of Wincheſter, before the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. John being now delivered from this vexatious affair, attempted to carry the war into the dominions of Philip; but he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army againſt an enemy. He beſieged a caſtle near Angiers; but the approach of an army, under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines, and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand Germans. This victory eſtabliſhed for ever the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of conqueſt. He returned to England, covered with diſgrace.

Nor was peace yet eſtabliſhed in England. Though the feudal government, ſince the Norman conqueſt, had ſet bounds to the ſovereign authority, the prerogatives of the crown had been very greatly extended. The Engliſh nobility were now determined to aſſume the ſame privileges which thoſe of ſimilar rank enjoyed in the other kingdoms of Europe. The charter paſſed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any real advantages: the form appeared lovely, but it was deſtitute of ſubſtance. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were rouſed from the couch of indolence by the debauchery, the meanneſs, the violence, and the tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in oppoſing the tyrant of their country. Archbiſhop Langton became the head of a faction. The promiſe the king had made at the time he received abſolution, furniſhed the primate with pretences for a revolt. He aſſembled the barons; he produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monaſtery, and exhorted them to join firmly in inſiſting on a renewal and ſolemn confirmation of that contract of privileges. Pleaſed with the opportunity of ſetting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a poſitive declaration of the rights of Engliſhmen, the barons took an oath to adhere firmly to each other; planned meaſures for forcing the king to grant their requeſt, ſhould he be diſpoſed to refuſe it; and agreed to meet at London ſoon after Chriſtmas, to preſent in a body their common petition.

A. D. 1215. They accordingly aſſembled at the capital on the day appointed, and demanded of the king a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. The king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and unanimity, promiſed to give them a poſitive anſwer at Eaſter. In the mean time he laboured, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt, by making them the moſt laviſh conceſſions. He granted them a charter, by which he granted to them the election to all vacant benefices; reſerving only the right of a congé d'elire, and to ſubjoin a confirmation of the election; but declaring, that if either of theſe were delayed, the choice ſhould nevertheleſs be deemed valid. At the ſame time, he implored the aſſiſtance of the pope, and vowed to lead an army into Paleſtine, not doubting but he ſhould receive from the church that protection which ſhe had granted to every prince engaged in thoſe pious expeditions. It was the intereſt of Innocent to protect his vaſſal, in order to ſecure his ſubmiſſion. But the Engliſh clergy, weary with the deſpotiſm of the Roman court, and who regretted the loſs of thoſe privileges which the pontiff treated with contempt, openly profeſſed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity; and though they expected to have the pope, as well as the king, to contend with, they did not deſpair of ſucceſs; they determined to procure a charter of liberties, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

When the feaſt of Eaſter approached, the king deſired to have a ſchedule of the different articles of their pretenſions. The barons immediately prepared the writing requeſted; and advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then reſided, and ſent the ſchedule by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke. The king read the demands of the barons, and burſt into the moſt furious paſſion, aſking, "Why they "did not alſo demand his crown?" Swearing, that he would never grant them liberties which muſt reduce the king to the ſtation of a ſlave.

The primate immediately communicated this anſwer to the diſcontented barons, who immediately elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Mareſchal of the army of God, and "of the Holy Church." They ſtaid not for any farther anſwer from John, but immediately began hoſtilities. They publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the reſt of the nobility to join them in this national cauſe. They advanced towards London, and entered the capital without oppoſition. Almoſt all the nobility now joined the ſtandard of the barons; and John was left at Odiham, in Surry, with the poor retinue of only ſeven knights. He made ſeveral attempts to elude the blow. He offered to refer the whole diſpute to the pope, and ſign any charter that his holineſs ſhould approve. This was refuſed. He then propoſed to empower eight barons to ſettle the conteſt, four of them to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the inſurgents. But this offer was alſo rejected. John now perceived that all oppoſition would be in vain: he ſaw himſelf abandoned by his ſubjects, and was obliged to conſent to the demands of the barons.

Runimede, a place between Windſor and Staines, was appointed for holding a conference between the king and the confederates; where, after a debate of a few days, the king ſigned, on the nineteenth of June, the celebrated charter of Engliſh liberties. This famous deed, which is ſtill conſidered as the foundation of Britiſh freedom, either granted or ſecured very important privileges; and therefore it was thought neceſſary to give a faithful tranſlation of it here, where, it is preſumed, every Engliſhman will expect to find it.

## MAGNA CHARTA; or, The Charter of Liberties, granted by King John to his Subjects, in the Year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou; to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs, and other his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the preſence of God, and for the health of our ſoul, and the ſouls of all our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbiſhop of Dublin; William, biſhop of London; Peter of Wincheſter; Joceline of Bath and Glaſtonbury; Hugh of Lincoln; Walter of Worceſter; William of Coventry; Benedict of Rocheſter, biſhops: and maſter Pandolf, the pope's ſub-deacon and ancient ſervant; brother Aymeric, maſter of the temple in England; and the noble perſons William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke; William earl of Saliſbury; William earl of Warren; William earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, conſtable of Scotland; Warin Fitz-gerald; Peter Fitz-herebert; and Hubert de Burgh, ſeneſchal of Poictou; Hugo de Neville; Mathew Fitz-herebert; Thomas Baſſet; Alan Baſſet; Philip de Albiney; Robert de Ropele; John Mareſchal; John Fitz-Hugh; and others our liege-men, have, in the firſt place, granted to God, and by this our preſent charter, confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

I. "That the church of England ſhall be free, and enjoy her rights intire, and her liberties inviolable. And we will have them ſo to be obſerved, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indiſpenſable to the Engliſh church, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the diſcord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which charter we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our heirs for ever.

II. "We have alſo granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under written liberties, to have and to hold them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. "If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the time of his death, his heir ſhall be of full age, and owe a relief, he ſhall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to ſay, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred ſhillings at moſt;

and whoever oweth leſs, ſhall give leſs, according to the ancient cuſtom of fees."

IV. "But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under age, and ſhall be in ward," (his lord ſhall not have the wardſhip of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after ſuch heir ſhall be in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty years) "when he comes of age, he ſhall have his inheritance without relief, or without fine." (Yet ſo that if he be made a knight while he is under age, nevertheleſs the lands ſhall remain in cuſtody of the lord, until the aforeſaid time.)

V. "The warden of the land of ſuch heir, who ſhall be under age, ſhall not take of the land of ſuch heir, other than reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices; and that without deſtruction and waſte of the tenants or effects" (upon the eſtate.) "And if we ſhall commit the guardianſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or any other who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues of the land; and if he ſhall make deſtruction and waſte upon the wood-lands, we will compel him to give ſatisfaction, and the land ſhall be committed to lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues to us, or to him to whom we ſhall aſſign them. And if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the wardſhip of any ſuch lands, and if he makes deſtruction or waſte upon them, he ſhall loſe the wardſhip itſelf, which ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall in like manner, be anſwerable to us as aforeſaid."

VI. "But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall have the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up the houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to the land, out of the iſſues of the ſame land; and ſhall reſtore to the heir, when he becomes of age, his whole land, ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues of the land can reaſonably bear." (And all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the cuſtodies of vacant archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities which appertain to us; except that theſe wardſhips are not to be ſold.)

VII. "Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement, ſo as that before matrimony ſhall be contracted, thoſe who are neareſt in blood to the heir ſhall be acquainted with it."

VIII. "A widow, after the death of her huſband, ſhall forthwith, and without difficulty have her marriage and inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her huſband and ſhe held at the time of his death: and ſhe may remain in the manſion-houſe of her huſband forty days after his death; within which time her dower ſhall be aſſigned." (If it was not aſſigned before, or unleſs the houſe ſhall be a caſtle; and if ſhe departs from the caſtle, there ſhall forthwith be provided for her a complete houſe, in which ſhe may decently dwell, till her dower be to her aſſigned, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall, in the mean time, have her reaſonable eſtover, that is, competent maintenance, out of the common revenue. And there ſhall be aſſigned to her for her dower, the third part of all her huſband's lands which were in his lifetime, except ſhe were endowed with leſs at the church door.)

IX. "No widow ſhall be diſtrained to marry herſelf, ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a huſband. But yet ſhe ſhall give ſecurity that ſhe will not marry without our aſſent, if ſhe holds of us; or without the conſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds of another."

X. "Neither we, nor our bailiffs, ſhall ſeize any land or rent for any debt, ſo long as there ſhall be chattels of the debtor's upon the premiſes, ſufficient to pay the debt," (and the debtor be ready to ſatisfy it.) "Nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained, ſo long as the principal debtor is ſufficient for the payment of the debt."

XI. "And if the principal debtor ſhall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it," (or will not diſcharge when he is able,) "then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the debt, and, if they will, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the debt which they paid for him; unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew himſelf acquitted thereof, againſt the ſaid ſureties."

XII. "If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before the debt be ſatisfied, there ſhall be no intereſt paid for that debt, ſo long as the heir is under age, of whomſoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will take only the chattels mentioned in the charter or inſtrument."

XIII. "And if any one ſhall die indebted to the the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceaſed left children under age, they ſhall have neceſſaries provided for them, according to the tenement, or real eſtate, of the deceaſed, and out of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid; ſaving, however, the ſervice of the lords. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other perſons than Jews."

XIV. "No ſcutage, or aid, ſhall be impoſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common council of our kingdom, except for ranſoming our perſon, and making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and once for marrying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe there ſhall be paid only a reaſonable aid."

XV. "In like manner it ſhall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London ſhall have all its ancient liberties, and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water."

XVI. "Furthermore, we will and grant, that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns," (and barons of cinque ports) "and ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms; and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aſſeſſments of their aids, except in the three caſes aforeſaid."

XVII. "And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, ſingly by our letters."

XVIII. "And furthermore, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, that is to ſay, forty days before their meeting at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in all letters of ſuch ſummons, we will declare the cauſe of the ſummons."

XIX. And ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that were ſummoned come not."

XX. "We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unleſs to ranſom his body, and to make his eldeſt ſon a knight, and once to marry his eldeſt daughter; and for theſe there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable aid."

XXI. "No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform more ſervice for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence."

XXII. "Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place; trials upon the writs of novel diſſeiſin, and of mort d'anceſtor, and of darreine preſentment, ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner. We, or, if we ſhall be out of the realm, our chief juſticiary, ſhall ſend two juſticiaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights, choſen out of every ſhire by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed."

XXIII. "And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the aſſizes in each county, ſo many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be appointed to decide them, as is neceſſary, according as their is more or leſs buſineſs. (Aſſizes of darreine preſentment to churches ſhall be always taken before the juſticiaries of the bench.

XXIV. "A freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to him his contenement; and after the ſame manner a merchant, ſaving to him his merchandiſe.

XXV. "And a villain (of any other than our own) ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving to him his wainage, if he falls under our amerciament; and none of the aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed but by the oath of honeſt men of the neighbourhood. (Of the county.)

XXVI. "Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of the offence.

XXVII. "No eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice.

XXVIII. "Neither a town, nor any tenement, ſhall be diſtrained to make bridges over rivers, unleſs that anciently and of right they are bound to do it. (No river, for the future, ſhall be embanked, but what was embanked in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.)

XXIX. "No ſheriff, caſtellan, coroner, or other our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. "All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old ferm, without any increaſe, except in our demeſne manors.

XXXI. "If any one holding of us a lay-fee, dies, and the ſheriff, or our bailiff, ſhew our letters-patent of ſummons concerning the debt due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful for the ſheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and regiſter the chattels of the deceaſed found upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt, by the view of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed until our whole debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceaſed. And if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels ſhall remain to the deceaſed, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

XXXII. "If any freeman ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be diſtributed by the hands of his neareſt relations and friends, by view of the church, ſaving to every one his debts, which the deceaſed owed to him.

XXXIII. "No conſtable or bailiff of our's ſhall take corn, or other chattels, of any man, (who is not of the town where the caſtle is) unleſs he preſently gives him money for it, or hath reſpite of payment by the good-will of the ſeller. (But if he be of the ſame town, he ſhall pay him within forty days.

XXXIV. "No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if he himſelf will do it in his own perſon, or by another able man, in caſe he cannot do it through any reaſonable cauſe.

XXXV. "And if we lead him, or ſend him into the army, he ſhall be free from ſuch guard, for the time he ſhall be in the army, by our command. (For the fee for which he did ſervice in the army.)

XXXVI. "No ſheriff or bailiff of our's, or any other, ſhall take horſes or carts of any for carriage, but by the good-will of the ſaid freeman. (Without paying according to the rate anciently appointed; that is to ſay, for a cart and two horſes, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horſes, fourteenpence a day.)

XXXVII. "Neither ſhall we, or our bailiffs, take any man's timber for our caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the owner of the timber. (No demeſne cart of any eccleſiaſtical perſon, or knight, or any lady, ſhall be taken by our officers.)

XXXVIII. "We will retain the lands of thoſe that are convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they ſhall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. "All wares, for the time to come, ſhall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the ſea-coaſt.

XL. "The writ, which is called Præcipe, for the future, ſhall not be made out to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman may loſe his court.

XLI. "There ſhall be one meaſure of wine, and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and one meaſure of corn; that is to ſay, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruſſets, and haberjects; that is to ſay, two ells within the liſt. As to weights, they ſhall be as the meaſures.

XLII. "From henceforward, nothing ſhall be given or taken for a writ of inquiſition of life or limbs; but it ſhall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. "If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or ſocage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military ſervice, we will not have the wardſhip of the heir, or land, which is of another man's fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us by fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage: nor will we have the wardſhip of the fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm is bound to perform military ſervice.

XLIV. "We will not have the wardſhip of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by military ſervice, by reaſon of any petit-ſerjeanty he holds of us, as by the ſervice of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. "No bailiff, for the future, ſhall put any man to his law, (nor to an oath) upon his ſingle word, without credible witneſſes produced to prove it.

XLVI. "No freemen ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, (of his freehold, or liberties, or free-cuſtoms) or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any ways deſtroyed; nor will we paſs ſentence upon him, or commit him to priſon, unleſs by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. "We will ſell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay right nor juſtice.

XLVIII. "All merchants (unleſs they be publickly prohibited) ſhall have ſafe and ſecure conduct to go out of, and to come into England, and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by land as by water; for buying and ſelling by the ancient and allowed cuſtoms, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

XLIX. "And if there be found any ſuch in our land in the beginning of the war, they ſhall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or our chief juſticiary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and, if our's be ſafe there, the others ſhall be ſafe in our dominions.

L. "It ſhall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return ſafely and ſecurely by land or by water, ſaving his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war, by ſome ſhort ſpace for the benefit of the realm, except priſoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as is above mentioned.

LI. "If any man holds of any eſcheat, or of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bulloign, Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir ſhall give no other relief, and perform no other ſervice, to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in poſſeſſion of the baron: we will hold it after the ſame manner the baron held it. (Nor will we, by reaſon of ſuch barony or eſcheat, have any eſcheat or wardſhip of any of our men, unleſs he that held the barony or eſcheat held of us in chief elſewhere.)

LII. "Thoſe men who dwell without the foreſt, from henceforth ſhall not come before our juſticiaries of the foreſt upon common ſummons, but ſuch as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for ſomething concerning the foreſt. (No country-court, for the future, ſhall be holden but from month to month; and where there uſed to be a greater interval, let it be ſo continued. Neither any ſheriff, nor his bailiff, ſhall keep his turn in the hundred oftner than twice in a year, and only in the accuſtomed place, that is once after Eaſter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of frank-pledge ſhall be held after Michaelmas, without occaſion, and ſo that every one ſhall have his liberties, which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry, our grandfather, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards. But the view of frank-pledge ſhall be ſo made, that our peace may be kept, and that the tything be full as it was wont to be. And the ſheriffs ſhall not ſeek occaſions, but ſhall be content with what the ſheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather. For the time to come it ſhall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious houſe, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that houſe. Nor ſhall it be lawful for any religious houſe to receive land, ſo as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any man for the future, ſhall ſo give his land to a religious houſe, and be convicted thereof, his gift ſhall be void, and the land ſhall be forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage, for the future, ſhall not be taken as it was uſed to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; and that the ſheriff ſhall oppreſs no man, but be content with what he was wont to have. Saving to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well eccleſiaſtics as ſeculars, the liberties and free-cuſtoms which they had before: theſe being witneſſes, &c.)

LIII. We will not make any juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs or bailiffs, but ſuch as are knowing in the law of the realm, and are diſpoſed duly to obſerve it.".

LIV. "All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowſon, or are entitled to it by ancient tenure, may have the cuſtody of them, when vacant, as they ought to have,"

LV. "All woods that have been taken into the foreſts" (by king Richard our brother) "in our time ſhall forthwith be laid out again," (unleſs they were our demeſne woods,) "and the ſame ſhall be done with the rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us, during our reign."

LVI. "All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, warrens, and foreſters, warreners, ſheriffs and their officers, rivers and their keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired into in each county, by twelve knights ſworn of the ſame ſhire, choſen by creditable perſons in the ſame county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the ſaid inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed, ſo as never to be reſtored." (No freeman, for the future, ſhall give or ſell any more of his land, but ſo that, out of the reſidue, the ſervice due to the lord of the fee may be ſufficiently performed.)

LVII. "We will immediately give up all hoſtages and writings delivered unto us by our Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful ſervice."

LVIII. "We will entirely remove from our bailiwics the relations of Gerard de Athyes, ſo as that, for the future, they ſhall have no bailiwic in England. We will alſo remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his two brothers, Philip Mark and his two brothers, and his nephew Geoffrey, and their whole following."

LIX. "And as ſoon as peace is reſtored, we will ſend out of the kingdom all foreign ſoldiers, croſsbow men, and ſtipendiaries, who are come with horſes and arms, to the prejudice of our people."

LX. "If any one has been diſpoſſeſſed, or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith reſtore them to him; and if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, let the matter be done away by the five and twenty barons, hereafter ſpoken of, for the preſervation of the peace.

LXI. "As for all thoſe things, of which any perſon has, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite, till the term uſually allowed the croiſes; excepting thoſe things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inqueſt hath been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cauſe full juſtice to be adminiſtered therein."

LXII. "The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for diſafforeſting the foreſts, which Henry our father, or our brother Richard hath afforeſted; and for the wardſhip of the lands which are in another's fee, in the ſame manner as we have hitherto enjoyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and for the abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee ſays he has a right; and when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we ſhould not perform it, we will immediately do full juſtice to all the complainants in this behalf."

LXIII. "No man ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other perſon than her huſband."

LXIV. "All unjuſt and illegal fines made with us, and all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly, and contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely forgiven, or elſe left to the deciſion of the five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the foreſaid Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he ſhall think fit to take along with him: and, if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs, notwithſtanding, ſhall go on without him. But ſo that, if one or more of the foreſaid five and twenty barons be plaintiffs in the ſame cauſe, they ſhall be ſet aſide, as to what concerns this particular affair, and others be choſen in their room, out of the ſaid five and twenty, and ſworn by the reſt to decide that matter."

LXV. "If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, they ſhall immediately be reſtored to them. And if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, the matter ſhall he determined in the Marche, by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England, according to the law of England; for tenements in Wales, according to the law of Wales; for the tenements of the Marche, according to the law of the Marche: the ſame ſhall the Welſh do to us and our ſubjects."

LXVI. "As for all thoſe things, of which any Welſhman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſſeiſed or deprived, by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are poſſeſſed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we ſhall have reſpite till the time generally allowed the croiſes; excepting things about which a ſuit is depending, or whereof an inqueſt has been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return, or if we ſtay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full juſtice, according to the laws of the Welſh, and of the parts beforementioned."

LXVII. "We will, without delay, diſmiſs the ſon of Llewellin, and all the Welſh hoſtages, and releaſe them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preſervation of the peace."

LXVIII. "We ſhall treat with Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the reſtoring his ſiſter and hoſtages, and his right and liberties, in the ſame form and manner as we ſhall do to the reſt of our barons of England; unleſs by the charters which we have from his father, William, late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwiſe; and this ſhall be left to the determination his peers in our court."

LXIX. "All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liberties which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, we ſhall obſerve, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents."

LXX. "And whereas, for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the diſcord that has ariſen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforeſaid; willing to render them firm and laſting, we do give and grant our ſubjects the under-written ſecurity; namely, that the barons may chuſe five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient, who ſhall take care, with all their might, to hold and obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and, by this our preſent charter, confirmed. So as that, if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall in any circumſtance fail in the performance of them towards any perſon, or ſhall break through any of theſe articles of peace and ſecurity, and the offence is notified to four barons, choſen out of the five and twenty fore-mentioned, the ſaid barons ſhall repair to us, or our juſticiary, if we are out of the realm, and laying open the grievance, ſhall petition to have it redreſſed without delay; and, if it is not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redreſſed by our juſticiary, within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our juſticiary, if we ſhould be out of the realm, the four barons aforeſaid ſhall lay the cauſe before the reſt of the five and twenty barons; and the ſaid five and twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs us all the ways poſſible; namely, by ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redreſſed according to their pleaſure, ſaving harmleſs our own perſon, and the perſons of our queen and children; and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall obey us as before."

LXXI. "And any perſon whomſoever in the kingdom, may ſwear that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty barons aforeſaid, in the execution of the premiſes, and that he will diſtreſs us jointly with them, to the utmoſt of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that ſhall pleaſe to ſwear to them, and never ſhall hinder any perſon from taking the ſame oath."

LXXII. "As for all thoſe of our ſubjects, who will not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the five and twenty barons, in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will iſſue our order to make them take the ſame oath, as is aforeſaid."

LXXIII. "And if any one of the five and twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way, from carrying the things aforeſaid into execution, the reſt of the ſaid five and twenty barons may chuſe another in his room, at their own diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn in, in like manner as the reſt."

LXIV. "In all things that are committed to the execution of theſe five and twenty barons, if, when they are all aſſembled together, they ſhould happen to diſagree about any matter, or ſome of them, when ſummoned, will not, or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of thoſe who are preſent, ſhall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and twenty had given their conſent; and the foreſaid five and twenty ſhall ſwear, that all the premiſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, and cauſe with all their power to be obſerved."

LXXV. "And we will not, by ourſelves, or by any other, procure any thing, whereby any of theſe conceſſions and liberties be revoked and leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever make uſe of it, either by ourſelves, or any other."

LXXVI. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath ariſen between us and our ſubjects, of the clergy and laity, from the firſt breaking out of the diſſenſion between us, we do fully remit, and forgive. Moreover, all treſpaſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſenſion, from Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, till the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive."

LXXVII. "We have moreover granted them our letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry, lord archbiſhop of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, as alſo of maſter Pandolf, for the ſecurity and conceſſions aforeſaid."

LXXVIII. "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom, have and hold all the foreſaid liberties, rights and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforeſaid."

LXXIX. "It is alſo ſworn as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved."

"Given under our hand, in the preſence of the witneſſes above-named, and many others, in the meadow called Runnemede, between Windeleſore and Staines, the fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

The above tranſlation is made from an original manuſcript now in the Britiſh Muſeum: But the paſſages comprehended between parentheſis, are taken from the copy given by Matthew Paris. This charter is more noble, more expreſs, and more extenſive, than any other inſtrument of its kind in the world. It decides all diſputes, removes all doubts, with regard to the compact between the king and his people: for here that contract is not underſtood only, but expreſſed; not looſely implied, but poſitively ſtipulated: it was obtained not by repreſentation, but by the collected body of the Engliſh nation; and is perhaps the only inſtance on record, when a king talked and treated thus publickly with his free ſubjects.

The foreſt laws had long afforded juſt ſource for complaint; and the Engliſh barons were determined not to omit ſo favourable an opportunity of removing, for the future, the cauſes which gave riſe to an infinite number of vexatious ſuits. Accordingly they inſiſted upon the king's ſigning a charter, by which the rights of the people would be aſcertained. The following tranſlation of this charter is made from an original manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum.

## The CHARTER of FORESTS, granted by king John to his ſubjects in the year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. Know ye that, for the honour of God, and the health of our ſoul and the ſouls of all our anceſtors and ſucceſſors, and for the exaltation of holy church, and for the amendment of our kingdom, we have of our free and good will, given and granted, for us and our heirs, theſe liberties hereafter ſpecified, to be had and obſerved in our kingdom of England for ever."

I. "Imprimis, All the foreſts made by our grandfather, king Henry, ſhall be viewed by honeſt and lawful men; and if he turned any other woods into foreſts, to the damage of him whoſe wood it was, it ſhall forthwith be laid out again and disforeſted. And if he turned his own proper wood into foreſt, they ſhall remain ſo, ſaving the common of paſture and other things in the ſaid foreſt, to ſuch as were formerly wont to have it.

II. "Is the LII. and LV. of the Great Charter put into one chapter.

III. "The archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants who have woods in foreſts, ſhall have their woods as they had them at the time of the firſt coronation of our grandfather king Henry, ſo as they ſhall be diſcharged for ever of all purpreſtures, waſtes, and aſſarts made in thoſe woods, after that time to the beginning of the ſecond year of our coronation; and thoſe who, for the time to come, ſhall make waſte, purpreſture, or aſſarts in thoſe woods, without our licence, ſhall anſwer for them.

IV. "Our inſpectors, or viewers, ſhall go through the foreſt, to make inſpection, as it was wont to be at the time of the firſt coronation of our ſaid grandfather, king Henry, and not otherwiſe.

V. "The inquiſition or view for lawing of dogs which are kept within the foreſt, for the future, ſhall be when the view is made; that is, every three years, and then ſhall be done by the view and teſtimony of lawful men, and not otherwiſe. And he whoſe dog at ſuch time ſhall be found unlawed, ſhall be fined three ſhillings, and for the future no bail ſhall be taken for lawing. But ſuch lawing ſhall be according to the common aſſize, namely, the three claws of the dog's fore foot ſhall be cut off, or the ball of the foot taken out. And from henceforward dogs ſhall not be lawed, unleſs in ſuch places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.

VI. "No foreſter, or bedal, for the future, ſhall make any ale-ſhots, or collect any ſheaves of corn, or hay, or any kind of grain, or lambs, or pigs, nor ſhall make any gathering whatſoever, but by the view and oath of twelve inſpectors; and when they make their view, ſo many foreſters ſhall be appointed to keep the foreſts as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

VII. "No ſwainmote, for the time to come, ſhall be holden in our kingdom oftener than thrice a year; that is to ſay, in the beginning of the fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the agiſters come to agiſt the demeſne woods; and about the feaſt of St. Martin, when our agiſters are to receive their pannage; and in theſe two ſwainmotes the foreſters, verdurers, and agiſters, ſhall meet, and no other by compulſion or diſtreſs: and the third ſwainmote ſhall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen days before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, concerning the fawning of our dogs, and at this ſwainmote ſhall meet the foreſters and verdurers, and no other by compulſion.

VIII. "And furthermore, every forty days throughout the year, the verdurers and foreſters ſhall meet to view the attachments of the foreſts, as well of vert as of veniſon, by preſentment of the foreſters themſelves; and they who committed the offences ſhall be forced to appear before them: but the aforeſaid ſwainmotes ſhall be holden but in ſuch counties as they are wont to be holden.

IX. "Every freeman ſhall agiſt his wood in the foreſt at his pleaſure, and ſhall receive his pannage.

X. "We grant alſo, that every freeman may drive his hogs through our demeſne woods, freely and without impediment, and may agiſt them in his own woods, or elſewhere, as he will: and if the hogs of any freeman ſhall remain one night in our foreſts, he ſhall not be troubled ſo as to loſe any thing for it.

XI. "No man, for the time to come, ſhall loſe life or limb for taking our veniſon; but if any one be ſeized and convicted of taking veniſon, he ſhall be grievouſly fined, if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he ſhall lie in our priſon a year and a day; and if, after that time, he can find ſureties, he ſhall be releaſed; if not, he ſhall abjure our realm of England.

XII. "It ſhall be lawful for every archbiſhop, biſhop, earl, or baron, coming to us by our command, and paſſing through our foreſt, to take one or two deer, by view of the foreſter, if preſent; if not, he ſhall cauſe a horn to be ſounded, leſt he ſhould ſeem to do this privately: alſo, in their return, it ſhall be lawful for them to do the ſame thing.

XIII. "Every freeman, for the future, may erect a mill in his own wood, or upon his own land which he hath in the foreſt; or make a warren, or pond, a marle-pit or ditch, or turn it into arable, without the covert in the arable land, ſo as it be not to the detriment of any neighbour.

XIV. "Every freeman may have in his woods ayries of hawks, ſparhawks, falcons, eagles, and herons; and they ſhall have likewiſe the honey which ſhall be found in their woods.

XV. "No foreſter, for the future, who is not a foreſter in fee, paying rent for his office, ſhall take cheminage; that is to ſay, for a cart two-pence during half a year, and for the other half year two-pence; and for a horſe that carries burdens, for half a year a halfpenny, and for the other half year a halfpenny; and then only of thoſe who come as buyers, out of their bailiwick, to buy underwood, timber, bark, or charcoal, to carry it to ſell in other places where they will; and for the time to come, there ſhall be no cheminage taken for any other cart or carriage-horſe, unleſs in thoſe places where anciently it was wont and ought to be taken: but they who carry wood, bark, or coal, upon their backs to ſell, though they get their livelihood by it, ſhall for the future pay no cheminage for paſſage through the woods of other men: no cheminage ſhall be given to our foreſters, but only in our own woods.

XVI. "All perſons outlawed for offences committed in our foreſts, from the time of king Henry, our grandfather, until our firſt coronation, may reverſe their outlawries without impediment; but ſhall find pledges, that, for the future, they will not forfeit to us in our foreſt.

XVII. "No caſtellan or other perſon ſhall hold pleas of the foreſt, whether concerning vert or veniſon; but every foreſter in fee ſhall attach pleas of the foreſt, as well concerning vert as veniſon, and ſhall preſent the pleas, or offences, to the verdurers of the ſeveral counties; and when they ſhall be enrolled and ſealed under the ſeals of the verdurers, they ſhall be preſented to the chief foreſter, when he ſhall come into thoſe parts to hold pleas of the foreſt, and ſhall be determined before him.

XVIII. "And all the cuſtoms and liberties aforeſaid, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards all our vaſſals of our kingdom, as well laics as clerks, ſhall obſerve as much as belongs to them towards their vaſſals."

But the barons well knew that it was not enough to procure theſe charters: they were too well acquainted with the ſanguinary character of John, not to know that every precaution in their power would be neceſſary for their ſupport againſt his anger, and to oblige him to obſerve the articles of theſe two inſtruments of liberty. Twenty-five of their own number were therefore elected, under the title of Conſervators of the liberties of the kingdom, and inveſted with a power almoſt abſolute. Every man in the nation was obliged, under a very ſevere penalty, to take the oath of obedience to them. Even a power of admoniſhing the king, with regard to any violation that might be made in the great charter, was delegated to them; and in caſe he refuſed to redreſs the grievance, they were empowered to take up arms againſt him, in concert with the prelates and nobility, who formed the national council.

John made no objection to this ignominious ſubmiſſion. He ſubmitted, with great tranquillity, to the moſt humiliating indignities. He even ſent writs to his ſheriffs, ordering them to oblige every perſon to ſwear obedience to the conſervators. But notwithſtanding all this ſeeming deſire of acting in conformity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to obſerve that treaty any longer than the neceſſity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the ſtorm that roared around him; and as ſoon as the threatening blaſt was over, determined to reſume the power he had loſt. He was principally encouraged in this deſign by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his perſon. They inſinuated, that it was ſhameful for a king to make any conceſſions to his ſubjects, and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. Theſe inſinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to ſhake off the yoke of compulſion, ſo galling to his mind. He became ſullen and melancholy, ſeparated himſelf from the company of his courtiers, and at laſt retired privately by night, attended only by ſeven of his friends, into the Iſle of Wight, where he meditated the moſt fatal vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſollicited the pope to abſolve him from all the engagements he had entered into with his barons; and ſent ſeveral emiſſaries into France, Germany, and Flanders, to engage a number of Brabanders in his ſervice.

The pope exerted all his power in favour of his vaſſal. He iſſued a bull, by which the great charter was condemned and annulled, as derogatory to the holy ſee. Both the king and the barons were prohibited from paying any regard to its articles: the oaths which had been adminiſtered were annulled, and the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt every one that perſevered in maintaining the authority of the charter of liberties. But the thunder of the Vatican, in temporal affairs, had now loſt great part of its force; and Innocent III. had the mortification to ſee even Langton, whom he himſelf had placed on the archiepiſcopal throne of Canterbury, refuſe to promulgate his cenſures. Exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this oppoſition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmoſt power to promote the intereſt of the holy ſee, the pope ſuſpended Langton from the exerciſe of his functions. But this act of papal vengeance did not produce the deſired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, diſcovered a noble ardour for their liberty and independence.

John's emiſſaries had been very ſucceſsful on the continent; and engaged a powerful army, wholly compoſed of ſoldiers of fortune, in the ſervice of their maſter. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cauſe to gain an independent fortune; and John had promiſed them the eſtates of his turbulent barons. As ſoon as advice arrived of the embarkation of theſe forces, John ventured to take off the maſk; he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his ſubjects; declared the great charter null and void, and the barons, who had extorted that inſtrument from him, rebels and traitors. His foreign forces landed at Dover; and John, putting himſelf at their head, ſeemed determined to ſatiate his cruelty. He marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he paſſed to a ſmoaking deſart. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates, tenants, manors, houſes, and parks of the barons. Every thing was levelled in the duſt; and cruelties, ſuch as would ſhock even ſavages themſelves, were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

A. D. 1216. Many of the northern barons, unable to meet the foreign mercenaries in the open field, fled for protection to Alexander, king of Scotland. John followed them into that kingdom, burnt Haddington, Dunbar, and ſeveral other towns; but receiving advice that Alexander had raiſed a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, the puſillanimous monarch thought proper to retreat, well knowing that a defeat muſt be fatal. He had made himſelf maſter of moſt of the caſtles in England, and now determined to beſiege London, the only place of conſequence that held out in ſupport of independence.

The barons, now driven to deſpair, had recourſe to a deſperate method for relief. They applied to the French for aſſiſtance. Saher, earl of Wincheſter, and Robert Fitz-Walter, were ſent to the court of Philip; and offered the ſceptre of England to his ſon Lewis, if he would aſſiſt them with a body of forces againſt their enraged monarch. They aſſerted, and, indeed, with reaſon, that John had depoſed himſelf, by ſubmitting an independent crown to the pope.

The ambitious ſoul of Philip could not reſiſt ſo noble an offer, but he determined to act with caution. The pope's legate exerted all his influence to render the negotiation abortive. He threatened Philip with the thunder of the Vatican, if he attacked the patrimony of St. Peter. But the dread of the papal cenſures was not ſufficient to deter the French monarch from procuring that crown for his ſon, which he himſelf had ſome time ſince accepted from the hands of the pontiff. He, however, exacted twenty-five hoſtages from the barons, as a ſecurity for their fidelity; and, on their being delivered, he ſent over his ſon at the head of a formidable army.

The arrival of Lewis put a final period to John's ſucceſs. The greater part of his foreign troops, who were chiefly natives of France, now deſerted him, declaring that they could not fight againſt the heir of their lawful ſovereign. John was encamped near Dover when Lewis landed in the iſle of Thanet; but inſtead of endeavouring to attack the enemy, before the French forces could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Wincheſter. Conſcious guilt and jealous diſtruſt benumbed all the faculties of his ſoul, and diſarmed him at the very inſtant he ſtood in need of more than common reſolution.

The unmanly fears of John acted more powerfully in favour of Lewis than a numerous army; ſo that he marched to the capital without meeting with any oppoſition. He entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people; and the barons and citizens immediately ſwore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, ſolemnly promiſed to reſtore all their eſtates, and confirm the ancient privileges of the kingdom.

Though Lewis was maſter of the capital, and at the head of a numerous army, innumerable difficulties ſtill remained to be ſurmounted, before he could make himſelf maſter of England. Moſt of the maritime places were in the intereſt of John, who had favoured the ſea-ports with many valuable privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was an alarming circumſtance to Lewis, who conſidered his being maſter of ſome convenient harbour as a matter of the laſt importance. Deſtitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, be ſecure. He therefore attempted to make himſelf maſter of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive; the caſtle defied his power. He therefore carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suſſex, which he reduced with great facility. But William de Coldingham, at the head of a thouſand archers, retiring into the wilds and faſtneſſes of that country, ſupported himſelf againſt all the power of the French army.

John was not idle. He fortified and furniſhed with proviſions ſeveral ſea-ports; flattering himſelf that the bolt of papal thunder, which was now ready to be launched againſt Philip and his ſon, would defeat all their ſchemes, and reſtore him to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. He was miſtaken. Innocent, indeed, fulminated the ſentence of excommunication againſt both, but the effect fell far ſhort of John's ſanguinary expectations. The French biſhops declared the excommunication of Philip void, and Lewis paid little regard to the papal cenſure.

He was more deſirous of procuring a proper ſea-port than of guarding againſt the effects of Innocent's ſentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and inveſted that important fortreſs. But Lewis found the attempt more difficult than he imagined. Hubert de Burgh, the governor, was a brave and vigilant officer, and being at the head of a reſolute garriſon, made ſuch furious ſallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a conſiderable diſtance, and turn the ſiege into a blockade.

This miſcarriage alarmed Lewis, eſpecially as the barons appeared leſs active in his ſervice: but he was too haughty to conciliate their eſteem by careſſes, and wanted prudence to foreſee the conſequences of his neglect. He did not even endeavour to conceal his diſguſt; he excluded them from his councils and confidence; and inſtead of reſtoring the nobility to their honours and eſtates, he beſtowed all his favours upon his own countrymen. The barons now ſaw their error, in calling in a foreign force to their aſſiſtance; the people complained of the oppreſſions exerciſed by their new maſters; and every thing wore the appearance of freſh diſturbances. About the ſame time it was rumoured, that the viſcount of Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, fell dangerouſly ill, and perceiving himſelf tottering on the brink of eternity, he ſent for ſome of his friends among the Engliſh barons, to warn them of their danger. He told them that Lewis had formed the deteſtable deſign of exterminating them with all their families, and beſtowing their eſtates and titles on his foreign favourites. This report, whether true or falſe, acted powerfully on the Engliſh barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Saliſbury, and ſeveral others of the principal nobility determined, if poſſible, to elude the force of the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction. They ſent private information to John of their intention of joining his army, and obtained a promiſe of a free pardon.

Animated with the hopes of being joined by his nobility, John exerted himſelf in collecting an army, and determined to bring on a deciſive battle with the invader of his country. But in marching over the waſhes from Lynn into Lincolnſhire, at an improper time of tide, the ſea ruſhed in upon him with ſuch violence and rapidity, that he loſt the greater part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, baggage and regalia, he himſelf eſcaping with difficulty. He reached Swineſhead-abbey, but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the conſtant hurry and perturbation of his ſpirits, added to the affliction he felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. He was carried in a litter to Newark caſtle, where he paid the debt of nature on the eighteenth of October, in the fifty-firſt year of his age and the eighteenth of his reign.

The character of this prince, when painted by the pencil of truth, will perhaps appear more odious, than when drawn even by the pen of envy. He was deeply practiſed in almoſt every vice, and a ſtranger to almoſt every virtue. The murder of his nephew, the infringement of public property, and the violation of private honour and domeſtic peace, have conſigned his memory to eternal ignominy. Inſolent in proſperity, and raſh in adverſity, puſillanimous in war, and tyrannical in peace, this prince was never beloved by his people; he could hardly boaſt of having made a friend, But his reign, however wicked, gave occaſion to thoſe excellent charters which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. His tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and indolence enabled them to obtain thoſe ineſtimable rights and privileges which are at once the glory and ſecurity of Engliſhmen.

Literature made very little progreſs during this period. No diſcoveries were made in the ſciences; the arts had no patrons among the great. The little learning that ſubſiſted was confined to the cloiſter, which was at once the habitation of the ſtudious, and the repoſitory of their writings. Nor were even the monks remarkable for their learning. A few of them indeed wrote with ſome degree of eloquence, but none equalled William of Malmſbury, who has been already mentioned in a former period. The following are the moſt eminent for their writings, and perhaps the only perſons of learning whoſe names deſerve to be handed down to poſterity.

Earlred, Æthelred, or Aldred, ſurnamed Rievallenſis, was abbot of Rievaulx, or Rieveſbury, in Lincolnſhire; and greatly eſteemed by the moſt reſpectable perſons of his time. He wrote the life of Edward the Confeſſor, the hiſtory of the battle of the ſtandard, and the genealogy of the kings of England. He died in 1166.

William, a monk of Newburgh, generally called Gulielmus Neubrigenſis, was no elegant writer, if the times in which he lived be conſidered. In his hiſtory, which ends with the year 1197, he fully proved that Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory, which had till then been looked upon with a kind of barbarous reverence, is no better than an idle romance. The time of his death is uncertain.

John, prior of Hexham, wrote a continuation of the hiſtory of Simeon of Durham, and brought it down to the year 1154. He appears to have been a much better hiſtorian than Simeon himſelf, and to have wrote from a clearer evidence. He flouriſhed in the reign of Richard I. but the time of his death is not known.

Roger Hoveden, was chaplain to Henry II. He wrote a book of Annals which commenced in 732, and was carried down as low as the reign of king John. Theſe annals are written in a very pleaſing ſtyle, and abound with valuable materials for the civil as well as the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of thoſe times. We have no account of the time of his death; but it is believed to have happened ſoon after the concluſion of his annals.

Ralph de Diceto, dean of St. Pauls, flouriſhed in the reign of king John. He wrote a chronicle of the Britiſh kings from Bute to Cadwallader, and from Hengiſt to Harold. He was alſo the author of the Chronological Abbreviations. They relate chiefly to eccleſiaſtical affairs, and end at the conqueſt. Beſides theſe he wrote a book entitled Imagines Hiſtoriarum, or Images of Hiſtory. This work conſiſts chiefly of ſhort hiſtorical anecdotes, with a wild unintereſting digreſſion upon the wars that happened between parents and children in all ages, occaſioned by the difference between Henry II. and his ſons. He died about the year 1205.

John Brompton, abbot of Sorewall, in Yorkſhire, wrote a chronicle of the Engliſh tranſactions from the year 588 to 1198. This work is valuable only for containing a large collection of Anglo-Saxon hiſtory, faithfully extracted, and agreeing perfectly with our moſt authentic records. There is, indeed, a mixture of romance and improbability in many of the facts he relates; but this ſhould be attributed rather to the falſe taſte of the age than of the writer. He died in the year 1210.

John Wallingford, ſuppoſed to have been abbot of St. Albans, wrote a ſhort chronicle of the progreſs of the Saxons and Danes in England. This work is ſtill preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, but wretchedly mutilated and defaced.

Gervaſe, a monk of Canterbury, flouriſhed in the reign of king John, and is ſaid to have been a very learned antiquarian. He wrote a large hiſtory of the Britons, Saxons, and Normans, from their origin to the reign of king John; together with an account of the diviſions of Old Britain, its monaſteries and epiſcopal ſeats. The greater part of this work is loſt; but the parts that ſtill remain, which include the reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I. ſufficiently prove the whole to have been a very valuable performance.

Theſe are the principal writers that flouriſhed in the reigns of Henry II. Stephen, Richard I. and John; a period very remarkable, and great part of it devoted to war and tumult. The torch of diſcord was lighted up at the death of Henry II. and continued to diſſeminate its baleful influence till the death of king John. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ſciences were little cultivated during that period. When the peace of a kingdom is deſtroyed, it is in vain to expect the produce of tranquil retirement.

The commerce of England was alſo at a low ebb during this period. It is well known, that the Flemings and Italians were in poſſeſſion of the two moſt important branches. Flanders was the grand market of Europe for all woollen manufactures, and Italy for ſilk; and it is highly probable, that with the habits, manners, cuſtoms, and language of the Normans, we likewiſe imported their manufactures; for the Engliſh were too much engaged in civil wars, and ſo often called off from attending to the arts of peace, by their lords, to whom they owed military ſervice, that nothing but wars and tumults, civil diſcord, and unnatural rebellions, engaged their attention. Coaches were, however, firſt introduced during the reign of Henry II. but not the art of conſtructing them; and the Jews firſt practiſed that grand article of commerce, ſo well known by the appellation of bills of exchange. Neceſſity ſeems to have been the mother of that noble invention. The Jews being, at this period, driven from one ſtate to another, as avarice or enthuſiaſm directed, found out this method of ſecreting their riches, and of tranſporting them with eaſe from one country to another, as ſoon as they found the impoſitions of any prince, under whom they lived, too heavy for them to ſupport; and it was the vice of the times to oppreſs theſe miſerable wanderers, and to ſeize at once their perſons and effects on the moſt frivolous pretences.

The Normans, fluſhed with victory, ſought only how to paſs away their time in mirth and ruſtic feſtivity; and employed almoſt all their intervals of leiſure in hunting, feaſting, and women. Nor is their exceſſive licentiouſneſs in this reſpect at all ſurpriſing, for the very laws tended to promote incontinence. Every violation of chaſtity had its fixed price, which was not beyond the reach of a ſubſtantial yeoman. The lewd lives of the clergy, who cohabited publickly with concubines, tended ſtill farther to debauch the age. Sometimes the archbiſhops, at other times the ſovereigns, endeavoured to reform the clergy, but without effect. It was impoſſible to correct the enormities of eccleſiaſtics, while ſuperſtition blinded the eyes of the people, and induced them to believe, that what conſtituted a crime in a layman, was a virtue in a prieſt.

# BOOK VII.

## From the acceſſion of Henry III. to the death of Edward II.

## HENRY III. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

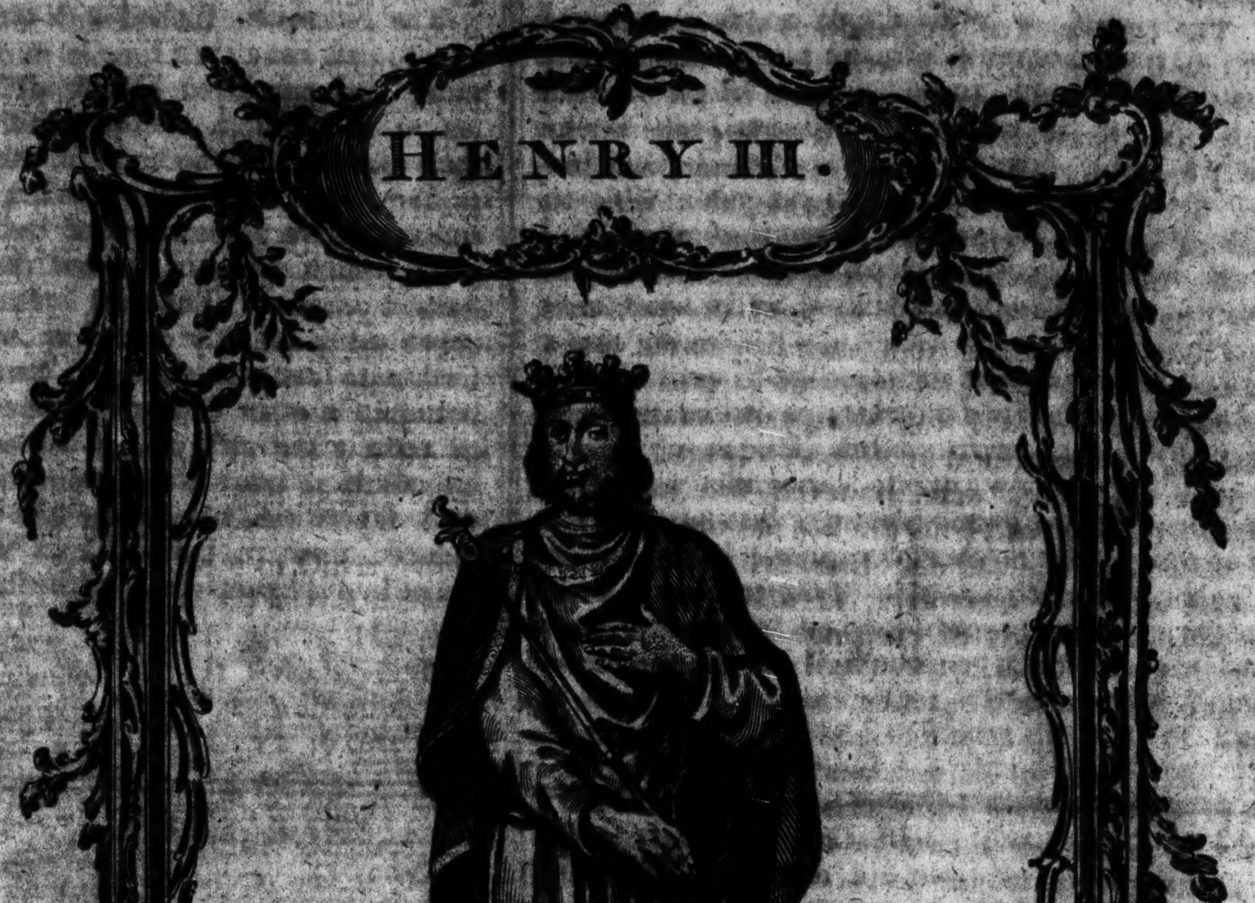
A.D. 1216. ON the death of king John, the crown fell, by lineal ſucceſſion, to his eldeſt ſon Henry, then only nine years of age; and, conſequently, unable to hold the reins of government at a time when the utmoſt ſteadineſs, intrepidity, and precaution, were abſolutely neceſſary. Lewis, from this circumſtance, prognoſticated the ſucceſs of his enterprize. But he was miſtaken: what he conſidered as a misfortune to the royal party, proved the moſt favourable accident that could poſſibly have happened. The fidelity, prudence, and courage of Pembroke, earl-marſhal of England, nobly ſtemmed the current of misfortune, and delivered the kingdom from becoming a province to France. He was inveſted with the military command in conſequence of his poſt, and ſeemed born to ſupport the languiſhing conſtitution of his country. He ſeized the helm of government, and held it with ſuch virtues and abilities, that he weathered the tempeſt, and at laſt reſtored tranquillity to the ſtate. He well knew that no ſucceſs could be expected till a mutual confidence between the king and his barons was reſtored: this was, therefore, his firſt care; and this was greatly facilitated by the tyrannical behaviour of Lewis, who had ſufficiently exaſperated the barons, and they now wanted only a pretence to deſert his ſervice.

This was too favourable an opportunity to be loſt, and Pembroke accordingly ſummoned a council of the barons at Glouceſter. The meeting was very numerous; and the marſhal, as ſoon as the members were ſeated, entered the aſſembly, leading young Henry by the hand. The barons were pleaſed at the ſight of the prince: Pembroke perceived it, and cried out, "Behold your king!" A pauſe ſucceeded; and the earl thus addreſſed the aſſembly:

"My dear friends and countrymen, though we juſtly oppoſed the father of this young prince, on account of his wicked and miſtaken conduct; yet this child is guiltleſs of his father's errors; and as the puniſhment of offences ought only to be inflicted on their authors, it would be unjuſt for us to make the ſon bear the iniquity of his father. It is our duty and intereſt to forget our animoſities, and in compaſſion to his tender years, unite to ſupport him on the throne of his anceſtors. Let us exert our utmoſt efforts to drive Lewis and all his followers out of this oppreſſed country. By this noble, this generous action, we ſhall ſave our kingdom from becoming the reproach of its neighbours, and break the yoke of a debaſing and foreign ſlavery."

This addreſs carried conviction to the hearts of the barons. They had for ſome time bewailed the miſeries of their country, and readily joined in ſupport of their liberty and independence. An univerſal acclamation of joy broke out in the aſſembly; the members cried out with one voice, "Let Henry be made king!"

The ceremony of the coronation was accordingly performed, in preſence of the pope's legate, and Henry ſwore fealty to the pontiff, and renewed that homage, to which his father had already ſubjected the kingdom. The barons were perſuaded that this precaution was then neceſſary; the aſſiſtance of the pope was,


HENRY III.
J. Wale del.
Walker Sculp.

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was, at that time, of the utmoſt importance, and the ſucceſs of the enterprize depended wholly upon unanimity. The earl of Pembroke was conſtituted guardian to the young king, and protector of the kingdom. The barons could not have made a better choice. Pembroke was adorned with all the virtues and abilities of a conſummate ſtateſman and ſoldier. A general amneſty was immediately promiſed to all who ſhould return to their obedience, and acknowledge Henry III. for their lawful ſovereign.

This prudent meaſure, and the known probity of the regent, had the deſired effect upon many of the barons who ſtill adhered to Lewis. They reflected, that the cauſe which induced them to take up arms no longer exiſted; that oppoſition was now unnatural rebellion; and that the only method they could purſue with propriety, was that of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign. The pope's legate greatly aſſiſted in bringing about this deſireable effect. He cauſed the ſentence of excommunication to be thundered from the pulpit of every church in the kingdom againſt Lewis and his adherents. This cenſure, however deſpiſed in the firſt tranſports of reſentment, many of the barons who ſtill adhered to Lewis, wiſhed, in the moments of cool reflection, to be diſannulled, and they, by that means, re-admitted into the boſom of the church.

Lewis, when he firſt laid ſiege to Dover, vowed not to abandon the undertaking till he was maſter of the place. He knew not the abilities of Hubert de Burg, who commanded in that fortreſs, and rendered all the attempts of the French abortive. No means had been left untried by Lewis to corrupt the fidelity of that gallant officer; he tempted him with all the honours a ſubject could wiſh to enjoy; but all his offers were rejected; and Hubert declared, that he would defend the caſtle as long as one of the garriſon was left alive. At laſt, Lewis, in deſpair, raiſed the ſiege, and led his army back to the capital.

A. D. 1217. The pope continued to exert all his power in favour of the young king; and Lewis found it neceſſary to paſs over to the continent, in order to procure a freſh ſupply of men and money, and avert the thunder of the Vatican; the pontiff having declared, that he propoſed to excommunicate him in full conſiſtory. Pembroke omitted not to take advantage of his abſence, to prevail upon the barons to return to their duty. He laboured not in vain; many of the moſt powerful barons joined the royal ſtandard, and were followed by ſuch numbers, that all the forces he could raiſe in France were not equal to the deſertion from his army.

Pembroke now took the field, and detached a body of forces to inveſt Mount Sorrel, in Leiceſterſhire, the garriſon having committed the moſt dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. Lewis, who knew the conſequence of that fortreſs, detached an army of ſix hundred knights and twenty thouſand infantry, under the command of the count de la Perche, a marſhal of France, to raiſe the ſiege. Upon his approach, the Engliſh, who were too weak to venture a battle, retired to Nottingham; and the count, confident from the ſuperiority of his numbers, reſolved to attack the caſtle of Lincoln.

Pembroke was alarmed: the caſtle of Lincoln was a place of too much conſequence to loſe, without making one effort for its relief. A ſummons was therefore iſſued by the protector to all the king's tenants, ordering them to join the royal army at Newark upon Trent. The pope's legate not only excommunicated Lewis by name, but alſo declared, that all who embarked in defence of Henry ſhould be intitled to the ſame privileges as thoſe who undertook a cruſade. He himſelf aſſumed the croſs, and the biſhops and barons drew the temporal ſword. This zeal of the clergy was of the utmoſt ſervice to the royal cauſe: the people flocked with the utmoſt alacrity to the protector's ſtandard, inſpired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic ardour which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs; and Pembroke had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf at the head of a noble and reſolute army, inflamed with a deſire of being led againſt an excommunicated enemy.

The French general was informed of the great increaſe of the Protector's army, and determined to make a deciſive aſſault upon the caſtle, the garriſon of which was by this time reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and to act on the defenſive againſt Pembroke's forces. Theſe meaſures proved the deſtruction of the French army. Fulk de Briant, a famous partizan, found means to enter the caſtle by a poſtern-gate, at the head of a choſen body of archers, and made ſeveral ſallies to amuſe the beſiegers; while the royal army vigorouſly attacked one of the gates of the city, carried it by ſtorm, and entered the place ſword in hand. The French perceived their danger, and made a noble defence; but the freſh troops continuing to pour in through the avenue, a total rout enſued. The count of Perche was killed in the ſtreets, and moſt of his army cut to pieces.

Lewis was aſtoniſhed when he received information of this fatal defeat. He immediately ſhut himſelf up in the capital, and diſpatched a courier to his father for aſſiſtance. Philip, who was deſirous of averting the cenſure of the pope from his own kingdom, refuſed to engage openly in the defence of his ſon; but permitted Blanch, his daughter-in-law, to raiſe a powerful body of troops, and to provide a fleet of ſhips for tranſporting them into England. But they landed not in that kingdom: the French ſhips were met by the Engliſh on the coaſt of Kent, and totally defeated.

The Engliſh now repaired from all parts to the royal ſtandard; and Lewis finding all his hopes abortive, and even his own perſon in danger, he offered to conclude a peace with the Protector, by which he promiſed to evacuate the kingdom, on condition of his adherents being re-eſtabliſhed in their honours and fortunes. The terms were accepted; and Lewis returned to the continent, with the mortification of having ſeized a ſceptre he was unable to keep. Matthew Paris has aſſerted, that Lewis, by the treaty he concluded with Pembroke, became bound to employ all his influence with Philip, that Normandy, and the other tranſmarine provinces which had been wreſted from England, ſhould be reſtored; and that if he could not ſucceed with his father, he himſelf would make the reſtitution when he aſcended the throne of France.

Among all the adherents of Lewis, the clergy were the greateſt, perhaps the only ſufferers. Nothing was ſtipulated for them in the treaty: they were left entirely to the mercy of the pope, whom they had ſo highly offended, and who ſeized with eagerneſs this favourable opportunity to wreak his vengeance on them for this act of diſobedience. Many of them were depoſed, and many ſuſpended; ſome were baniſhed; and all who eſcaped puniſhment were obliged to purchaſe their pardon by paying large ſums of money to the legate. The pope always took care to be a gainer amidſt the moſt univerſal loſs and deſolation. But Innocent lived not long to enjoy the fruits of his interpoſition in favour of young Henry. He paid the debt of nature ſoon after the departure of Lewis from England, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Honorius III.

A. D. 1218. The Protector having reſtored peace to the kingdom, applied himſelf to promote the good of his country, and reconcile the minds of the people to the adminiſtration of their young king. He procured a new charter of liberties, but it differed in ſeveral particulars from that of John. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without firſt obtaining the royal conſent, were not confirmed in the charter of Henry, becauſe the ſtate had already experienced the inconveniencies ariſing from them. The obligation by which John had reſtrained himſelf from buying aids and ſcutages, without the conſent of the great council of the nation, was alſo omitted in this inſtrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unleſs they were evidently reaſonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did he content himſelf with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he cauſed writs, in the king's name, to be iſſued to the ſheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all foreſts, agreeable to the intention of the charter granted for that purpoſe by king John; and ſome time after, he ſent the chief juſticiary of the foreſts on a circuit through the kingdom, to ſee that the orders were fully executed, and the bounds of the foreſts diſtinctly marked. At the ſame time, orders were given to demoliſh all the new caſtles that had been erected ſince the beginning of the diſputes between the late king and his barons.

A. D. 1219. But while the Protector was thus exerting all his abilities to render the nation happy, death put a final period to his labours and his life. The nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of this great man, whoſe valour, integrity, and prudence, had broke the yoke of foreign ſlavery, and reſtored the liberties of Engliſhmen. He was ſucceeded by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover caſtle, was created chief juſticiary of the kingdom. The counſels of the latter were conformable to his character, that of a great, a prudent, and a virtuous man. They were for ſome time followed; and had he poſſeſſed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not have ſo greatly regretted the loſs of that eminent patriot. But his power was not ſufficient to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the barons, who were too ſtrong to be reſtrained by laws under a minority; and whoſe rapacity induced them to uſurp the demeſnes of the crown, as well as the poſſeſſions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied; and the government was perpetually employed in reducing inſurrections, or executing criminals.

A. D. 1222. A wreſtling match between the citizens of London and Weſtminſter occaſioned a violent riot. It ſeems that the Londoners came off victorious; which ſo exaſperated the ſteward of Weſtminſter, that he determined to revenge the affront; but in order to conceal his intention, propoſed a ſecond trial. The Londoners accepted the offer, and came to the field to decide the conteſt; but inſtead of a fair trial, they were attacked by the ſteward and his followers, armed with clubs and other offenſive weapons, and obliged to retreat into the city. Exaſperated at this treatment, the Londoners, headed by one Conſtantine Fitz Arnulph, a bold, factious citizen, repaired to Weſtminſter, where they committed many dreadful outrages, and demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbot and ſteward. Hubert, in order to put a ſtop to ſuch riotous proceedings, ventured to puniſh the leaders, without bringing them to a trial. This ſtep, which was a direct infringement of the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with juſtice, conceived themſelves injured, and they demanded a new confirmation of the great charter. A general council was called, and this demand of the people taken into conſideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency aſſerted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, becauſe it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeverely reprimanded the ſpeaker for his indiſcretion, as his aſſertion had a direct tendency to raiſe a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the ſame time, that the demand of the people was founded on juſtice; and that the government could not, without the moſt palpable injuſtice, diſpenſe with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted; and the parliament having granted a ſubſidy, the king iſſued orders for a new charter of confirmation. At length the biſhops, by the terror of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, obliged the barons to deliver up the fortreſſes belonging to the crown, of which they had forcibly taken poſſeſſion.

A. D. 1226. The domeſtic peace of the kingdom was hardly ſettled, before the miniſtry thought it expedient to ſummon a parliament, in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. The pope had ſent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had long been thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff obſerved, that the holy ſee having long been accuſed of ſelling her favours for money, it was the duty of all good Chriſtians to aſſiſt in removing the cauſe of ſuch a ſcandalous imputation, which flowed intirely from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England, ſhould be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation. Such aſſiſtance, it was added, would enable the popes to diſpenſe indulgences with generoſity and moderation.

This demand was treated with contempt by the Engliſh parliament; no anſwer was returned to Rome. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was more immediately intereſted, wrote to the pope, informing him, "That when the Roman ſee had procured the ſame aſſiſtance from other nations, England would follow their example; but would never eſtabliſh the precedent."

The character of Henry now began to unfold itſelf, and ſhewed too many ſymptoms of an adminiſtration feeble and tempeſtuous. He was naturally of a mild and timid diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed neither vigour of mind nor political diſcernment. His reſentments were violent and tranſitory; his attachments ſudden and deſultory: the one excited no apprehenſions; the other was not conſolidated into friendſhip. At the ſame time, his irreſolution was blended with the principles of avarice, tyranny, and oppreſſion. Little expectations of happineſs could therefore be formed from his government. The dreadful ſword of civil diſcord ſeemed ready to be drawn, and ſpread deſolation over this devoted country.

A. D. 1227. The adminiſtration of Henry was, therefore, never popular; and his actions ſoon deprived him of the affections of his ſubjects. On his obtaining the age of majority, he ſummoned a parliament at Oxford, and declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; adding, that as the great charter, and that of the foreſts, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could not conſider himſelf as legally bound by any acts or promiſes during his infancy. The members were aſtoniſhed at this declaration; and the aſſembly broke up in a manner that ſufficiently indicated, that the ſtorm of reſentment would ſoon exert its baleful power.

Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, returning from France, where he had for ſome time headed an army in Guienne, found one of his manors poſſeſſed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard inſiſted, that his pretended right ſhould be determined by his peers, and immediately diſpoſſeſſed the German. But inſtead of having recourſe to the laws of England, he poſted to court, and complained to the king of the injuſtice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himſelf any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal ſign manual, commanding a reſtitution of the eſtate. Exaſperated at ſuch treatment, the earl refuſed obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obſtinacy, told him, that he ſhould either reſtore the manor in queſtion within a limited time, or depart the kingdom. So palpable an exertion of arbitrary power in his brother rouſed the paſſions of Richard, who boldly replied, that he would appeal to the laws of his country, repeating, that the judgment of his peers only ſhould oblige him either to part with his property, or to quit the kingdom.

Henry, whoſe anger as well as friendſhip was momentary, ſoon forgot the offence, and fearing the power of Richard, who was greatly beloved by the barons, he ſubmitted to petition a reconciliation, and offered to ſettle upon him the dower of the late queen, and augment his appenage with the lands of Boulogne. The terms were accepted, and both the cauſe and the offence buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1232. The puſillanimous and tyrannical conduct of Henry had ſo highly exaſperated the barons, that they refuſed to grant him the ſubſidies required. The court of Rome had taken advantage of the king's weakneſs, and purſued the moſt unjuſt and unpopular meaſures. Many of the principal benefices in England were poſſeſſed by Italian prieſts, and one of the king's chaplains is ſaid to have held ſeven hundred livings. The prelates and lay patrons were inhibited from preſenting natives, till all the foreign clergy were ſufficiently provided for. It is no wonder, that ſo ſhameful a practice raiſed a general clamour in the kingdom. It was conſidered as a national inſult, and ſeveral aſſociations were formed for delivering the realm from ſuch ſhameful oppreſſions. The principal leader of theſe confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrrannical proceedings of the pope with deteſtation, but on being deprived by his holineſs of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign prieſts. He aſſumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to ſtrip the houſes of the Italian clergy, and diſpoſe of their effects. They continued this practice for ſome time without oppoſition, and the foreign eccleſiaſtics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Informed of theſe violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty ſtile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of his ſubjects, and reſtore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The puſillanimous ſoul of Henry was alarmed at theſe menaces of the holy father; he dreaded the effects of a papal cenſure. He ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made in the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, where thoſe riots had prevailed; and had the mortification to find, that they had been ſupported and encouraged by men of all ranks; Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary, did not eſcape ſuſpicion. At laſt Robert de Twenge, who ſcorned to diſown an action, which he thought juſtifiable, or to let any innocent perſon ſuffer on his account, appeared in the royal preſence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himſelf the leader of the confederates, who had ſtripped the houſes of the foreign prieſts; alledging, that the injuries he had received were the ſole motives for his proceedings. Pleaſed with the ingenuous confeſſion, and intrepid behaviour of this reſolute knight, who diſdained to ſuffer tamely an injury, though inflicted by the holy father himſelf, the king gave him a free pardon, and procured a reſtitution of his right to the patronage in queſtion.

But though Hubert was cleared from all ſuſpicion by the voluntary confeſſion of Twenge, yet the inconſtancy of Henry furniſhed his enemies with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonſtrances of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who hated Hubert, becauſe he had been active in oppoſing his deſtructive councils, this weak prince, inſenſible to all his ſervices, perſecuted him with ſo much fury, that he was obliged to take ſanctuary in a church; whence he afterwards eſcaped out of the kingdom. He was accuſed, among other crimes, of having had recourſe to magic in order to gain an aſcendancy over Henry, and of having ſtolen from the royal treaſury an enchanted ring, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable. Theſe accuſations, however ridiculous and abſurd they may appear at preſent, were entirely conformable to the ſtrange prejudices which then prevailed in every part of Europe.

A. D. 1233. The diſgrace of Hubert, put Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictevin by birth, in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, which he employed to the worſt of purpoſes. His temper was proud and tyrannical, and the prepoſſeſſion he entertained in favour of his own countrymen alarmed the Engliſh. The court was filled with theſe ſtrangers; and he conferred on them every office and every command in the diſpoſal of the crown. Theſe proceedings ſoon produced a general ſpirit of diſcontent, which Henry conſidered only as a confirmation of that rebellious ſpirit which Wincheſter had repreſented to be the characteriſtic of the Engliſh nobility. They were denied all acceſs to the king; and treated by the miniſter with contempt. But theſe prepoſterous methods ſerved only to increaſe the flame: all the arts of the court were inſufficient to eraſe from the minds of the Engliſh, the remembrance of the great charter of liberties.

Their patience was at laſt exhauſted, by the inſults and injuries they received from theſe inſolent ſtrangers. They formed themſelves into a body, and deputed the earl marſhal to lay their grievances before Henry. He accordingly demanded an audience, and, with the noble ſpirit of an Engliſhman, laid the complaints of the nation before the king: he beſought him not to continue laviſhing his favours upon foreigners, to the utter neglect of his natural ſubjects. Adding, that if he continued to treat their remonſtrance with neglect, both himſelf and the other nobility, would think it their duty to withdraw themſelves from his councils, where they had no power to ſupport the welfare of their country.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, who was preſent at this audience, without giving the king time to reply, anſwered the earl with unparalleled effrontery, "That it was the higheſt degree of inſolence in the earl, or any other ſubject, to pretend to dictate to his majeſty, on whom he ought to confer his favours: that both the king and his father had been ſo ill treated by the Engliſh, that the only expedient of procuring his own ſafety was that of truſting to foreigners; and that if their number in the kingdom was not already ſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to their duty, large reinforcements ſhould be procured."

The earl was aſtoniſhed; he retired without returning an anſwer, and joined in the confederacy for check-the deſpotic power, which the king, by the violent counſels of his worthleſs miniſter, ſeemed deſirous to aſſume. Henry was alarmed, and the biſhop, to gain time, adviſed him to call a parliament at London. The barons refuſed to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown, if the Poictevins were not baniſhed the kingdom. Another parliament was called, and the barons preſented themſelves dreſſed in armour, and attended by their followers. Henry now ſaw his danger, and was deſirous of a reconciliation; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears by ſowing diſſenſions among them, and gaining the earls of Cornwall and Cheſter over to the royal party. The eſtates of ſeveral of the confederates were confiſcated, without any trial by their peers; and, by a very impolitic liberality, beſtowed upon the Poictevins, before ſo odious to the Engliſh. But the time was approaching, when theſe wicked miniſters, who had inſulted the nation, and threatened the people with the moſt dreadful ſlavery, ſhould feel the weight of Engliſh reſentment, and be ſtripped of the authority they had ſo baſely applied.

A. D. 1234. Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, followed by his ſuffragans, repaired to the palace and demanded an audience, which could not be refuſed. At this interview the prelate deſcribed, in the moſt pathetic manner, the dreadful effects of thoſe ruinous meaſures, which he had purſued by the inſtigation of his miniſters. He formally accuſed Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, as the author of theſe pernicious counſels, which had diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent through the whole nation; and after making a long detail of the grievances of the people, inſiſted that the king ſhould remove from his councils, a miniſter ſo odious to all his ſubjects; adding, that if ſo reaſonable a requeſt was refuſed, he would excommunicate both him, and all who oppoſed ſo neceſſary a reformation.

This ſpirited remonſtrance, and the threatening at the cloſe of it, produced the deſired effect. Henry perceived his error. The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſtripped of all his employments, and the inſolent Poictevins baniſhed the kingdom. The religion of thoſe times, notwithſtanding the ſuperſtition with which it was debaſed, was ſometimes of the utmoſt ſervice of the ſtate; it affected offending miniſters, baſking in the ſun-ſhine of royalty, beyond the reach of temporal remonſtrances, and made them feel the weight of national reſentment.

A. D. 1236. Happy had it been for the king and happy for his people, had Henry learned wiſdom from former miſcarriages; but there are men, whom vice or indolence has rendered incorrigible. Henry ſeems to have been of this number. The remonſtrance of the archbiſhop had, in all appearance, convinced him of his error in cheriſhing foreigners in preference to his Engliſh ſubjects. But this conviction was temporary; Henry ſoon forgot both his danger and his intereſt. He married Eleanor the daughter of the count of Provence; and threw himſelf again into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, biſhop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite. He took every occaſion of giving him a remarkable preference over the greateſt, and moſt faithful of his own ſubjects, and committed to his ſole direction all the affairs of the ſtate.

The Engliſh nobility were immediately alarmed. They dreaded a revival of the late times of miniſterial inſolence and oppreſſion, and determined to exert all their power to put a ſtop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with preſenting dutiful addreſſes to the king, at the ſame time remonſtrating with a becoming ſpirit, againſt thoſe meaſures, which they apprehended to be deſtructive of the public intereſt, and that union which ſhould always ſubſiſt between an Engliſh king and his ſubjects. But they ſucceeded not in their attempts. Valence ſupported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The miniſter, who was offended with the Engliſh barons for their late ſpirited remonſtrances, ſpared no pains to render them ſuſpected by the king, and to remove the moſt active among them from his perſon and government. The ſeals were demanded from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the moſt unblemiſhed integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's meſſage, nobly replied, "That having received the ſeals by the order of the parliament, he would reſign them by order of that aſſembly only."

A. D. 1337. Henry was, however, ſo infatuated, that this anſwer of the chancellor had no effect on his conduct. He adhered to his foreign miniſters, and liſtened not to the complaints of his people. But the wants of his needy courtiers, ſoon exhauſted his revenues, and he was obliged to call a parliament to procure a ſupply. The ſeſſion was very full, ſome important buſineſs being expected to be laid before them. But they were told, "That the chief reaſon for their being called together, was to deſire them to grant an aid, which ſhould be collected and diſpoſed of, for the neceſſary uſes of the ſtate, by ſuch perſons as they themſelves ſhould think proper to commiſſion for that purpoſe."

Henry had ſo often broke his promiſes, that the parliament were no longer to be deceived; and returned for anſwer, "That they had often granted the king aids, without receiving any marks of his affection: that ſince his acceſſion to the throne, his dominions were conſiderably leſſened, though he had frequently exacted from his ſubjects very large ſums, which had been wholly laviſhed away upon foreign favourites, to the impoveriſhment of the ſtate, and the diſgrace of his character." To this vigorous reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his own and his ſiſter's marriage, which had entirely exhauſted his treaſury; but if they would grant him a thirtieth part of their moveables, he promiſed upon his honour, never to injure or oppreſs any baron of the realm. In order to facilitate their compliance, he diſavowed the pope's bull, which his miniſtry had lately obtained for the reſumption of grants; declared he would inviolably obſerve the articles of the Great Charter; and ordered a ſentence of excommunication to be ſolemnly denounced againſt all perſons, himſelf not excepted, who ſhould dare to violate that ſacred conſtitution.

Mollified by theſe aſſurances, and pleaſed with the admiſſion of ſeveral Engliſh noblemen into his council, the parliament complied with his demand. But ordered the money ariſing from this tax to be depoſited in certain abbies, churches and caſtles, as a fund ſacred to the neceſſities of the ſtate; and the following expreſs condition annexed to the grant for levying it, "That the king ſhould no longer hearken to the ſuggeſtions of foreigners, who had already oppreſſed and impoveriſhed the nation, but be governed for the future by his own natural born ſubjects."

But Henry was not to be reclaimed. He had no ſooner obtained the ſupply he had requeſted, than he returned to his former meaſures, ſhewed as much fondneſs for foreigners as ever, and to ſecure himſelf a party ſufficient to oppoſe the power of his barons, he, with a meanneſs never to be forgiven, made application to the pope, for a legate to be ſent into England, under whoſe protection he thought he might ſecurely violate his recent engagements, which neceſſity had compelled him to enter into with his people. The Engliſh were alarmed, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury warmly expoſtulated with him on his conduct for ſuffering a legate to come into the kingdom without any apparent neceſſity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry regarded not the remonſtrances of the prelate, the cenſures of the church were no longer terrible; he knew the authority of the pope to be ſuperior to that of the archbiſhop. He ſeized the money depoſited in the churches and convents by the parliament for the uſe of the ſtate, and ſquandered it with the utmoſt profuſion upon ſtrangers and favourites. His brother, the earl of Cornwall, ſaw this deſtructive conduct with regret, and putting himſelf at the head of the nobility, demanded an audience, where he openly upbraided Henry with this ſhameful breach of faith and honour.

But though Henry relied entirely on the power of the pope for ſupport againſt the reſentment of his barons and clergy, the inconſiſtence of his conduct was ſo amazing, that he ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the inſolence of his vaſſal, and ordered the legate to make the moſt ſevere remonſtrances. The puſillanimous monarch was alarmed, and to avert the cenſure of the vatican, he ſuffered the ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic to be publiſhed in all the churches of England; though that prince had lately married the princeſs Iſabella, Henry's ſiſter.

A. D. 1242. Henry had now wholly loſt the love of his ſubjects. His ſtrange conduct had rendered him an object of contempt. The barons were juſtly incenſed againſt the rapacious foreigners, who waſted the royal treaſure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament therefore refuſed to grant their exhauſted monarch any ſupplies, and the king had recourſe to the moſt illegal methods and dangerous expedients for ſupplying his neceſſities. He exacted loans; he demanded benevolences; he uſurped a power of diſpenſing with the laws, becauſe the pope ſcrupled not to diſpenſe with the canons of the church, whenever the intereſts of the holy ſee required it. The people complained loudly; the barons formed aſſociations for their defence; and the judges were alarmed at the illegal proceedings of the king. “Alas!” exclaimed one of them upon the bench, “in what a “corrupt age do we live! The civil court is vitiated “in imitation of the eccleſiaſtical; and the river is “poiſoned from that fountain.”

Henry was deſirous of aſſiſting the count de la Marche, who had married his mother Iſabella, againſt Lewis IX of France. The count had given Henry the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſucceſs; promiſing, that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his ſtandards, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Thoulouſe. Charmed with the proſpect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wreſting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry ſummoned a parliament, in order to procure the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying his arms into France. But he had ſoon the mortification to find his requeſt denied; the parliament abſolutely refuſed to grant him any aſſiſtance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means of raiſing the neceſſary ſums at exorbitant intereſt, and paſſed over to the continent at the head of a conſiderable body of troops. But this prince was equally deſtitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Tillebourg; he abandoned the port of Poictou which belonged to him, and returned to England covered with diſgrace.

A. D. 1244. For ſome time paſt the whole kingdom had reſounded with complains againſt the enterprizes of the pope of Rome: but his holineſs was not to be intimidated; he determined to proceed, and even to increaſe his deſtructive exactions. Accordingly he ſent over one Martin as his nuncio, to demand a thouſand marks from the clergy, to aſſiſt him in the war he was carrying on againſt the emperor. This nuncio was inveſted with more ample powers than any of his predeceſſors, and his oppreſſion and inſolence exceeded every thing that had yet been experienced from that proud and venal court. The nation was alarmed; and the barons reſolved to lay before the general council, then aſſembled at Lyons, the intolerable oppreſſions of the holy ſee.

The methods made uſe of by Martin to extort money from the clergy exaſperated the nation; and it was concluded on, in an aſſembly of the barons, to drive him out of the kingdom by force, if perſuaſions could not prevail upon him to depart peaceably. They aſſembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament; and choſe Fulk Fitz Warren as their meſſenger, to carry their reſolutions to the nuncio. They could not have made a more proper choice. He had himſelf ſeverely ſuffered by papal exactions, and thoroughly hated every partiſan of Rome.

Fitz Warren ſet out immediately to execute his commiſſion, with determined reſolution to terrify the nuncio, and induce him to abandon the kingdom. On being introduced into Martin's preſence, he told him, with a ſtern and reſolute air, that he muſt inſtantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accuſtomed to ſuch diſreſpectful addreſſes, aſked him by whoſe authority he dared to ſpeak to him in ſo inſolent a manner? “By the “authority of a body of Engliſh knights now in “arms,” anſwered Fulk, “who ordered me to tell “you, that if either you yourſelf, or any of your “followers, remain in England more than three “days, every one of you ſhall be cut to pieces. Act “as you pleaſe; but remember it is an Engliſh “knight that delivers you this meſſage.” Martin was ſufficiently intimidated. He was too well acquainted with the character of the Engliſh to contemn a menace ſo peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and deſired his protection. But the king, who had for ſome time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him, that his robberies and oppreſſions had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himſelf againſt his own ſubjects, who were thoroughly incenſed againſt him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings. Martin was now convinced of his dangerous ſituation, and determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmoſt danger. He accordingly demanded a paſſport, and embarked directly for the continent.

A. D. 1245. The Engliſh ambaſſadors, on their arrival at Lyons, laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himſelf preſided in perſon. They repreſented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to ſixty thouſand marks a year, a ſum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accuſed the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts by clauſes of non obſtante inſerted in his bulls; a clauſe abſolutely deſtructive of all the rights of patrons, and of all the liberties of the Engliſh church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppreſſions to which the Britiſh clergy had been ſo long expoſed. The pope was confounded, and gave an eluſive anſwer. He feared the power of the council, and was willing to ſoothe the Engliſh agents. He promiſed them redreſs; and cauſed two bulls for that purpoſe to be publiſhed. And the reſignation of the ſuperiority of England by king John to the holy ſee having been mentioned, the earl of Norfolk inſiſted, that neither that prince, nor any other, had the leaſt right, without the conſent of his barons, to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign ſervitude. This noble oppoſition convinced the court of Rome, that it was in vain to urge a pretenſion which was untenable from the diſtance of the Engliſh, and the independent ſpirit of that people.

A. D. 1246. But the promiſes of the pontiff laſted no longer than his fears. The council of Lyons was no ſooner broke up, than he renewed all his exactions. The Engliſh were exaſperated; and a parliament was ſummoned at London for redreſſing this public grievance. A ſtate of the hardſhips ſuffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up; and, after being ſigned by the king, biſhops and temporal lords, ſent to the court of Rome, and ſatisfaction demanded from the pontiff. This inſtrument produced not the deſired effect. The ambaſſadors were treated with contempt, and even threatened to proceed to the ſame extremities againſt Henry, as he had lately done againſt the emperor. The king immediately prohibited any farther payments to the pope. But Henry wanted firmneſs to ſupport a meaſure ſo agreeable to his ſubjects; he relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered the pope to proceed in his extortions.

A. D. 1253. Innocent IV. was one of the moſt implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The hatred he had conceived againſt the emperor Frederic did not die with that monarch; it devolved on his grandſon, Conrade, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whoſe ſucceſſion was ſet aſide by the perfidious arts of his uncle Mainfroy. Innocent ſoon perceived that his own force was far from being ſufficient to diſpoſſeſs the latter from the Italian dominions of Frederic; and therefore ſent a nuncio into England, to offer the Sicilian crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall. That nobleman, though extremely fond of power, had prudence ſufficient to perceive, that the ſole deſign of the court of Rome was nothing more than the acquiſition of a large ſum of money, and prudently declined the offer. But Henry had not the ſagacity of his brother; he accepted it for his ſecond ſon, Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the ſums neceſſary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honours of royalty; and no means of extortion or oppreſſion were omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the Engliſh, under pretence of eſtabliſhing prince Edmund in his new kingdom.

A. D. 1255. The papal army began the war with ſome ſucceſs; but Manfroy, determined to riſk his crown on the event of one deciſive action, advanced againſt the Roman forces. A battle enſued; the army of Innocent was totally defeated, and he himſelf threatened with being beſieged in his capital. His haughty ſoul could not bear this reverſe of fortune; the violence of his paſſion threw him into a fever, which, in a ſhort time, put a period to his life. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who purſued the ſame meaſures with his predeceſſor, and undertook to place Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

A. D. 1256. Henry, who, in order to graſp this phantom of ſovereignty for his ſon, had ſubjected himſelf to all the demands of the pontiff, ſoon found himſelf more embaraſſed than ever. The parliament refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble ſtruggle from the eccleſiaſtics. For when Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, aſſembled the prelates, and propoſed their ſigning obligatory notes proportioned to the benefices of each individual, the biſhop of London declared, he would ſooner loſe his head than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an act of tyranny. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter; and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the clergy of England would not ſubmit to be enſlaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refuſal to Henry, who threatened the biſhop of London with his reſentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated, replied, with a noble intrepidity, “That he knew the king and the “pope were his ſuperiors; but if they deprived him “of his mitre, he would ſupply its place with a “helmet.” This generous ſtand in ſupport of the liberties of the Engliſh church, exaſperated the haughty Ruſtan; who finding it would be impoſſible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced proſecutions againſt individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very conſiderable ſums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the conſequences of driving the Engliſh clergy to deſpair, ordered his nuncio to deſiſt from his proſecutions.

During theſe diſputes between the nuncio and the clergy, Henry was determined to make another attempt to procure a ſubſidy from his barons. A parliament was called for that purpoſe; and the archbiſhop of Meſſina was ſent with letters from the pope, preſſing the nobility, in the moſt earneſt manner, to comply with the requeſt of their ſovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimouſly refuſed to grant the ſubſidy.

Ruſtan, finding all their hopes of procuring a ſupply from the parliament abortive, declared, in an aſſembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above one hundred and fifty thouſand marks; and that if the clergy ſtill refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. Could the biſhops have depended on Henry for ſupport, they would, doubtleſs, have treated this menace with the contempt it deſerved; but they knew his weakneſs, and the ſhameful conceſſions he had already made: they knew that an interdict on the kingdom would expoſe both the church and ſtate to the moſt imminent danger. Theſe conſiderations induced them to ſubmit. In the mean time, the conqueſt of Sicily advanced ſo very ſlowly, that Henry, finding it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to ſatisfy the avarice of the holy father, renounced all pretenſions to the crown of Sicily.

A. D. 1257. Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, had wiſely refuſed the offers of the pope with regard to the crown of Sicily, he was far from being proof againſt ambition. He had amaſſed immenſe riches by frugality, and was conſidered as the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The German electors, deſiring to ſhare in the treaſures of this powerful Engliſhman, offered to elect him king of the Romans. Charmed with this addition of dignity and power, he paſſed over into Germany, attended by a great number of the Engliſh nobility, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He flattered himſelf with being able to obtain the imperial crown; but he found himſelf deceived. The German electors abandoned his intereſt the moment he had diſſipated his wealth.

A. D. 1258. A parliament being ſummoned to meet at London, Harlat, the new nuncio, produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holineſs, under pain of excommunication. The king ſeconded the demand of the nuncio, and preſſed the barons to aſſiſt him with a ſupply. Had he really intended to provoke the members, he could hardly have mentioned any thing more likely to produce that effect. The intolerable acts of papal tyranny and oppreſſion, and ſuch complicated ſcenes of royal fraud and deceit, as the nation had for ſome time unhappily experienced, could not fail of rouſing the indignation of a people not wholly loſt to all ſenſe of freedom and independence. Far from granting his requeſt, they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injuſtice, and with his hatred of the Engliſh nation, from whom, they ſaid, he ought to bluſh to require any aid or ſubſidies, while he preferred ſtrangers to them, and made them groan under the moſt dreadful oppreſſions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the biſhops to make warm remonſtrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular. Henry acknowledged that their complaints were well founded; adding, that as each of them had attained his benefice in that irregular manner, it was proper that their dignities ſhould be vacated by reſignation, in order to have them diſpoſed of according to the methods preſcribed by the canons of the church. But the remonſtrances of the barons were not to be anſwered. They inſiſted on a ratification of the great charter, though they themſelves daily violated it, in the articles relative to their own vaſſals. It was in vain for the king to oppoſe the whole power of the kingdom. His brother Richard, whoſe power was very extenſive, was abſent in Germany, and the barons defied all the cenſures of the Vatican. Henry therefore ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the great charter was ratified with the moſt religious oſtentation. Henry ſwore to obſerve inviolably all its articles, as a man, as a chriſtian, as a knight, and as a king.

But Henry did not long obſerve the oaths he had taken; the ſame indolence, the ſame infatuation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the great charter were forgot; they were violated whenever the intereſt of the court, or the ambition of his minions required it.

A. D. 1259. Enraged at this ſtrange behaviour in the king, whom neither oaths nor promiſes could bind, the barons determined to have recourſe to the ſame expedient that was uſed with regard to his father. They formed an aſſociation; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the aſſembly, attended by their military tenants, well appointed, and properly armed. Simon de Montford, earl of Leiceſter, was at the head of this aſſociation. That nobleman, who was at once both haughty and ambitious,

tious, had been greatly careſſed by Henry, who had given him his ſiſter in marriage, and made him governor of Guienne. But the inconſtancy of the monarch, and the unbounded ambition of the earl, ſoon produced an open breach between them; and Leiceſter, who imputed his diſgrace to the inſinuations of the foreign minions, determined to take an ample revenge. He was a perfect maſter of intrigue; and his violent remonſtrances againſt the government, his apparent zeal for the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church, obtained him at once the affections of the people, and the friendſhip of the prelates and barons.

Henry was terrified at this military appearance; and, on his entering the aſſembly, aſked, with ſome emotion, whether he was their priſoner? The earl marſhal replied, that he was not their priſoner, but that it was the determined reſolution of the whole aſſembly to baniſh his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of the nation. Adding, that if he would agree to theſe reaſonable demands, and give authority for that purpoſe to perſons of character and capacity, they would grant the ſupplies neceſſary for giving weight and dignity to the ſtate. Henry perceived it would be in vain to oppoſe the power of his barons, and therefore made no objections to the propoſal: he promiſed to ſubmit to any regulations they ſhould think fit to enact. Having thus obtained the king's conſent, they conſtituted a council of twenty-four barons, whom they inveſted with an unlimited authority for reforming the ſtate; and Simon Montfort was elected preſident. Henry himſelf took a ſolemn oath to maintain the ordinances they ſhould iſſue for that ſalutary purpoſe. The plan of government had been digeſted in a previous meeting of the principal barons; ſo that a ſet of regulations ſoon appeared; and theſe, conformable to the practice of all uſurpers, were favourable to the people. They were in ſubſtance as follows:

1. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and ſo often violated.
2. The important office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and the rich without favour or partiality.
3. That the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other public miniſters, ſhould be annually choſen by the council of twenty-four.
4. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of that council, who ſhould entruſt them to ſuch perſons as were well affected to the ſtate.
5. That any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, who ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be decreed by the council of twenty-four, ſhould be puniſhable with death.
6. That three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year, to enact ſuch laws as ſhould from time to time be found neceſſary for the good of the people.

Theſe articles, which, from the place where they were drawn up, were called the Statutes, or Proviſions of Oxford, were approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the aſſent of the king, who ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power.

But Leiceſter never intended to ſubmit his actions to the examination of the parliament; he aſpired to the government, and the king ſoon perceived that he was no more than a cypher in the adminiſtration. He expected that the parliament would grant him a large ſubſidy, purſuant to their promiſe, when he ſigned the Oxford Conſtitutions: he was deceived; the conſideration of the ſupplies was poſtponed; and his two uterine brothers, the ſons of the count de la Marche, and the queen Iſabella, were ſtripped of their wealth, and baniſhed the kingdom, as the principal authors of the public calamities. Nor was the council ſatisfied with baniſhing theſe foreigners; even the officers of the houſhold were removed, and their places filled with perſons in the intereſt of the council. At the ſame time, they obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey them; even young Edward, Henry's eldeſt ſon, was not excepted.

Determined to ſupport their power againſt all oppoſition, and fearful that the great credit of the king of the Romans might check their progreſs, they diſpatched the biſhop of Worceſter to the continent, to inform him that he would not be ſuffered to land in England, unleſs he would promiſe to take an oath to obſerve the Statutes of Oxford. At the ſame time, they required to know on what account he was coming to England, and how long he propoſed to continue in that kingdom.

Incenſed at their inſolence, and exaſperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, he ſwore he would never take the oath they wanted to impoſe upon him; and that he would viſit England when, and as often as he pleaſed, without ſubmitting to give them any reaſons for his actions. He was, however, ſoon after informed, that the barons had taken ſuch precautions, by marching troops to the ſea-coaſts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impoſſible for him to land in England without their conſent. Richard therefore thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, than engage in a fruitleſs oppoſition. He agreed to take the oath required, and the barons ſuffered him to return to England without oppoſition.

Among ſeveral innovations introduced by the council, the moſt important was the eſtabliſhment of a committee, conſiſting of twelve perſons, who, during the receſs of parliament, were inveſted with its authority, and were to attend the perſon of the king in all his motions. Thus the whole conſtitution of England was overturned, and the kingdom governed by a committee of nobles.

But it was not reaſonable to imagine that a government of this kind could be permanent. It was ſoon perceived, that the good of the people engaged not the attention of the council: the ſtate was oppreſſed by a confederacy of the nobles. The people were no longer deceived; they complained loudly of their tyranny; and the knights of the ſhires not only joined in the complaint, but implored the aſſiſtance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly ſent a meſſage to the barons, inſiſting on their finiſhing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged to exert all his power to procure redreſs for an injured people. This ſpirited remonſtrance alarmed the barons, and a new code of laws was publiſhed: but it ſoon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with ſome trifling alterations.

So glaring an impoſition exaſperated the people; and the animoſities which now broke out between the barons themſelves, gave them hopes that their tyranny would ſoon have an end. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the two moſt powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became profeſſed enemies to each other. Theſe diviſions greatly weakened the ſtrength of the barons; and Leiceſter retired into France, under pretence of abandoning intirely the adminiſtration; but he had very different views. He hoped, by his retreat, to increaſe the power of his party, by gaining the French monarch over to his intereſt.

Fortunately for England, the throne of France was filled by a monarch who delighted not in the diſtreſs of other nations. He was deſirous of healing, not of increaſing, the wounds which the Engliſh conſtitution had lately received. Lewis IX. generally called St. Lewis, was endowed with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king.

His liberality was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the wiſeſt œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact juſtice. He was prudent and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compaſſionate as if he had always been unhappy. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he deſired not to uſurp the territories of his neighbours, and was ſo far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the contending parties, whoſe diviſions threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed againſt John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a deſign of reſtoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wreſted from his father. The tranquillity of his own country at laſt diverted him from this reſolution; but he made a treaty with Henry which abundantly proved, that a love of juſtice, rather than power, was the ruling paſſion of his ſoul. By this treaty, he yielded to him the Limouſin, Perigord, Querci, and Agenois; and only required in return, that Henry ſhould make a final ceſſion of Normandy and the other provinces.

A. D. 1261. The council of the barons had now been three years abſolute maſters of the kingdom, under pretence of reforming the ſtate. Henry, careleſs and indolent as he was, could not but feel and reſent the mortifications he daily received. The quarrel between Leiceſter and Glouceſter gave him hopes that his misfortunes were drawing to a cloſe; and perceiving that the diſpoſitions of the people had taken a turn in his favour, he determined to make one ſtruggle for recovering his authority. In order to this, he applied to the pope to abſolve him from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford proviſions. The pontiff, who was highly exaſperated at the barons for having ſtopped the revenues of foreign beneficed prieſts, readily granted the deſired diſpenſation.

This difficulty being ſurmounted, Henry determined to declare publickly the reſolutions he had formed; and having aſſembled a parliament at London, he told them, "That as they had not on their parts performed their promiſe with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he ſigned the proviſions of Oxford, he did not think himſelf obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occaſion; that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a ſlave than their king, but would immediately free himſelf from ſuch inglorious fetters, and aſſert the dignity of his own prerogative." The aſſembly was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected declaration; and the king, without giving them time to reply, retired immediately to the tower; ſeized all the money in the mint; publiſhed a proclamation for removing the ſheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four; and acted with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to be the effect of a fixed reſolution to ſupport his own independence. He informed his ſubjects that he had reſumed the reins of government, and that he would inviolably obſerve the two charters, notwithſtanding any falſe reports to the contrary; nominated a chancellor, chief juſticiary, and officers of his houſhold, in the room of thoſe who had been appointed by the council. He found means to repel the attempts of the barons, and obliged them to promiſe obedience for the future. But the gaining any advantage, or even the total defeat of an army, was of very little conſequence in theſe times of national debility and diviſion. New forces ſuddenly ſprung up, and ſuddenly diſperſed; to-day one leader remained maſter of the field, and to-morrow was obliged to take refuge in ſome place of ſafety. Henry was again defeated, and again obliged to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford.

Prince Edward, who had hitherto ſcrupled to break the oath he had taken to ſubmit to the council, perceiving that the barons, with Leiceſter at their head, were determined to render their tyranny perpetual, undertook the defence of his country. He was ſoon at the head of a powerful army, and joined by ſeveral of the barons, who thought they could not, as true Engliſhmen, continue any longer with Leiceſter and his party. The two armies were in ſight of each other, and a deciſive battle was every moment expected, when ſeveral of the moſt prudent perſons interpoſed their good offices to prevent the effuſion of human blood. But it ſoon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjuſted, and it was agreed to refer the deciſion to St. Lewis, in whoſe wiſdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence. The reference was confirmed by the oaths of the king, the prince and the barons. Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmoſt attention, the whole cauſe fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Amiens, delivered the following award.

A. D. 1264. "That the ſtatutes of Oxford, with all the proceedings that followed in conſequence of thoſe acts, ſhould be annulled: That the king ſhould enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were inveſted in the crown, before thoſe ſtatutes were enacted: That all the caſtles which the king had ceded to the barons as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, ſhould be reſtored; and that he ſhould enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of ſtate and government, equally from foreigners or natives." But, at the ſame time, he declared that his award was not meant to derrogate from the privileges and liberties of the Engliſh, nor from the charters which had been granted them.

The barons were highly exaſperated at a ſentence ſo contrary to what they expected; and it is never difficult for men thus circumſtanced, to find pretences for eluding juſtice, They aſſerted, that the ſaving clauſe was utterly contradictory to the other part of the ſentence. Becauſe the latter ratified Magna Charta, and the former condemned the ſtatutes of Oxford, which were calculated to ſupport that charter. The negotiation was therefore entirely broke off, and each party prepared to decide the conteſt by the ſword.

The royal army headed by the king in perſon, the king of the Romans, and prince Edward, encamped at Lewes in Suſſex. Leiceſter, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, reſolved to hazard a deciſive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with ſuch impetuoſity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage enſued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them near four miles with the utmoſt fury. This temerity loſt the battle. Had he, inſtead of purſuing a body of unexperienced troops, fallen, in conjunction with the reſt of the royal army, upon the remaining forces of the enemy, a complete victory muſt have been obtained. But the abſence of the prince, afforded Leiceſter an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the ſecond body of the king's forces, cut the greateſt part of them in pieces, and took the king of the Romans priſoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in perſon, made ſo noble a ſtand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horſe being killed under him, and he himſelf ſlightly wounded, he retired to the priory of Lewes, with part of his followers, while others took refuge in the caſtle,

The prince returning from the purſuit of the Londoners, was ſurprized to ſee the field of battle covered with dead bodies; and ſeveral of his principal followers were ſo intimidated at the fatal event, that they fled with ſeven hundred of their beſt troops to Pevenſey, and paſſed over to France. The prince himſelf, who was a ſtranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune. He immediately attacked the barons; but night prevented a general engagement;

ment. Uncertain of the conſequence, and ſollicitous for the fate of his father, the prince went round both the town and caſtle, but without effect. At laſt he found him at the priory, which was now attacked by the rebels. The royal party made a noble defence, and Montfort's forces were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Young Edward now exerted all his abilities to rally and collect his ſcattered forces; and having ſtill the advantage of ſome excellent officers about his perſon, he determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leiceſter had loſt near half his army. The Londoners had been ſo totally broken, that they made no attempt to rejoin his army. He was therefore deſirous of avoiding a freſh engagement with a body of reſolute troops, more experienced than his own. He knew that a defeat muſt be fatal, and that he could expect no mercy if he fell into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effuſion of human blood, he ſent mediators next morning to the prince, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, in order to terminate this deſtructive war by an equitable peace; offering to ſubmit his demands to ſuch arbitrators as the king ſhould approve; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould be delivered as hoſtages for the king's performance of the conditions. This demand was abſolutely rejected by the king as inſolent and unreaſonable; it concealed, under the maſk of a deſire of peace, a treacherous deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom. Leiceſter, fearful of another engagement, had recourſe to menaces; he threatened to ſtrike off the head of the king of the Romans, together with thoſe of all the priſoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack upon his army.

The character of Montfort was too well known, to doubt of his carrying his threat into execution. The prince feared the conſequence; and before he could determine, the earl had rallied his forces. There was now a neceſſity for coming to an accommodation, which was dictated by Leiceſter, on the following conditions:

"That prince Edward, and Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, as pledges in the place of the two kings: that all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and that, in order to ſettle fully the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the king of France, that he ſhould name ſix Frenchmen, three prelates, and three barons. Theſe ſix to chuſe two others of their own countrymen; and theſe two to chuſe one Engliſhman, who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the ſettlement of the kingdom."

Such was the convention generally called the Miſe of Lewes; and which was ſigned by the king, the prince, and all the chiefs of both parties. The king immediately ſent orders for the priſoners taken by his forces to be ſet at liberty. But Leiceſter never intended to perform his part of the agreement: for after ſending the prince and young Henry to Dover-caſtle, he refuſed to ſet his priſoners at liberty; both the king and his brother were retained in cuſtody. He ſent no ambaſſadors to Lewis; the pretended arbitration was forgotten. He diſpoſed of offices, without even conſulting the king; and had recourſe to every method in his power to raiſe money for ſtrengthening his party, and directed all the meaſures of government according to his own pleaſure.

He now proceeded to ſettle a form of government he had projected, by which he became in reality the ſole maſter of the kingdom. He ſummoned a parliament of his own partiſans, in order to rivet the chains of ſlavery he had impoſed upon the nation. In that aſſembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by the authority of three others; namely, Leiceſter himſelf, the earl of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter. By this eſtabliſhment, Leiceſter obtained, in reality, the ſceptre of England: for as the biſhop of Chicheſter was entirely at his devotion, he directed all the reſolutions taken by the council of three; and they could diſcard every member of the ſupreme council at pleaſure.

But this ill-cemented plan of government could not long continue; the leaſt incident was ſufficient to ſhake its very foundation. The queen, who had been ſome time in France, raiſed a conſiderable army; and Lewis himſelf, who beheld with deteſtation the perjuries of Leiceſter, favoured her enterprize. The ambitious earl was alarmed, and troops were ſent to guard the coaſt; but little could be expected from men who were exaſperated at his behaviour; and Leiceſter owed his ſecurity more to unfavourable winds, which rendered the attempt abortive, than to any defence that could have been made againſt the French, had they landed in England.

The pope, who ſtill favoured Henry, and was highly exaſperated at the behaviour of the barons, diſpatched cardinal Guido, as legate, to excommunicate the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign. But Leiceſter took an effectual method to prevent the conſequences of the papal cenſures: he threatened the legate with immediate death the moment he landed in the kingdom. Guido was ſo greatly intimidated, that the ſentence was never pronounced. This oppoſition to the holy ſee increaſed the popularity of Leiceſter. The Engliſh had ſo ſeverely felt the tyrannical oppreſſions of the Roman pontiffs, that they wiſhed to be relieved from a yoke which was become ſo heavy to be borne.

A. D. 2165. But Leiceſter ſoon perceived that his ambitious projects rouzed the attention of the barons. Glouceſter himſelf was alarmed, and remonſtrated ſharply with him on his behaviour. The nobles, ſtill in the intereſt of Henry, retired into the marches of Wales, and received protection from the earl of Glouceſter. The people complained loudly of the ſhameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward, and the other priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, conformable to the articles of that treaty. Leiceſter perceived that it would be impoſſible to divert the gathering ſtorm, without having recourſe to ſome artifice to deceive the Engliſh. He ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that aſſembly on a more republican baſis than any that had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy. Beſides many barons and eccleſiaſtics who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the ſheriffs to return two knights from every ſhire, and the ſame number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this parliament, which happened on the twentieth of January, is generally eſteemed the epoch of the Houſe of Commons in England. It is certain that this is the firſt time any mention is made by our ancient hiſtorians of any repreſentatives being ſent by the boroughs to parliament. Indeed they had always, in former ages, been eſteemed of too low a rank to be allowed a place in the great council of the nation.

In this numerous aſſembly the active and intrepid prince Edward, who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, was declared free and at full liberty, after ſtipulating to deliver up all the caſtles poſſeſſed by the barons in the intereſt of the royal party; and neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce any foreign troops. But Leiceſter never intended to ſet the prince at liberty; he was ſtrictly guarded by the emiſſaries of that nobleman, and continued only a priſoner at large. The barons now ſaw that there were no hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to the nation: the tyranny of Leiceſter was more dreaded than that of Henry.

The earl of Glouceſter perceived his own danger; for every thing that oppoſed the deſpotiſm of Montfort was ſacrificed at the altar of his ambition. He therefore retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales; and Leiceſter followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince. Glouceſter found means to open a negotiation with young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's eſcape. A horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs was procured by Glouceſter, and conveyed to Edward by means of a truſty ſervant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a ſmall party, waited in a wood not far from Leiceſter's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of ſafety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince, pretending to take the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, made matches between their horſes, and rode ſeveral of them himſelf. When by this ſtratagem he had ſufficiently tired and blown their horſes, he mounted the ſteed ſent him by Glouceſter, and calling to his attendants, bade them adieu, and effected his eſcape. They purſued him till he was received by Mortimer at the head of his party.

The eſcape of the prince filled the people with joy; they flocked to his ſtandard from all parts of the country, ſo that Edward ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leiceſter from retreating back to the capital, he broke down all the bridges upon the Severn. Leiceſter ſaw his danger, and diſpatched an expreſs to his ſon to haſten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Montfort's motions, to ſuffer him to join his father. As ſoon as he heard that he was advanced to Kenilworth, Edward marched to meet him, ſurpriſed him in his camp, and totally diſſipated his army. The abſence of the prince furniſhed Leiceſter with an opportunity of croſſing the Severne in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his ſon's misfortune, advanced to Eveſham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

Edward had divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners which had been taken from young Montfort's army; while he himſelf, at the head of the ſecond diviſion, made a circuit, in order to attack Leiceſter's army in another quarter. This ſtratagem for ſome time deceived Montfort; he took the firſt diviſion for his friends; but perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the excellent diſpoſition of Edward's troops, he exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order! The Lord have mercy upon our ſouls, for I ſee our bodies are the prince's." The greater part of the army of Leiceſter made but a feeble reſiſtance; the Welſh, who formed the van, unable to ſupport the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, while Glouceſter at the head of another diviſion, charged the main body with equal fury. Leiceſter, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horſe being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refuſed, and he fell among the ſlain, together with his ſon Henry. His troops, deprived of their two principal leaders, threw down their arms, and begged for quarter.

Thus fell the famous Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, an intrepid general, and a conſummate ſtateſman. He was bold, reſolute, enterpriſing, inſinuating, artful and perſuaſive. But hurried away by his ambition, he made himſelf odious by endeavouring to render himſelf deſpotic. He conſtantly covered his dangerous enterprizes under the appearance of piety; and the people, who are eaſily deceived, regarded him as a ſaint. And though excommunicated by the Roman pontiff, the people were ſo prejudiced in his favour, that many miracles were ſaid to be wrought upon his tomb.

The victory of Eveſham was complete; the king of the Romans, his ſon and all the barons of the royal party were immediately ſet at liberty; and Edward eaſily ſubdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the caſtles garriſoned by the rebels delayed not to make their ſubmiſſion, and open their gates to the king. Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the foreſt of Hampſhire, and committed depredations in the neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces againſt him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmoſt fury. The two valiant leaders met, and a ſingle combat enſued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt ended in favour of Edward. Gourdon was wounded, thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. But Edward knew how to eſtimate valour, even in an enemy. He procured his pardon, granted him his friendſhip, and Gourdon ſerved him faithfully till his death.

Greater moderation was perhaps never ſhewn upon a ſimilar occaſion. No ſacrifices of national liberty was made on this occaſion, the great charter continued inviolate. No blood ſhed upon the ſcaffold; thoſe who had borne arms againſt the king were puniſhed only by pecuniary compoſitions, and even theſe were exacted with great moderation. The city of London had merited the moſt rigorous chaſtiſement, but this was greatly mitigated; its privileges were indeed taken away, but they were reſtored after a ſhort interval of time.

A. D. 1268. The peace of the kingdom being now reſtored, the king ſummoned a parliament, where the pope's legate aſſiſted, who informed the aſſembly that the pontiff had reſolved to publiſh a cruſade in every ſtate that profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; exhorting the Engliſh to ſupport an enterprize calculated to promote the glory of the church. The Engliſh had not yet learned wiſdom from paſt misfortunes; enthuſiaſm prevailed and the recovery of the Holy Land was conſidered as more meritorious than the ſtricteſt exerciſe of all the chriſtian virtues. Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their couſin Henry received the croſs from the hands of the legate; and their example was followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne, and Pembroke, one hundred and twenty knights, and great numbers of inferior orders.

A. D. 1270. Lewis of France, who had alſo engaged in the cruſade, and made the moſt preſſing ſollicitations to Edward to haſten his departure, ſailed ſome time before the Engliſh forces were ready, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, in order to reduce the city of Tunis. Edward reached his camp, but had the misfortune to find that great prince already dead from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone. The devotion of Lewis was deſtructive to France; and is a proof that the exceſs of a good quality may be criminal. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Philip, ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince of conſiderable merit, but much inferior to that of his father. The death of Lewis was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward. He continued his courſe to Paleſtine, where he ſignalized himſelf by the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour. He revived the glory of the Engliſh name in thoſe parts, and ſtruck the Saracens with ſuch terror, that they had recourſe to the infamous method of aſſaſſination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman deſign, was admitted ſeveral times into the prince's preſence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone ſitting on a couch undreſſed, he approached him, and offering him ſome letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, and endeavoured to ſheathe it in the prince's breaſt; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received indeed a conſiderable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from ſeizing the villain, and having wreſted the dagger from his hand he plunged it into his heart. The wound was however dangerous, being made with a poiſoned inſtru-

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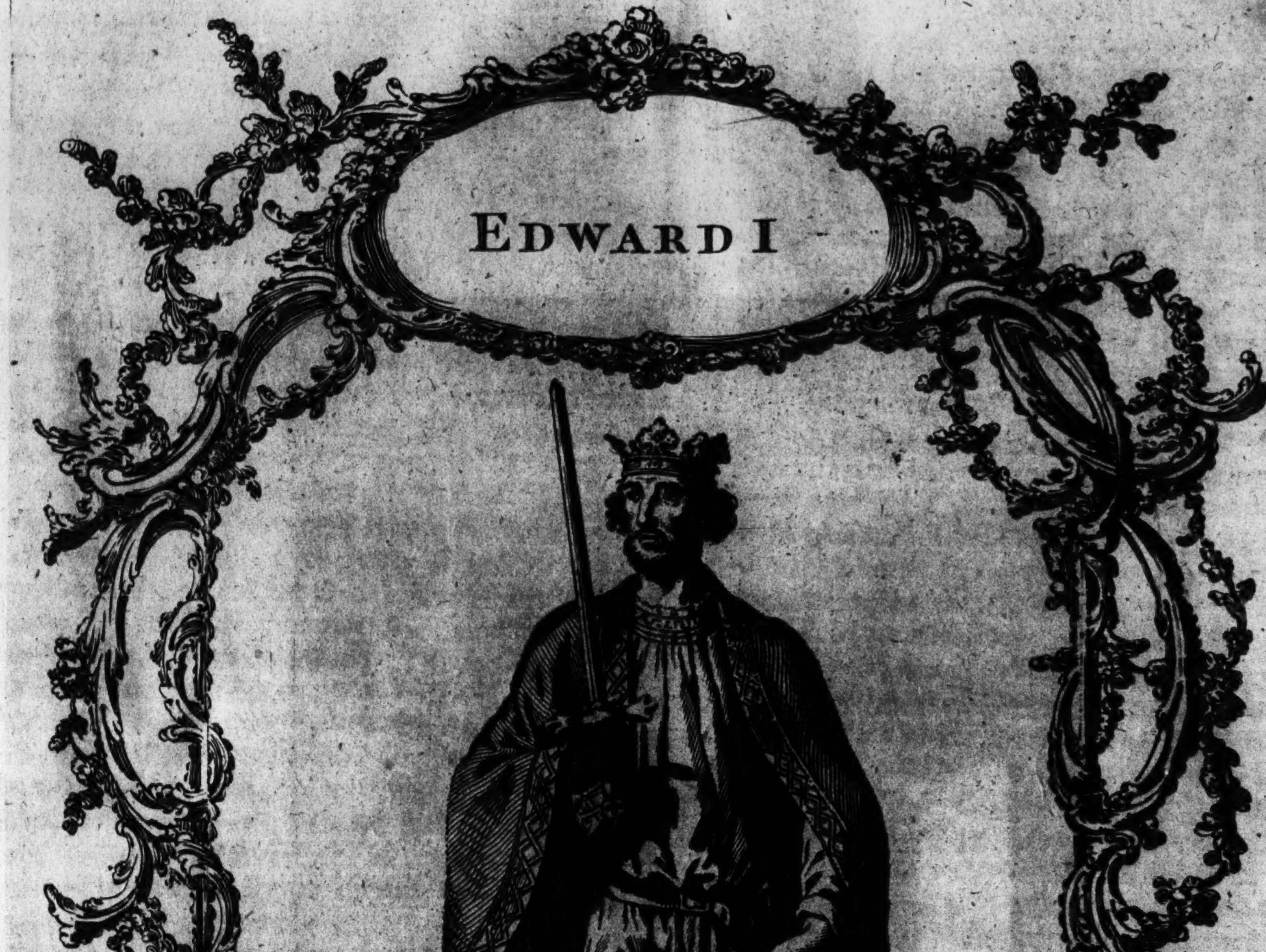
EDWARD I
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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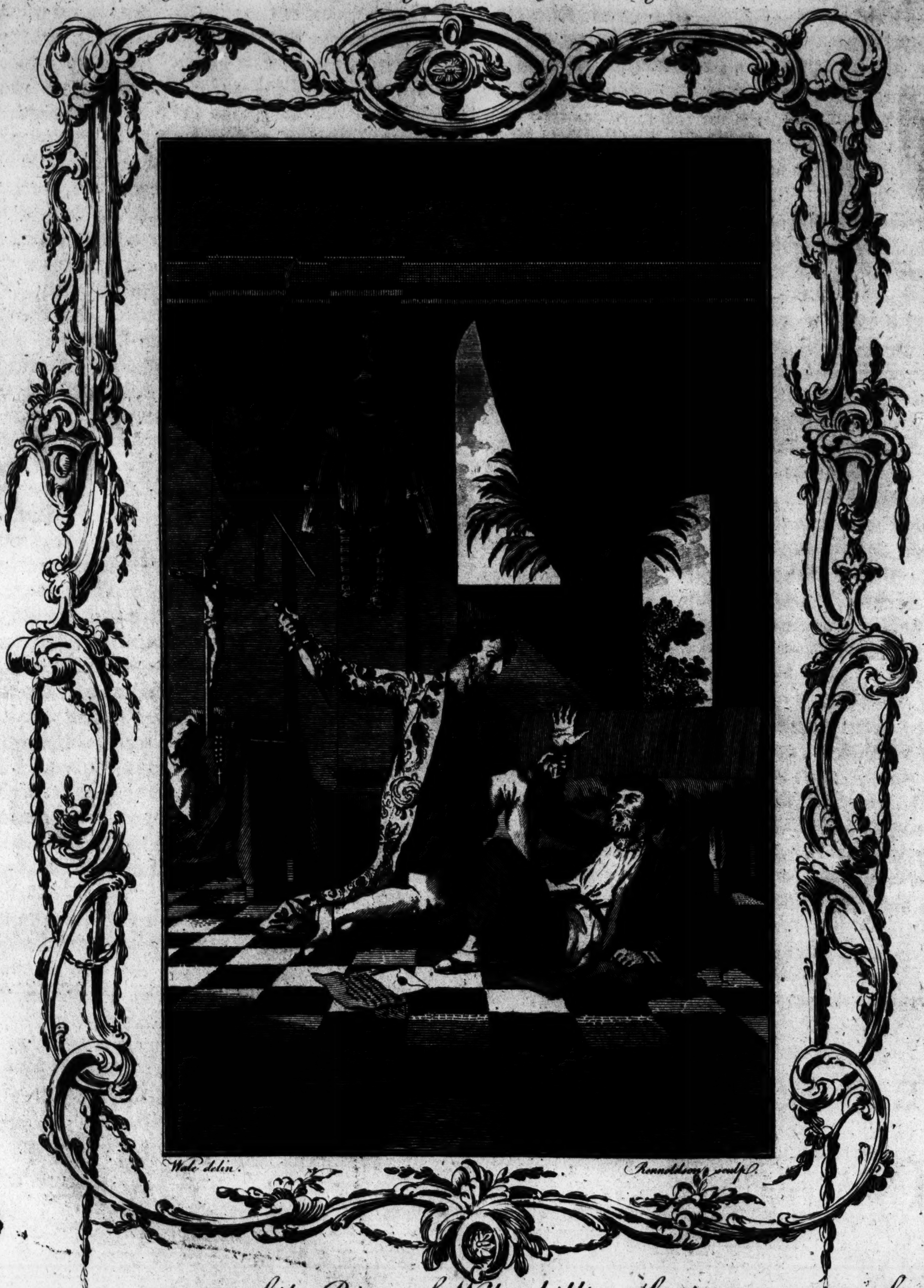
*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wale delin.* *Rennoldson sculp.*

**EDWARD I.** *while Prince of Wales, killing the* **ASSASSIN** *who wounded him with a poison'd Dagger, in the Holy Land.*

ment, and the prince's life was in the moſt imminent danger; but by the great ſkill and care of an Engliſh ſurgeon, a cure was effected in little more than a fortnight.

A. D. 1272. While Edward was gathering laurels in the fields of Paleſtine, England again experienced the oppreſſions of the barons and the diſorders of anarchy. The populace of London returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs; and the old king, unable to ſupport the weight of government, called aloud for his gallant ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to drop from his enfeebled hand. His cares and his fears were greatly increaſed by the death of his brother, the king of the Romans, who paid the debt of nature at Berkhamſtead on the ſecond of April. Henry ſurvived this misfortune only ſeven months: he died at St. Edmondſbury on the ſixteenth of November, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign, holding the ſceptre longer than any other prince in the Engliſh annals.

The capital feature in the character of this prince is his incapacity for government. Though not naturally tyrannical, his extreme weakneſs often produced all the evils of deſpotiſm. Hence his negligences and breach of promiſes; for he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the truſt and confidence of his people to preſent conveniences. He imitated, inſtead of reducing the dangerous power of his barons; and permitted the arbitrary will of his miniſters to be the rule of his actions. But if he had few public virtues, he had alſo few perſonal vices; he was neither addicted to debauchery, nor prone to cruelty. He was a great friend to religion, and his devotion is highly commended. Being once engaged in a diſpute with Lewis of France, concerning the preference between ſermons and maſſes, he very pertinently replied, in anſwer to what was urged in favour of the former, "I had rather have one hour's converſation with a friend, than hear twenty elaborate diſcourſes pronounced in his praiſe."

Henry left two ſons; Edward, who ſucceeded him in the throne; and Edmund, earl of Lancaſter: and two daughters; Margaret, queen of Scotland; and Beatrix, dutcheſs of Britany.

A very remarkable diſpute happened during this reign, between the prelates and the barons, with regard to baſtardy. According to the common laws of England, all who were born before the marriage of their parents were declared baſtards; but the canon law conſidered them as legitimate. Hence the biſhops and judges never agreed; and the civil courts, whenever they applied to the ſpiritual to enquire into the legitimacy of the perſon in queſtion, propoſed only this ſimple fact, whether he was born before or after marriage. The prelates complained of this practice to the parliament aſſembled at Merton in 1236; and requeſted, that the civil law might be rendered conformable to the eccleſiaſtical; but the barons returned this memorable anſwer, "We will not change the laws of England."

Every ſpecies of oppreſſion was made uſe of, during this reign, to ſupply the profuſe liberality of the king to foreign favourites. The example of the court authoriſed rapine and plunder; ſo that every quarter of the kingdom was full of robbers. In the year 1249, two merchants of Brabant complained to the king that they had been robbed of all their goods by certain banditti whom they knew, becauſe they ſaw them every day in his court. On being queſtioned with regard to their behaviour, they urged in their defence, that they received no wages from the king, and were obliged to rob for a maintenance.

The court of Rome perceiving that the power of the holy ſee began to decline in England, pope Gregory IX. had recourſe to an expedient highly worthy of that ignorant age, for ſupporting the tottering authority of the pontifical chair. He publiſhed a work called the Decretals, containing a pretended collection of the decrees of popes in the firſt centuries, but in reality a heap of the groſſeſt forgeries. In this dark and ignorant age, they paſſed, indeed, for ſome time, as undoubted facts, and were very favourable to that venal court; but ſomething more was wanting to engage the attention of a rude people. This was effected by eſtabliſhing the mendicant orders, particularly the Dominicans and Franciſcans. Theſe, by maintaining a perpetual rivalſhip with each other, in promoting their lucrative trade of ſuperſtition, exerted all their abilities to gain the neceſſary aſcendance over the minds of men, and inſpire them with a firm belief of the infallibility and ſpiritual power of their founder and protector. To ſuch wretched expedients was the Roman ſee reduced, to ſupport the mighty ſtructure of ſuperſtition, which had been reared by the hand of enthuſiaſtic ignorance.

# EDWARD I. ſurnamed LONGSHANKS.

A. D. 1272. THOUGH Edward was abroad at the time of his father's death, yet no attempts to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand were made in England. The higheſt opinion was entertained of his merit, and all ranks and orders of men in the kingdom wiſhed earneſtly to ſee him on the throne of his anceſtors. The council of ſtate proclaimed him king immediately on the deceaſe of his father; all the eſtates of the kingdom ſwore fealty to him; and even the earl of Glouceſter himſelf was among the firſt to give proofs of his ſubmiſſion.

Edward, ſome time before the death of his father, was convinced that it would be impoſſible, with his handful of men, to oppoſe, with any hopes of ſucceſs, the numerous armies of the Saracens: he therefore liſtened to the offers of peace tended him by the ſultan of Babylon, and concluded a truce for ten years, ten months, and ten days. After ſigning this treaty, he embarked the remains of his little army, and paſſed over to Sicily, where he received the news of the death of his father, and alſo of that of his eldeſt ſon. Edward appeared more ſenſibly affected with the former than the latter; and the king of Sicily expreſſing a ſurpriſe at ſo ſingular a circumſtance, the prince told him, "That the death of a ſon was a loſs he might hope to repair; but the death of a father was a loſs irreparable."

A. D. 1273. After paying the tribute of grief and duty to the memory of his father, Edward ſet out for England, and paſſing through Chalons, he was invited by the prince of that province to a tournament he was preparing to celebrate. Edward was too ambitious of glory to omit ſo favourable an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and addreſs in arms; but the glory he acquired excited envy. Foiled in every attempt, the French knights were exaſperated, and made a ſerious attack upon the Engliſh. Fortune, however, ſtill favoured Edward; the French were repulſed, but not without a conſiderable effuſion of blood. Some hiſtorians have called this rencounter the petty battle of Chalons.

Edward having received advice that the peace of England was firmly eſtabliſhed, determined to ſettle ſome affairs on the continent before he viſited his native country. He accordingly repaired to the court of France, in order to do homage to Philip the Hardy, for his territories in France, and was received with every poſſible mark of politeneſs and regard. He afterwards repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles that had for ſome time diſturbed the peace of that province. He, however, continued ſome time longer in France at the earneſt requeſt of pope Gregory IX. who having ſummoned a general council to meet at Lyons, was apprehenſive that Edward's return to England would prevent many of the biſhops of that kingdom from attending.

A. D. 1274. Having ſettled all affairs on the continent he paſſed over into England, where he was received with the moſt joyful acclamations by his ſubjects, and ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter on the nineteenth of Auguſt, by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the Engliſh peers. We are told by ſome of our Engliſh hiſtorians, that Edward, to heighten the magnificence of the ceremony, gave orders for letting looſe five hundred beautiful Turkiſh horſes he had brought with him from the continent, and which were to be the property of thoſe that could catch them.

But ceremonies, however magnificent, could not long divert the attention of Edward from the affairs of government; and his ſubjects were ſoon convinced that the happineſs and glory of a ſtate, are the conſequences of the aſſiduity, wiſdom and capacity of the ſovereign. He made the great charter the rule of his conduct; and obliged the barons to obſerve it with regard to their vaſſals. The licentiouſneſs of the nobles had long been the ſource of various calamities, both with reſpect to the crown and people. He therefore took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, rendered them obedient to the laws of their country.

A. D. 1275. The nation had long been oppreſſed by numerous bands of robbers, who ſet the power of the magiſtrate at defiance. To remove theſe diſorders, a ſevere execution of juſtice was neceſſary; and Edward applied himſelf to effect it with the utmoſt aſſiduity. He appointed judges who were able to enforce the execution of the laws; and entruſted them with an authority ſufficient to intimidate theſe troops of banditti. But the ordinary miniſters of juſtice not being ſufficient to carry the laws into execution in the weſtern counties, he appointed commiſſioners who were to make regular circuits through different parts of the kingdom, in order to take cognizance of crimes, and puniſh offenders. Theſe itinerant diſpenſers of juſtice executed their commiſſion with the utmoſt ſeverity; they did not ſometimes make the proper diſtinction between innocence and guilt; the ſmalleſt accuſation was ſufficient for a trial, and too often for very heavy puniſhments. By this method of ſuppreſſing delinquents, every quarter of the kingdom was filled with terror. Edward perceived the commiſſioners exceeded the bounds he had ſet to their power, and therefore continued their office no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppreſs the various kinds of malefactors, murderers, robbers, incendaries, raviſhers and plunderers, that diſturbed the public tranquillity. This being effected, he prudently annulled their commiſſion.

A. D. 1276. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been cloſely connected with the Montfort family, now refuſed to repair to the court of Edward and pay him homage. This exaſperated the haughty ſpirit of the Engliſh monarch, and he determined to reduce his refractory vaſſal. Llewellyn well knew the power and great abilities of Edward, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by a ſtrict alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leiceſter in marriage. The young lady was then at the court of France, where ſhe had taken refuge on the death of her father. The requeſt of Llewellyn was, however, readily complied with, and Eleanor embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but the veſſel being taken at ſea, the betrothed princeſs was ſent to the court of Edward, where ſhe was detained as a priſoner of ſtate; but her brother was committed to Corf-caſtle. Deputies ſoon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ranſom the princeſs, whom he aſſerted to be detained againſt the law of nations. But Edward refuſed to ſet Eleanor at liberty, unleſs Llewellyn would engage to repair all the devaſtations committed on the borders of England, and reſtore all the caſtles he had taken during the late wars. Llewellyn refuſed the conditions, and hoſtilities immediately commenced between them; but the operations of the firſt campaign were of little conſequence, neither Edward nor Llewellyn heading their troops in perſon.

A. D. 1277. As ſoon as the ſpring was ſufficiently advanced, Edward led his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madneſs to meet the Engliſh in the open field, retreated to his woods and inacceſſible mountains, in order to haraſs the Engliſh troops; but Edward was not to be ſurprized. He cut a capacious road for his forces through a tract of woods extending from the marches on the borders of Cheſhire to Caernarvonſhire, by which means his forces penetrated with eaſe into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowden, the uſual place of refuge when attacked by the Engliſh. But their faſtneſſes were now of very little conſequence. Edward ſeized all the paſſes, and prevented any proviſions from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Famine ſoon reduced the Welſh prince to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on the following conditions; "That Llewellyn ſhould pay fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a ſatisfaction for damages; that he ſhould quit for ever a tract of land containing the whole country between Cheſter and the river Conway; and that he ſhould repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and ſwore fealty in the preſence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered Eleanor to him, and cauſed their nuptials to be celebrated with great magnificence.

A. D. 1278. A parliament being ſummoned at Glouceſter, ſeveral excellent ſtatutes were made for ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and providing for the better adminiſtration of juſtice. But among the many excellent regulations made by Edward for the advantage and happineſs of his people, he took one ſtep that again threatened the nation with all the miſeries of a civil war. He iſſued commiſſions to enquire into all the encroachments made on the royal demeſnes; and all perſons were ſummoned to produce the titles by which they held their eſtates. The barons were ſufficiently alarmed, and vigorouſly oppoſed the order, as cruel and oppreſſive. Among others, John, earl of Warenne and Surry, was cited before the king's commiſſioners for that purpoſe. He obeyed the ſummons, but on being called upon to produce his titles, drew a family ſword he had brought with him for that purpoſe, and addreſſed the court in the following manner: "It was with this ſword, that my anceſtors, who came in with William the baſtard, acquired their poſſeſſions; and by the ſame I will defend them: it was not for himſelf only that William conquered: it was not for him alone that my anceſtors fought." This noble and ſpirited declaration, which was conſonant to the ſenſe of all the old Engliſh nobility, put an end to the enquiry. Edward ſoon ſaw his error, and immediately revoked the commiſſion.

Among other grievances, the nation had for ſome time ſuffered exceedingly from the adulteration of the coin, which had raiſed the price of the neceſſaries of life to ſuch an exceſſive height, that the foreign commerce of the kingdom was almoſt ruined. The Jews were ſuſpected of being the authors of that deſtructive practice, and little proof was neceſſary to convict them of the offence. The prejudices entertained againſt that deſpiſed people were now ſo violent, that the laws of humanity were thought not to extend to them. No leſs than two hundred and eighty of them were hanged in one day at London, beſides thoſe that ſuffered in different parts of England. Multitudes of them were ruined by the confiſcation of their houſes and property; and though Edward ordered one half of the money which was raiſed in this cruel manner to be ſet apart for thoſe who ſhould embrace chriſtianity, very few of them accepted the offer: they could not think of embracing a religion, which they unjuſtly conſidered as the ſource of the barbarities exerciſed by its profeſſors.

A. D. 1281. Though Llewellyn had ſtrictly obſerved the conditions of the treaty, yet the officers of Edward had committed ſo many acts of violence upon the Welſh, that they implored the protection of their prince againſt their inſolent neighbours. Llewellyn made ſtrong remonſtrances to Edward, but without effect: the grievances ſtill continued. Exaſperated at ſuch unjuſt treatment, the Welſh determined rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be ſo much ſuperior to their own, than bear any longer the oppreſſions of the haughty victors. David, brother to Llewellyn, had long ſerved the crown of England with the utmoſt fidelity; but exaſperated at the unjuſt oppreſſions of his countrymen, he joined his brother, and offered to head the army, and venture his life to retrieve the liberties and independence of that ancient people. The generous propoſal was joyfully accepted; the whole nation flew to arms, and joined the ſtandard of David, who led them immediately againſt their oppreſſors. Several caſtles ſoon fell into their hands, and they ſeverely retaliated on the Engliſh, the miſeries they had ſo long ſuffered from their unprovoked cruelty.

Alarmed at the progreſs, and piqued at the ſucceſs of the inſurgents over his Engliſh ſubjects, Edward determined to cruſh for ever a people who had only taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and to procure that redreſs, they had ſo often ſollicited in vain. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, exerted all his intereſt to bring about an accommodation, and made ſeveral equitable propoſals by the requeſt of Llewellyn and his brother, for ſheathing the ſword of deſtruction, and preventing the horrid devaſtation that muſt enſue, if the bloody ſtandard of war ſhould be carried into the country of that diſtreſſed and injured people. But his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its ancient independence.

A. D. 1282. This reſolution being taken, Edward led his army into the enemy's country, without meeting any oppoſition, Llewellyn and his brother having retired to their faſtneſſes in Snowden, waiting for an opportunity of falling on the Engliſh when embarraſſed among the woods, with which that part of the country was over-run.

Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, inveſted the enemy by ſecuring all the avenues through which it was poſſible for them to eſcape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, oppoſite to Bangor. Before this work was entirely completed, three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gaſcon, paſſed the river to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the army croſſed the bridge. The Welſh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew that the water would ſoon ſwell and cut off their retreat, did not for ſome time moleſt the Engliſh in their paſſage; but when about fifteen hundred of them were landed, they ruſhed down from their mountains with the moſt horrid cries, and fell upon the Engliſh with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they were immediately routed with the moſt dreadful ſlaughter, not a man eſcaping to carry the news of their misfortune, except lord Latimer, whoſe horſe ſwam with him acroſs the river.

This dreadful defeat ſo diſpirited the Engliſh, that for ſome time their operations were ſuſpended: they found it impoſſible to advance, and were aſhamed to retire. The Welſh, on the other hand, fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, began to think themſelves invincible; and their bards having perſuaded them that the period was arrived for the accompliſhment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn would ride through the ſtreets of London with a crown on his head. This ridiculous notion, well adapted to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times, proved the deſtruction of Welſh army. It was reſolved to commit the care of Snowdon to David, while Llewellyn himſelf led the main body of the forces againſt the enemy.

This fatal reſolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorſhire, in order to join the remains of Montfort's party; but his little army was met at Pont Orewyn, a bridge which ſecures the paſſage over the Wye, by a detachment of the Engliſh, and totally defeated; and he himſelf, who had advanced ſome diſtance before his troops, killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who carried his head to Edward, then encamped at Conway. Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince deſcended from one of the moſt ancient royal families in Europe, and with him the ſmall remains of Welſh liberty expired; after having been preſerved in that little corner of the iſland above eighteen hundred years, againſt all the efforts of the Engliſh monarchy, though deſtitute both of foreign alliances, and a naval power.

The death of Llewellyn ſtruck the Welſh with terror; they made no farther efforts to ſupport the falling ſtate of their country: the greater part of them ſubmitted to the Engliſh. David himſelf retired to the woods and faſtneſſes of the mountains, where he continued for ſome time in the greateſt diſtreſs; but was at laſt ſeized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and ſent in chains to Edward. The captivity of David put a final period to all oppoſition: the Welſh nobility delivered up their caſtles, and the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1283. A parliament was ſummoned at Shrewſbury, to determine the fate of the unfortunate captive. The trial was, however, ſoon determined, and David, inſtead of being reſpected as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned to be hanged as a robber and a traitor. Such was ſtill the ferocity of the greateſt princes of this barbarous age! The bards, or Welſh poets, were alſo devoted to deſtruction. Edward well knew that nothing had a more powerful influence to keep alive the ideas of military valour and of ancient glory, than the traditional poetry of the people, when aſſiſted by the power of muſic, and jollity of feſtivals. He therefore gathered together all the Welſh bards, and by a policy equally cruel and unjuſt, ordered them all to be put to death; ſo greatly did Edward dread the impreſſion they might make on a people, jealous to exceſs of their ancient liberty. The following anecdote, which is very properly adapted to the taſte of monkiſh writers, is related by ſeveral of our hiſtorians. "Edward, ſay they, aſſembling the Welſh, promiſed to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, born in their own country, and one who could ſpeak no other language. The favour was accepted with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and promiſe of obedience; and he immediately beſtowed the inveſtiture of the principality on his ſon Edward, then an infant, and born at Caernarvon." Since that period, the principality of Wales has given title to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England.

A.D. 1286. The tranquillity of the whole kingdom was now ſo firmly ſettled, that Edward paſſed over to the continent, in order to mediate a peace between Alphonſo, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued there near three years; and during the greater part of the time, was employed in this intricate negotiation, which was at laſt happily terminated by the labours of the Engliſh monarch, whoſe power was dreaded, and whoſe virtues were revered in every part of Europe.

A.D. 1290. But during his abſence, great diſorders had happened in the kingdom. The ſtreams of juſtice were poiſoned at their fountains by the corruption of the judges. Edward was determined to examine very ſtrictly into their conduct; and accordingly ſummoned a parliament for that purpoſe, to meet at London, and before that aſſembly the judges were tried. Two only were found innocent: the proofs againſt the reſt were ſo clear, that they made no defence, and were all depoſed, and ſeverely fined. The two judges who were found, on the ſtricteſt examination, to have adminiſtered juſtice with integrity, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen. In this parliament an act paſſed for baniſhing the Jews; and near fifteen thouſand of that deſpiſed people, after being ſtripped of their property, except ſuch ſums as were neceſſary to pay their paſſage to the continent, were ſent out of the kingdom. But many of them were not ſuffered to eſcape even with ſo ſmall a pittance of their fortune: numbers were murdered by the ſeamen in their paſſage; and others, after being plundered of their little all, were left deſtitute on an inhoſpitable ſhore. Such are the dreadful effects of enthuſiaſtic vengeance, when under no reſtraint from the laws of humanity. Nor did even this ſtretch of the common rights of nature and nations remove the complaint that gave riſe to ſo cruel and imprudent a meaſure. It was thought that uſury would be baniſhed with the Jews; but this was a fatal miſtake. The prohibitions againſt lending money, and the neceſſity in a trading nation for that practice to ſubſiſt, only increaſed the evil. The Engliſh themſelves now became the uſurers; but as both the canon and municipal laws permitted no Chriſtian to receive intereſt, all tranſactions of this kind were clandeſtine, and conſequently, the intereſt was greatly augmented, becauſe none would lend money but on receiving a gratuity proportionable to the riſk and infamy to which he was expoſed for lending it.

While Edward was thus employed in what he thought a religious duty, he loſt his beloved queen Eleanor, the fond partner in all his dangers and diſtreſs in Paleſtine. She died at Hodeſby, in Lincolnſhire, on the twenty-ninth of November, leaving the king overwhelmed with the moſt poignant grief. Her remains were carried to Weſtminſter, and interred in the abbey with great funeral pomp: and at every place where her body reſted, and where dirges were ſung for the repoſe of her ſoul, Edward cauſed ſtone croſſes, on which her arms were engraven, to be erected to her memory. Some of theſe monuments ſtill remain, but greatly defaced.

It had always been lamented by the greateſt ſtateſmen, that England and Scotland were not united; and ſome attempts had been made to produce ſo deſirable an event. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horſe in the year 1286, leaving no male iſſue. Margaret, daughter to Eric King of Norway, and grand-daughter to Alexander, was the only lineal deſcendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princeſs, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland. Edward, who was great-uncle to the Norwegian princeſs, now flattered himſelf that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly propoſed a marriage between his ſon, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendſhip which had for ſome time prevailed between the two nations, greatly facilitated this project, ſo favourable to the grandeur and happineſs of both kingdoms. The eſtates of Scotland were pleaſed with the offers of Edward, and the marriage was agreed to on the following conditions:

1. That the Scots ſhall enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; ſaving the rights of the king of England, or any other perſon on the marches or elſewhere.

2. That if Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom ſhall revert, intire, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

3. That in caſe of the death of prince Edward without iſſue of the body of Margaret, her majeſty's perſon ſhall be remitted in like manner free, and independent, to Scotland.

4. That no perſon, either of the clergy or laity, ſhall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to aſk leave either to elect, or preſent thoſe they have elected; nor to do their homage, fealty and ſervices; nor to proſecute law-ſuits; nor, in a word, to perform any thing uſually done in Scotland.

5. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhall have its chancellor, officers of ſtate, courts of judicature, &c. as before; and that a new ſeal ſhall be made and kept by the chancellor; but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

6. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhall be lodged in ſome ſecure place within the kingdom, at the pleaſure of the nobility, whoſe ſeals ſhould be appended to them, and there kept till either the queen ſhall return to her own kingdom, or ſhall have heirs to ſucceed her.

7. That all parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the ſtate or inhabitants of Scotland, ſhall be held within the limits of the kingdom.

8. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. ſhall be exacted in Scotland, but ſuch as, being uſual in former times, ſhall conſiſt with the common intereſt and good of the nation.

9. That the king of England ſhall oblige himſelf and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable to the church of Rome, and to be applied to ſupport the cruſades in the Holy Land, to make reſtitution of the kingdom in the caſes aforeſaid; and that he ſhall conſent that the pope reſtrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom to both the above reſtrictions, and payment of the ſaid ſum of money, if he or they do not ſtand to the premiſes.

10. That Edward, at his own expence, ſhall procure the pope to confirm theſe articles, within a year after the conſummation of the marriage; and alſo, that within the ſame time the bull of his holineſs ſhall be delivered to the eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland.

Theſe articles being ratified, the biſhop of Durham was appointed queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottiſh commiſſioners, the earl of Warrenne, and the dean of York, embarked for Norway, to ſettle every thing relative to the marriage; but in their return with the young princeſs, they were unfortunately overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, and driven into one of the Orkneys, where ſhe died. Thus were all the hopes formed on this coalition ſuddenly deſtroyed, and Scotland involved in all the calamities that attend a diſputed ſucceſſion.

The principal competitors for the Scottiſh crown were Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both deſcended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken priſoner by Henry II. Bruce was the ſon of one of the younger daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, William's brother; and Baliol was the ſon of Devergilda, the only daughter of the eldeſt. The former was, therefore, one degree nearer the common ſtock; but the latter had a preferable title according to the law of primogeniture. The Scots, who were at this time a groſs and ignorant people, were little qualified to diſcuſs the claims of theſe competitors. The parliament was divided; and if they had determined the diſpute by a plurality of voices, the competitors were ſo powerful, that there were little hopes of their ſubmitting to their deciſion; the animoſities of the parties would, in all probability, have been heightened, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. It was therefore reſolved to refer the conteſt to the king of England, who had already ſhewn himſelf ſo able and impartial an arbitrator in ſeveral contentions between different princes of Europe, and who was ſufficiently powerful to compel the unſucceſsful claimant to ſubmit to his ſentence.

A. D. 1291. Edward readily accepted the office; but they little thought he would abuſe their confidence, in order to impoſe on their independence. He determined to eſtabliſh a right of ſuperiority over Scotland, a project he had ſome time ſince formed, though he had hitherto wiſhed to obtain it rather by compact than claim; by the arts of policy and addreſs, rather than by force of arms. He wiſhed not to plant his ſtandard of power in fields manured with the blood of their inhabitants. He ſought, with the utmoſt diligence, for proofs in ancient hiſtories; but the only circumſtance he inſiſted on, which had the leaſt appearance of plauſibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. tho' Richard I. had renounced this homage. Furniſhed, however, with a number of uncertain teſtimonies, he advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army, to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief juſticiary told the aſſembly, "That the king had taken the greateſt pains to collect proofs from all the ancient records and chronicles, to determine this important truth, namely, That the kings of Scotland had been dependent on the Engliſh monarchs from time immemorial, and had accordingly done them homage, except when they had taken advantage of the inteſtine commotions of the nation, or the reign of a weak prince, to withdraw their allegiance. The king was, therefore, intitled to decide this diſpute, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in the quality of liege lord of the kingdom."

The aſſembly were aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected a declaration; but it was in vain to make any reſiſtance. They, however, begged to have ſome time allowed them to give in their anſwer, as many of the prelates and nobility of Scotland were abſent, whoſe advice was neceſſary in a point of ſo much importance. Edward conſented to indulge them with three weeks for that purpoſe; and iſſued ſafe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their anſwer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addreſſed himſelf to the ſeveral competitors. requiring their acknowledgement of his ſuperiority. Bruce was the firſt to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottiſh nation, conſented with more reluctance. Having gained this important acknowledgement, Edward demanded that the principal caſtles in that kingdom ſhould be put into his hands; adding, that it would be in vain for him to pronounce any ſentence, without having it in his power to enforce it. The demand was complied with; and Edward having named commiſſioners to inquire into the claims of the competitors, and promiſed to pronounce ſentence the enſuing year, returned to England. The moſt celebrated lawyers of Europe were now conſulted on this queſtion; and the idea of a repreſentation was ſo well underſtood, that their anſwers were unanimous in favour of Baliol.

A. D. 1293. After long debates, and ſeveral adjournments, Edward pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol; and he was immediately put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. All the Engliſh garriſons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage, and ſwore fealty to Edward. He was alſo received as king of Scotland by all the nobility, and crowned at Scone with the uſual formalities.

Some of the moſt bloody wars in Europe have aroſe from very trifling cauſes; but, perhaps, none from one of leſs importance than that which now threatened two powerful kingdoms with deſolation. Two ſeamen, one belonging to a Norman, and the other to an Engliſh ſhip, having ſome diſpute at a ſpring near Bayonne, with regard to the preference of filling their caſks with water, the Norman attempted to ſtab the Engliſhman with a dagger he drew from his ſide. The latter perceived his deſign, grappled with him, threw his adverſary on the ground, and the Norman was killed by falling on his own dagger. Exaſperated at the death of their countryman, the Normans determined to take the ſevereſt revenge; and meeting with an Engliſh veſſel, they hanged ſeveral of the crew at the yard-arm, together with ſome dogs; bidding the mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. The Engliſh were not formed to bear ſo deliberate an inſult: they made ſevere repriſals: the ſeas were covered with hoſtile fleets, while the kings of France and England ſeemed indifferent ſpectators of the dreadful outrages committed by their ſubjects. Fleets were fitted out for carrying on this new ſpecies of war, which now became truly alarming; and increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in one of thoſe naval engagements, the French loſt near fifteen thouſand men. Philip the Fair now demanded ſatisfaction from Edward; and being diſſatisfied with his anſwer, cited him to appear before the peers of France, as duke of Guienne. Edward ſent his brother Edmund into France, in order to accommodate the quarrel, and prevent, if poſſible, the ravages of a bloody war.

While theſe negotiations were carrying on at the court of France, an event happened which left the Scots no room to doubt of the abſolute ſtate of vaſſalage into which they were fallen. A burgher of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from ſome Engliſh commiſſioners ſent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cauſe to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland conſidering this order as a breach of promiſe in Edward, who had aſſured them, that any offences committed in their kingdom ſhould be cognizable only in the Scottiſh courts, ſent a remonſtrance to the Engliſh monarch. But they obtained not redreſs: Edward declared, "That the cauſe ſhould be tried in England; it belonged not to vaſſals to puniſh thoſe that repreſented the perſon of their ſovereign." But if the Scots were mortified at this inſtance of their dependency, they were much more ſo in the treatment of their new king, who was ſoon after obliged to appear perſonally before Edward, in his court at Weſtminſter, to anſwer a complaint exhibited againſt him by the earl of Fife, for ſeizing certain eſtates of which he had been inveſted by Edward's particular order. At this trial Baliol was obliged to relinquiſh the ſeat of honour hitherto filled by the kings of Scotland in the Engliſh courts, and to plead his own cauſe at the bar as a common defendant. This puſillanimous ſubmiſſion rendered Baliol ſo contemptible to the Scottiſh nobility, that they choſe a regency of twelve perſons to direct the management of affairs. The Scottiſh monarch was alarmed; and notwithſtanding the facility of his temper, determined to ſhake off ſo ignominious a dependence. He left the court of London without taking leave, and Edward ſeized all his eſtates in England. Baliol ſaw his danger, and concluded a treaty with Philip. An incident that gave riſe to that ſtrict union which continued ſo many ages between the French and Scottiſh nations.

Edward intended by theſe indignities to engage Baliol in rebellion, that he might have a pretence for making an entire conqueſt of Scotland; but the ſituation of affairs on the continent prevented him from carrying his deſigns into execution. The French monarch refuſed to liſten to any accommodation, unleſs ſome expedient could be found for repairing his honour, which he pretended was wounded on account of his being the liege lord of Edward with regard to his poſſeſſions on the continent. It was therefore propoſed that the Engliſh monarch ſhould put Philip in poſſeſſion of Guienne, as a reparation for the inſult; and that the king of France ſhould immediately reſtore it to Edward. Philip promiſed, on the word of a king, to perform his part of the treaty; and Edmund was commiſſioned to give him the ſatisfaction he deſired. But the French king had no ſooner obtained poſſeſſion of the province, than he refuſed to fulfil his engagement, cited Edward to appear in the court of France, and on his refuſing to obey the ſummons, the province of Guienne, by a formal ſentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown. Enraged at the ſhameful duplicity of Philip, Edward determined to take a ſevere revenge; while this infamous breach of faith awakened the higheſt reſentment among the Engliſh, who reſolved to ſupport their monarch to the utmoſt of their power.

But large ſupplies were neceſſary for raiſing armies ſufficient for attacking ſo formidable a power, and alſo keeping in awe the Welſh and Scots, both theſe people having given plain indications of embracing the firſt favourable opportunity of recovering their former independence. Edward had experienced the difficulties of raiſing money on the people without obtaining their conſent, and therefore determined to purſue the method pointed out by Leiceſter during the late reign. He ſummoned two deputies from every every borough, in order to procure their leave to the levying of the neceſſary taxes on the people. "It is an excellent rule," ſaid Edward in the preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all, ſhould be approved by all; and that common dangers ſhould be repelled by united efforts:" A noble principle, and worthy of a more enlightened age! Nor did Edward ſtop here. He ſummoned alſo deputies from the inferior clergy, and theſe formed a lower houſe of convocation. They, however, refuſed to obey the king's writ, leſt it ſhould be conſtrued as an acknowledgement of their having ſubmitted to the authority of the temporal power. It was therefore agreed that the king ſhould iſſue his writ to the archbiſhops, who ſhould, in conſequence, ſummon the clergy. The king intended that theſe deputies ſhould, with the prelates, have formed one eſtate of the kingdom; but this expedient rendered it neceſſary for the eccleſiaſtics to meet in two houſes of convocation, under their reſpective archbiſhops. The Engliſh parliament, for the aſſembly now properly deſerved that name, being met, the barons and knights granted the king an eleventh of their moveables, the burgeſſes a ſeventh, and the clergy a tenth.

A. D. 1296. The war with France had for ſome time been carried on with various ſucceſs; when pope Celeſtine, deſirous of engaging the powers of Europe in another cruſade, offered his mediation, and a truce was made between the belligerent powers. This ceſſation of hoſtilities with Philip enabled Edward to make preparations for repelling the attempts of the Scots, whom he knew were highly exaſperated at the affront their king had lately received. While he was employed in raiſing an army neceſſary for that purpoſe, he received advice of the treaty ſecretly concluded between Baliol and Philip; but he was not intimidated by the cloſe connection between theſe two powers. He ſummoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vaſſal, and cited him to appear before the Engliſh parliament; but he refuſed the citation, and having procured a diſpenſation from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage and defied the Engliſh monarch. Exaſperated at the conduct of Baliol, Edward marched to the northward at the head of thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The Scots army was more numerous, being compoſed of forty thouſand infantry, and five hundred horſe, but they wanted both diſcipline and experience; and, what was ſtill of more conſequence, diſſentions prevailed among the leaders. From theſe alarming appearances, ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility, among whom were Robert Bruce, the father and ſon, the earls of March and Angus, prognoſticated the ruin of their country, and made their ſubmiſſion to Edward, who now paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, without oppoſition. Berwick was taken by aſſault, and above ſeven thouſand of the garriſon put to the ſword; the governor, Sir William Douglas, was taken priſoner. Earl Warrenne was then diſpatched, at the head of ten thouſand men, to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottiſh nobility.

Baliol knew the importance of this fortreſs, and determined to venture a battle for its relief: and Warrenne, informed of his intention, marched to meet him, when a dreadful battle enſued. The Scots, bad armed and diſciplined, could not ſupport the furious charge of the Engliſh; they were ſoon broke, and driven with great ſlaughter from the field of battle; above twenty thouſand of them are ſaid to have fallen by the ſwords of the Engliſh. The caſtle ſurrendered the next day to Edward, who then joined his army, and purſued his conqueſts without any farther oppoſition from Baliol's army. The caſtles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling ſubmitted after a feeble reſiſtance; and all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were immediately ſubdued by the Engliſh. The timid Baliol, inſtead of retreating to the mountainous parts of the country, where he might have ſupported himſelf againſt all the attempts of the Engliſh, haſtened to make his ſubmiſſion. He expreſſed the deepeſt penitence for having diſobeyed his liege lord, and made a ſolemn reſignation of his crown into the hands of Edward, at Brechin, on the tenth of July. He was ſent priſoner to the tower of London, and two years afterwards ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France, where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private ſtation.

Scotland being thus ſubdued, Edward ſent to London the regalia, together with the famous fatidical marble ſtone, on which all the preceding kings of Scotland had, for many ages, been ſeated, when they received inauguration. The popular ſuperſtition of the Scots paid the higheſt veneration to this ſtone, which was regarded as the true palladium of their monarchy, and the ultimate reſource in every national misfortune. The chief offices of the kingdom were entruſted to Engliſhmen. All the records and monuments of antiquity were deſtroyed; and the conqueror returned to England, perſuaded that he had fully reduced the kingdom of Scotland to ſubjection.

But this expedition had drained his coffers, and he was obliged to have recourſe to his parliament for a farther ſupply, in order to enable him to wreſt the province of Guienne out of the hands of Philip, the truce with that monarch being now expired. The barons and burgeſſes very readily complied with his requeſt, but he met with an oppoſition from the clergy, which was attended with ſome important conſequences. Robert de Winchelſey, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. who had lately ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair, prohibiting the princes of Chriſtendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levying,

ing, without his conſent, any tax on the clergy; and reſtraining, under the ſame penalty, all eccleſiaſtics from ſubmitting to ſuch impoſitions. Edward, who knew nothing of this bull, was aſtoniſhed when the clergy refuſed their aſſiſtance, and publiſhed the bull, as a reaſon for their conduct. But Edward was not formed to ſubmit to inſults; he, however, adjourned the parliament till the fourteenth of January, that they might have time to deliberate on his demand, and form their final reſolution.

A. D. 1297. Edward hoped that a little reflection would have rendered the clergy more conformable to his demands; but he was miſtaken; the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the name of the whole body, anſwered, "That the clergy owed obedience to two ſovereigns, their ſpiritual and temporal; but their duty bound them to a much ſtricter attachment to the former than the latter." Edward, though highly enraged, concealed his reſentment; but told them, that as they refuſed to aſſiſt the civil power, it was unreaſonable for them to expect any protection from the laws. With this anſwer the clergy were diſmiſſed, and orders iſſued to the judges, to receive no cauſe brought before them by any eccleſiaſtic; to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants; to do every man juſtice againſt them; but to do them juſtice againſt nobody; at the ſame time he locked up all their granaries, and barns, and prohibited any rent to be paid them. The clergy were aſtoniſhed; they had never before experienced the proper reſentment of an Engliſh monarch. The archbiſhop of York and his clergy complied with the king's requeſt, and received the royal protection; but Winchelſey grew more obſtinate from perſecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all the churches of his province, and convened a ſynod of his ſuffragans at St. Paul's in London. But Edward, aware of his intention, iſſued a writ, inhibiting him, under pain of impriſonment, from denouncing any eccleſiaſtical cenſure either againſt the king, his miniſters, or ſubjects. At the ſame time, the archdeacon of Bath appealed, in the king's name, to the pope againſt all proceedings; an expedient which effectually ſuſpended every operation of the ſynod.

The clergy now found themſelves in the moſt dreadful ſituation. Their houſes and convents might indeed have afforded them a ſafe retreat, but they were in want of ſubſiſtence; and whenever they ventured abroad, they were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their ſufferings. The archbiſhop himſelf was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at laſt reduced to board himſelf with a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a poor clergyman. This ſituation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greateſt calamity; and they accordingly became ſollicitous to ſatisfy both the king and the ſtate. But in order to avoid an open diſobedience to the poſitive injunctions of Boniface, inſtead of granting the king a fifth of their movenbles, they agreed to depoſit an equivalent ſum of money in ſome church or convent; whence it was taken by the king's officers.

Theſe ſupplies, tho' very conſiderable, were far from being ſufficient to anſwer the deſigns formed by Edward for taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; ſo that he was obliged to have recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, extremely oppreſſive to the people. He impoſed a tax of forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool exported; he ſeized, without conſent of the owners, the cattle and other commodities neceſſary for the ſupply of his army; and required the attendance of every proprietor of land, poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown, and therefore not obliged by the tenure of his eſtate to perform any ſuch ſervice. It is no wonder that deſpotic meaſures like theſe, occaſioned great uneaſineſs in the kingdom. The nobility were alarmed; they gave countenance and authority to the complaints of the people, and Edward was ſoon convinced that he had purſued imprudent meaſures. An army was aſſembled on the ſea coaſt, which Edward intended to embark for Guienne under the command of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England; while Edward himſelf, at the head of another army, attacked the French on the ſide of Flanders. This incident gave the two barons an opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment at the arbitrary meaſures purſued by the king. They affirmed that their office obliged them only to attend his perſon in the wars, and therefore refuſed to lead the army. A violent altercation enſued; and the king, turning himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "By God, Sir earl, you ſhall either go, or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the conſtable, "I will neither go nor hang." And immediately left the army, with the mareſchal, and about thirty other barons of very conſiderable power.

Edward, however provoked by the refuſal of the barons, was prudent enough to conceal his reſentment, and laid aſide his expedition into Guienne. He ſaw his error, and endeavoured, by purſuing conciliating methods, to get the better of this oppoſition. He careſſed his nobility; he reconciled himſelf to the clergy; he made an apology for his conduct, which he imputed to the urgent neceſſities of the crown: and promiſed, on his return from his expedition, to redreſs all grievances, and reſtore the execution of the laws.

Theſe political meaſures convinced the two earls, that it would be very imprudent to carry their reſentments farther than they were warranted by the laws of their country. They accordingly contented themſelves with drawing up a remonſtrance, which was preſented to the king at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. Edward again promiſed them redreſs as ſoon as he returned to England, and added, that he hoped thoſe nobles who had declined leading his army, would do no injury to his crown or kingdom during his abſence. The barons were, however, far from being ſatisfied, and he had hardly landed on the continent, before the conſtable and mareſchal inſiſted on an authentic confirmation both of the great charter, and the charter of the foreſts. Edward was very deſirous of putting it off till his return, but the parliament, which had been aſſembled at London by his order, joining with the two earls, and the charters being ſent over to Flanders, he confirmed them in preſence of all the prelates and nobility in his army.

A. D. 1298. Edward, though he loſt no time by indolence, did not land in Flanders till the ſeaſon was too far advanced for making any attempt of importance. The earl of Flanders, who had joined in a league with Edward, ſoon experienced the power and reſentment of Philip. Liſle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres were already wreſted from him, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the ſame fate. The arrival of Edward indeed put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of Philip; but the two kings, inſtead of venturing a deciſive action, agreed to a truce for two years, and engaged to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface. But as both theſe monarchs were jealous of the claims made on the moſt trivial pretences by the holy ſee, they took care to inſert in their reference, that they did not ſubmit their differences to his deciſion, from any right he might pretend by virtue of his pontifical character, but merely by their own conſent, as a private perſon. The pope ſoon gave his ſentence, which ſeemed to have been dictated by his paſſion rather than his judgment. He commanded not only a reſtitution of Guienne, but alſo the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip was deſirous of comprehending John Baliol and the Scots in this treaty; but this was abſolutely refuſed by Edward. At laſt the two monarchs compromiſed their differences, by making mutual ſacrifices to each other. Edward abandoned his ally, the earl of Flanders; and Philip gave up the Scots. This is not the only time the intereſts of allies have been ſacrificed at the altar of ambition. The ſentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the Scots made a ſucceſsful effort for the recovery of their liberties. Edward had not been fortunate in his choice of perſons to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of affairs in Scotland. Warrenne, earl of Surry, to whom the chief authority had been delegated, was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill ſtate of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the reins of government were intruſted to William de Ormeſby, chief juſticiary, and Creſſingham, the treaſurer. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Perſons of ſuch characters were ill adapted to the taſk of reconciling the Scots to a yoke they bore with the utmoſt reluctance. Inſtead of making uſe of moderate and lenient meaſures, they treated them as a conquered people, and made them ſenſible of the ſervitude into which they were fallen. This exaſperated the whole nation, and the Scots reſolved to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty.

Among thoſe who had ſeverely felt the hand of power, was one William Wallace, a perſon of ſmall fortune, but deſcended from an ancient family. He ſaw the diſtreſſes of the people, and undertook the defence of his country. He was of a gigantic ſtature, prodigious ſtrength, heroic courage, and diſintereſted magnanimity. He had retired to the woods, to avoid the vengeance of the government; and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of men, who, like himſelf, had fled from the tyranny of the Engliſh. He planned his enterprizes with ſo much prudence, that he was always ſucceſsful; and the fame of his exploits ſoon increaſed the number of his followers. He now determined to attack the governors, and accordingly advanced to Scone for that purpoſe. But Ormeſby and Creſſingham, apprized of his intention, fled into England, and were followed by all the other officers of that kingdom. Elated at this ſucceſs, the Scots flew to arms; and ſome of the principal barons, among whom was Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced the party of Wallace.

The earl of Surry was now ſufficiently alarmed, and endeavoured to recover by the celerity of his motions what he had loſt by neglect. He entered Annandale, and came up with the Scottiſh army at Irvine before they were ſufficiently formed. The nobility finding it would be in vain to oppoſe the Engliſh, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a pardon. Wallace, however, at the head of a choſen body of men, who had all bound themſelves by an oath never to lay down their arms till they had effected the liberty of their country, retired before the capitulation was ſigned, and took poſt on a hill above the monaſtery of Cambuſkenneth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Warrenne continued his march, and diſcovered the enemy on the oppoſite bank of Forth; but, at the ſame time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous ſituation, eſpecially as the bridge over the Forth was ſo narrow, as hardly to admit two men a-breaſt. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotſman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the Engliſh, deſired a party of five hundred horſe, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command; promiſing to paſs the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army paſſed the bridge. This prudent deſign was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Creſſingham, who being actuated, both by perſonal and national animoſities, againſt the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly againſt all delays, as expenſive, and diſhonourable to the king. Surry, who conſidered theſe reflections as cenſures upon his own conduct, ordered the army to paſs the bridge immediately. But he paid dearly for his temerity. Wallace let as many of them paſs as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were all cut to pieces, or puſhed into the river, where they periſhed. Near five thouſand men fell in the action, and among the reſt Creſſingham himſelf, who being found among the ſlain, the Scots flayed his dead body, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. The remainder of the Engliſh army were ſo diſpirited at the deſtruction of their countrymen, whom they could not aſſiſt, that Warrenne thought it adviſeable to make no farther attempts againſt the enemy; and accordingly returned, with the remains of his army, into England.

The Scots now flocked from every part of the kingdom to join the ſtandard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom during the captivity of Baliol. His forces were greatly elated with their ſucceſs; and he immediately led them towards the borders of England, where he was ſure of finding ſubſiſtence; the diſorders of war, added to unfavourable ſeaſons, having occaſioned a famine in Scotland. The caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble reſiſtance, and opened the Scots a free paſſage into Northumberland. Wallace firſt led his victorious troops againſt Carliſle; but not being able to take the city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and returned loaded with plunder.

During theſe diſorders in the north, Edward arrived in England, and determined to wipe off this ſtain of national diſgrace, and make the enemy pay dearly for their victory. But before he put himſelf at the head of his army, he prudently endeavoured to appeaſe the murmurs of his people by conceſſions and promiſes. He aſſembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional ſtatutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the biſhop of Carliſle ſolemnly denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all violators of theſe charters. The king then ordered a ſtrict account of the quantity of corn, and other commodities, which had been violently ſeized before his departure, to be taken, in order that the owners might receive ſatisfaction; and returned to the citizens of London the privilege of chuſing their own magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign.

Theſe popular meaſures gained him the hearts of his ſubjects; they flocked to his ſtandard, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand fighting men; a force abundantly ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents to ſubjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots. Diviſions and envy took place among that unhappy people. The noblemen deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, inſtead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in a glorious emulation in the ſervice of their country, threw the moſt ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. They choſe rather to behold their country groaning under the yoke of perpetual bondage, than ſee themſelves eclipſed by a perſon of inferior birth. Wallace ſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt attend theſe diviſions, and generouſly reſigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refuſed to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a deſire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly ſacrificed the latter to preſerve the former. On the reſignation of Wallace, the command of the army devolved upon the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock, both eminent for their birth and fortune.

This conteſt being decided, the Scottiſh army marched to Falkirk, where they determined to wait the attack of the Engliſh. The army was drawn up in three bodies, the fronts of which were compoſed of pike-men, and the intervals filled with archers. But dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front with palliſadoes tied together with ropes.

Pleaſed with the hopes of terminating the war by one deciſive action, Edward divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to the charge. The attack was begun by the Engliſh archers, who poured a dreadful ſhower of arrows upon the enemy. The Scottiſh bowmen, unable to ſupport the fury of the Engliſh, were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter. The archers purſued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into diſorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout enſued, attended with the moſt dreadful carnage. It is impoſſible to fix, with any certainty, the number that fell in this remarkable battle. Some hiſtorians tell us, that no leſs than fifty or ſixty thouſand periſhed, while others have reduced their enormous account to twenty thouſand. This, however, is certain, that the Scots never ſuffered a greater loſs, nor ever experienced a defeat that ſeemed pregnant with more deſtructive conſequences.

Wallace alone kept a conſiderable party of his troops together; and retiring behind the Carron, marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Bruce followed him, appeared on the oppoſite bank, and deſired a ſhort conference. He began with reproaching the Scottiſh leader with madneſs, in taking up arms againſt Edward, one of the moſt powerful princes, and the beſt general of the age: at the ſame time inſinuating, that Wallace himſelf had formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace warmly diſclaimed every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miſeries of his country alone rouſed him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to ſeize the ſceptre of Scotland. "To you" added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miſeries, and I undertook the cauſe you ſo baſely betrayed; a cauſe I mean to ſupport while I have ſtrength to weild a ſword; nor ſhall I envy you a life of eaſe and pleaſure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You, my lord, have, indeed, a juſt title to the crown, and might wear it with honour to yourſelf, and advantage to your country; but you ſeem to prefer the chains of ſervitude to freedom, and the ſmiles of deſpotiſm to the calls of honour."

Struck with the generous ſentiments of Wallace, Bruce repented of his engagements with Edward. He ſaw his own conduct in a very different point of light, and determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of joining thoſe patriotic chiefs who had ſo nobly ſupported the cauſe of his country. Bruce now returned to the Engliſh army; and Wallace, at the head of the poor remains of the battle of Falkirk, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom, fully determined never to ſubmit to the laws of the conqueror.

Unable to face the armies of the Engliſh, and deſirous, if poſſible, to ſupport the liberties of their country, the Scots implored in vain the protection of Lewis: he had abandoned them to the fury of the conqueror by his late treaty. But they were more ſucceſsful in their application to Boniface; he undertook the defence of Scotland. That pontiff, who ſeemed determined to carry the power of the papal chair to the moſt extravagant height, wrote a letter to Edward; in which, after confuting the pretenſions of that monarch to the ſuperiority of Scotland, advanced claims ſtill more abſurd in their room. He aſſerted, with a ſingular degree of confidence, that the pope was the true liege lord of Scotland; that his right was full, entire, and derived from the moſt remote antiquity. Edward, both aſtoniſhed and offended at this bold aſſertion, was at firſt inclined to treat the pontiff's letter with contempt; but fearing the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the people might occaſion diſorders in the nation, and prevent his maintaining the ſuperiority he had acquired over Scotland, he wrote an anſwer to the pope's epiſtle, and advanced claims to the Scottiſh crown, at leaſt as chimerical as thoſe of his holineſs. He deduced the ſuperiority of England over Scotland from the time of Brutus the Trojan, who, he ſaid, firſt founded the Britiſh monarchy, in the time of Eli and Samuel. He laid it down as a fact, confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the Engliſh monarchs had often made grants of Scotland to their ſubjects, and had dethroned thoſe vaſſal kings when they proved unfaithful to them. He recited, with great oſtentation, the homage which William had done to Henry II. but mentioned not the abolition of that extorted deed by Richard I. Theſe pretenſions, however abſurd, were confirmed by one hundred and four barons aſſembled at Lincoln for that purpoſe. But though they ſigned thoſe pretenſions, and agreed to ſend them to Boniface, they took particular care to prevent this act from affording the leaſt pretenſion for his holineſs to make it the foundation of any claim to a ſuperiority over England. They annexed a poſitive declaration, that though they were willing to ſubmit theſe proofs to him as a man, they did not by any means receive him as a judge. "The crown of England" added they, "is free, nor will we ſuffer even the king himſelf to "relinquiſh its independency."

A. D. 1303. The Scots, though their army had been ſo totally defeated at Falkirk, were not ſubdued: freſh forces had joined the remains of that army in the mountainous parts of the kingdom, and again attacked the diſtricts poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. An army of ten thouſand men was ſoon formed under Cummin, appointed regent on the reſignation of Wallace, and advanced to Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland, aſſembled all the Engliſh forces in that kingdom to oppoſe the Scots; but perceiving that it would be difficult to procure the neceſſary quantity of proviſions for their ſubſiſtence in a body, he ſeparated them into three diviſions: the firſt was commanded by himſelf in perſon, the ſecond by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville. Cummin determined to take advantage of this ſeparation, and advanced, under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's diviſion, which lay at Roſlin, about ſixteen miles from the Scottiſh camp. As ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Engliſh diſcovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make the neceſſary preparations; the Scots fell upon them before they could form themſelves in order of battle, and obtained an eaſy victory: a few only eſcaped, by flying to the ſecond diviſion, informing them at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The commander immediately drew up his men, and led them on directly to revenge the death of their countrymen. A bloody conteſt enſued. The Scots, elated with ſucceſs, charged with the utmoſt fury; while the Engliſh, animated with vengeance, made a noble reſiſtance. The battle continued for ſome time doubtful, but at laſt terminated in favour of the Scots, and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. By this time the third diviſion, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared; and the Scots, already exhauſted with fatigue, and their ranks conſiderably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the exceſſive labours they had already undergone; they pointed to their wounds, and deſired to retire while it was yet in their power. Cummin, who knew that a retreat was now impoſſible, reminded them of the cauſe for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the Engliſh, the glory of their anceſtors, and the diſgrace of ſlavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furniſhed the followers of their camp with the arms of the vanquiſhed, and mounted the horſes they had taken, ſtood the ſhock of a third engagement, and with the utmoſt difficulty obtained the victory. The event was not, however, wholly inglorious to Neville; he reſcued Segrave, who had been taken priſoner in the firſt engagement, and retreated in excellent order. The Scots ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Stirling caſtle, and gave the command of that fortreſs to Oliphant, an officer celebrated both for his courage and capacity.

But theſe ſucceſſes on the part of the Scots, proved only gleams of ſunſhine before a dreadful ſtorm. Edward determined to revenge the diſgrace of his forces, and appointed Roxburgh for the rendezvous of his army. Every precaution was taken to enſure the ſucceſs of this expedition, and to prevent any want of proviſions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to ſail along the coaſt, and attend the march of the army with proper ſupplies. The forces being aſſembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all oppoſition in the open field, a ſpecies of madneſs: the Scots had no other reſource than to fly for ſafety to the woods and faſtneſſes of their country. The only oppoſition Edward met with was from two or three caſtles; the reſt opened their gates on the firſt ſummons. In this manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preſerved his forces from ſurpriſe, and his fleet ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the Engliſh armies, found few opportunities for diſplaying his valour. The conduct of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive.

A. D. 1305. Edward having entirely finiſhed the conqueſt of Scotland, applied himſelf to ſettle the adminiſtration; and in order to render the Scots more ſubmiſſive to his government, he conferred on ſeveral of the nobility particular marks of his favour. Ten perſons, two from each order of biſhops, abbots, earls and barons, and two for the community of the gentry, were choſen as deputies to the parliament ſummoned to meet at London, in order to ſettle the adminiſtration in a manner at once both permanent and advantageous to all parties. The conferences were accordingly opened, and after a conſultation of twenty days, the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland was fixed in the following manner: "Eight juſtices were to be appointed to regulate the affairs of government; the natives of both kingdoms were rendered equally capable of filling the poſts of power and truſt in Scotland. John, earl of Britany, was appointed guardian of that kingdom, and the offices of chancellor, chamberlain, and judges, were filled partly by Engliſh and partly by Scotſmen."

It was alſo agreed, "That the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms ſhould be aboliſhed; and that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned, on the guardian's arrival in Scotland, in which the laws of king David ſhould be revived, together with the amendments and additions made to them by ſucceeding kings: that the guardian, with the concurrence of his council, ſhould have full power to make ſuch alterations and amendments, as ſhould ſeem moſt conſiſtent with the good of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the ſubject, without conſulting the king: but if any difficulty ſhould ariſe, which required a more mature deliberation to remove, the whole ſhould be properly ſtated, and ſent by the deputies from the ſtates of Scotland to the Engliſh parliament, where the queſtion ſhould be finally determined."

At the breaking up of the parliament, Edward iſſued a general pardon to all the Scottiſh nobility who had carried arms againſt him. Wallace, however, was excepted; the king inſiſting that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion. That chief ſtill continued in arms, at the head of a few followers, and ſtill cheriſhed the expiring ſparks of Scottiſh liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon cauſed a very conſiderable deſertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himſelf concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this itinerant courſe of life for ſome time; but was at laſt betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and ſent priſoner to London. Edward, whoſe natural bravery ſhould have induced him to cheriſh ſimilar qualities in an enemy, was ſo enraged at ſome violences committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor, and executed on Tower-hill.

A. D. 1306. Exaſperated at this barbarous policy, the Scots, before diſguſted at the many innovations introduced into the laws of their country by the ſword of a conqueror, meditated a ſevere revenge; they wanted only a chief of determined reſolution to lead them againſt the enemy. Nor was it long before a general of the greateſt merit appeared. Robert Bruce, deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, determined to ſeize the ſceptre of his anceſtors. He well knew, that after the ſubmiſſions he had made to Edward, he ſhould never be able to appear with any advantage, while the illuſtrious Wallace, then the idol of the common people, ſurvived; but the death of that chief removed the only obſtacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottiſh crown, died alſo about the ſame time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of ſlavery. He was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin, who approved of his deſign, and promiſed his aſſiſtance; but by reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions; the king, who ſuſpected that the diſcovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to ſecure the perſon of Bruce, till he was convinced of the truth from concurring circumſtances.

The doubts of Edward ſaved Bruce from impriſonment; but his friends ſoon perceived the dangers to which he was expoſed; and the earl of Glouceſter, thinking it would be imprudent either to converſe with Bruce, or give him the neceſſary information in a letter, ſent him, by a ſervant, a pair of gilt ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended he had borrowed from him. Bruce ſoon perceived the meaning of the ænigmatical preſent, and immediately effected his eſcape. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he preſented himſelf at a meeting of the Scottiſh nobles, diſcovered to them his deſigns, and exhorted them to join in the noble attempt to break the chains of ſervitude, and revenge the inſulted rights of their fellow citizens. They liſtened to his remonſtrances, and declared their reſolution of ſeconding his patriotic deſigns and aſſerting the undoubted rights of the nation, againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone oppoſed this general determination, He repreſented the attempt as pregnant with deſtruction; he told them it was madneſs to oppoſe the power of the Engliſh, while that power was in the hands of a prince of ſuch uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the moſt rigorous puniſhments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, who plainly foreſaw the failure of all his ambitious projects from the oppoſition of Cummin, followed him, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, to the cloyſters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, aſked him if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kilpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will ſecure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, ſtabbed him to the heart. This act, ſo juſtly condemned

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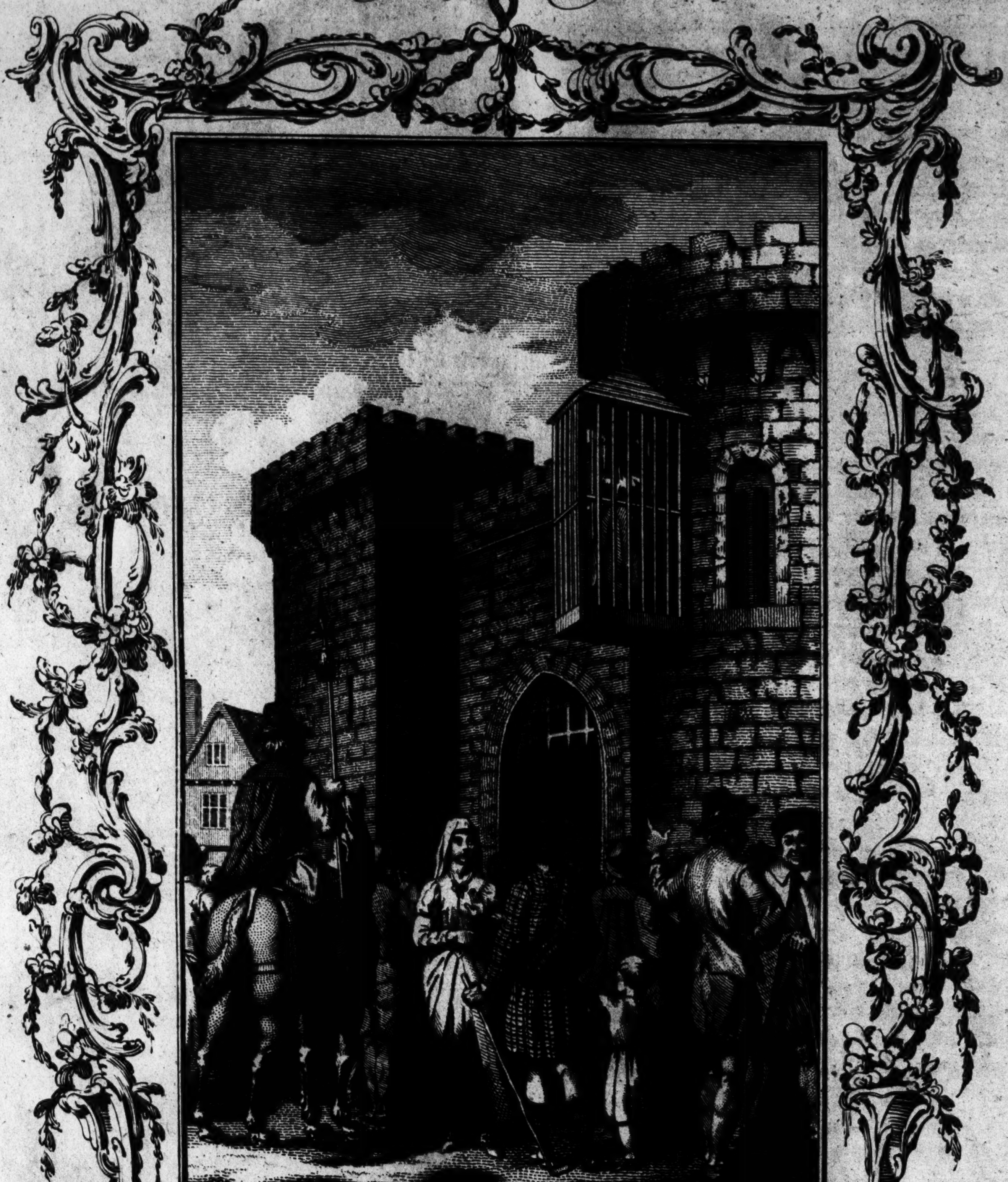
Wale delin.
Walker sculp.

Lady Mary Bruce exposed, as a public spectacle,
at Roxburgh Castle, by order of **EDWARD** the first.

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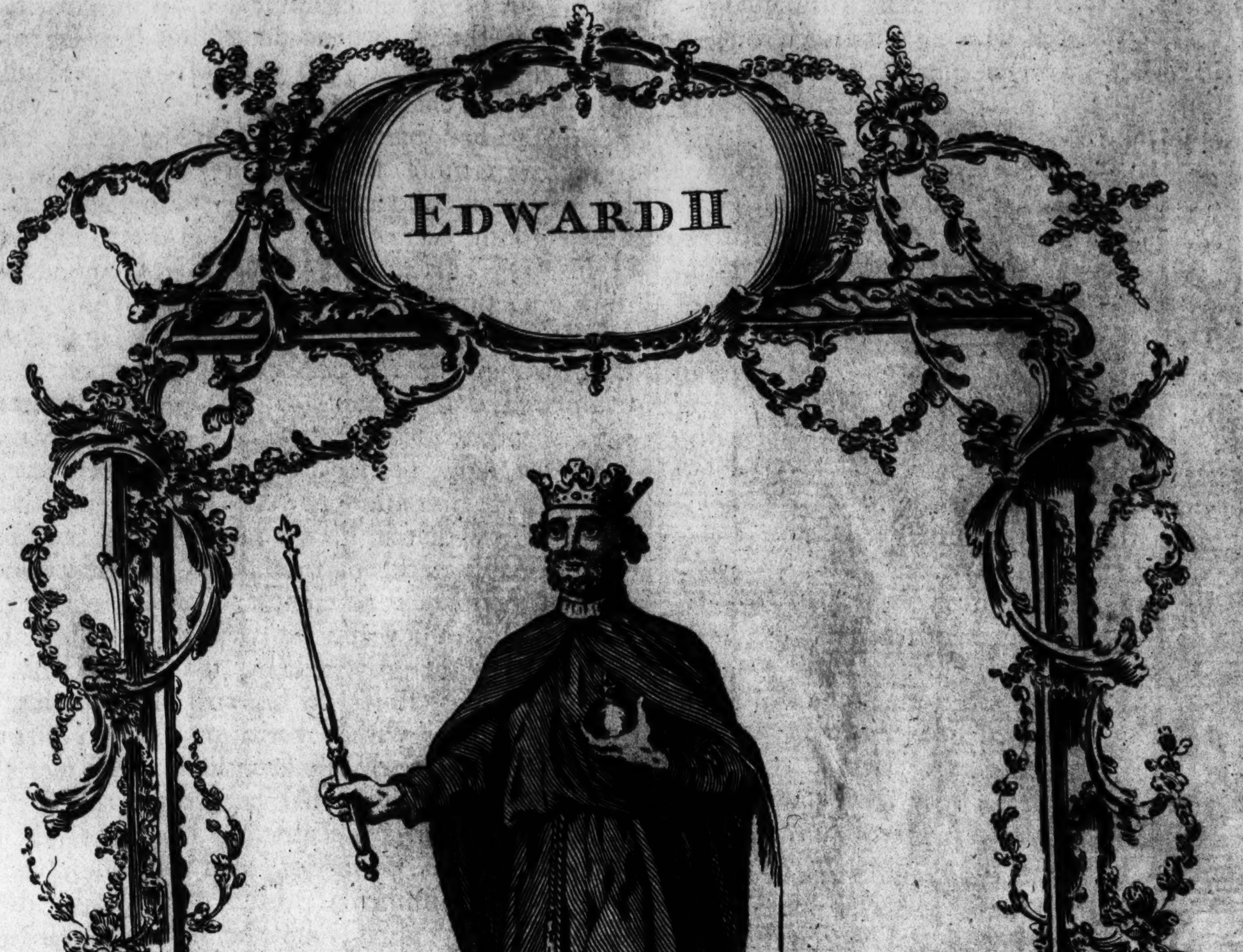

EDWARD II
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

condemned in the preſent age, was then conſidered as a noble atchievement of patriotic virtue.

It was now too late to recede: no pardon could be expected from Edward; Bruce and his party had only the alternative to conquer or periſh. No time was to be loſt, and that martial leader improved every moment: he flew into different parts of the kingdom to rouſe his countrymen to arms, and perſuade them to ſhake off the galling yoke of ſlavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleaſing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was ſtimulated by oppreſſion. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except thoſe who had taken refuge in places of ſtrength; and Bruce received the crown of his anceſtors in the abbey of Scone.

Edward was no ſooner informed of this unexpected event, than he ſent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, into Scotland, to check the progreſs of the inſurgents. Bruce had collected a conſiderable number of forces, but they were raw and undiſciplined, and conſequently unable to withſtand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methven near Perth, without ſuſpecting the approach of an enemy. Pembroke profitted by their ignorance; he attacked them in the night, and drove them from the field. Bruce behaved with the greateſt intrepidity; was thrice diſmounted from his horſe and as often recovered himſelf: but all his efforts were in vain; he was obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior fortune, and ſeek his ſafety in a ſpeedy flight. This dreadful diſaſter ſtruck the Scots with terror: the greater part of them deſerted their leader, and Bruce was obliged to fly for ſhelter to the Weſtern Iſles.

A few days after this defeat, Edward himſelf arrived in Scotland, and divided his army into two bodies, one of which he ſent to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. The prince made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Kildrommey, and ſoon after took the counteſs of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, ſiſter to the king, priſoners. Theſe two ladies Edward, from a diſingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be ſhut up in wooden cages, and one of them to be hung over the battlements of Roxburgh, and the other over thoſe of Berwick, as public ſpectacles to the inſulting populace. After performing this ſucceſsful expedition, the prince met his father at Perth: all Scotland was once more ſubdued by the forces of Edward, and that prince returned to Carliſle.

A. D. 1307. Bruce, who had hitherto concealed himſelf ſo effectually that it was generally believed he had periſhed in the wreck of his army, now appeared at the head of a ſmall body of men, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages upon the peaceable inhabitants who were in the intereſt of the Engliſh. Edward, at once alarmed and exaſperated at this ſudden and unexpected interruption of the public tranquillity, diſpatched the earl of Pembroke, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to attack the inſurgent in his retreat; but Bruce, who was well acquainted with the nature of the country, led the earl into an ambuſcade, and totally defeated his forces.

Edward now made preparations for invading Scotland with more fury than ever; he determined to make the rebels feel the weight of his reſentment. But he lived not to execute his deſigns. He had for ſome time been afflicted with a dyſentery, which had weakened him exceedingly; but his eagerneſs to finiſh the reduction of Scotland, ſuffered him not to continue at Carliſle. He ſet out at the head of his forces, but the fatigue of marching increaſed his diſtemper, and he died at Burgh on the Sands, on the ſeventh of July, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Edward had many virtues and ſome vices; but the former were more than ſufficient to balance the latter. His ambition, and a deſire of increaſing the power of his kingdom, ſeem to have formed the ruling paſſion of his ſoul. In purſuit of theſe, he ſcrupled not to purſue meaſures inconſiſtent with the liberty of his people. The equity of his enterprize againſt Scotland has been juſtly queſtioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms muſt have been attended with the moſt ſolid advantages to both, we ſhall, perhaps, be more inclined to praiſe than cenſure his conduct. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that if his character ſhould be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the moſt permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He reſtored authority to the government, maintained the laws againſt all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed juſtice with ſeverity on all who diſturbed the domeſtic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legiſlator was ſo great, that he is often called "The Engliſh Juſtinian;" becauſe, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and juſtly deſerved the name of Eſtabliſhments. He ſettled the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; and he firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he ſaw their power, and was deſirous of preventing its increaſe. Their poſſeſſions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prohibited them from making new acquiſitions, by paſſing the ſtatute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render the name of this great legiſlator dear to the Engliſh, was his eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Commons, by ſummoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leiceſter. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the ſtate; and the mechanics and tradeſmen, whom the feudal ſyſtem had placed in a deſpicable point of light, acquired the honour of being one of the branches of the legiſlature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no diſgrace to engage in the commerce of their country. In a word, this great prince laid the foundation for that ſpecies of government which unites all the advantages of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, and which is ſtill the glory and boaſt of this iſland.

# EDWARD II. ſurnamed of CAERNARVON.

A. D. 1307. YOUNG Edward, who was twenty-three years of age on the death of his father, was remarkable for the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the majeſty of his appearance, and the mildneſs of his diſpoſition. But he was not inſpired with the ſpirit of his father. He was born to obey minions and favourites; not to govern a great kingdom, and ſupport the authority of the crown over a proud and turbulent nobility. The Engliſh had formed the moſt pleaſing ideas of enjoying both happineſs and tranquillity under his government; but they ſoon perceived that all their hopes were built on a chimerical foundation, and that the pleaſing proſpect was merely deluſive; it vaniſhed like the cloud of the morning. His father, on his death-bed, had charged him to purſue the war againſt Scotland with the utmoſt vigour. "Carry my aſhes before you," ſaid he to his ſon; "the rebels will never be able to ſupport the ſight of them." But young Edward had no talents for war. He marched, indeed, againſt

Bruce, who now appeared at the head of a reſpectable army, but returned with precipitation; he ſeemed to dread the fatigues of victory.

Piers Gaveſton, a gentleman of Guienne, poſſeſſed of a few talents, frivolous in themſelves, but capable of attracting the regard of weak and inferior minds, engroſſed the friendſhip and favour of Edward. His beauty, and his great addreſs in all the genteel exerciſes, conſtituted his chief merit, while his vices threatened deſtruction to the ſtate. Gaveſton, however, gained ſo entire an aſcendency over the young Edward, that his father had baniſhed this favourite from the kingdom, and made his ſon promiſe him, in his laſt moments, never to recall him. But young Edward paid no regard to his ſolemn aſſeveration: his heart was ſo ſtrongly diſpoſed to friendſhip and confidence, that one of the firſt acts of his reign was to ſend for this unworthy minion, who was already deteſted by the nation. He created him earl of Cornwall, married him to his own niece, and entruſted to him the government of the kingdom.

While Edward was thus laviſhing power, honours, and eſtates, on a worthleſs favourite, the war in Scotland was neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his faſtneſſes on the approach of the former Edward, now appeared boldly in the plain, fell upon the county of Galloway, and reduced it to his obedience. The earl of Britany was ſent, at the head of a powerful army, to ſtop the career of the Scots; and Bruce perceiving that it would be in vain to contend with a force ſo far ſuperior to his own, once more retired to the mountains and moraſſes of that country.

A. D. 1308. Edward, after paſſing over to the continent, and conſummating his marriage with Iſabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, was crowned, with his new queen, at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-fifth of February. But a difficulty aroſe, previous to the performance of the ceremony, which greatly alarmed the monarch. The barons, exaſperated at the inſolence of Gaveſton, who affected to treat them with the moſt mortifying contempt, refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation, unleſs Gaveſton was baniſhed the kingdom. Edward promiſed to redreſs all their grievances, provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to ſuſpend their reſentment. But Gaveſton was ſo far from profiting by theſe national marks of diſguſt to his perſon and conduct, that he appeared, with the moſt faſtidious pomp, in the proceſſion, in which he carried the crown of St. Edward before the king. One of the barons was ſo highly provoked at his aſſuming behaviour, that he was, with ſome difficulty, prevented from ſacrificing the inſulting favourite to his reſentment.

A party was now formed againſt the inſolent Gaveſton, at the head of which was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and once the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in England. The confederated barons bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, never to deſert each other till the deteſted favourite was baniſhed the kingdom. Favoured by the oppoſition of the nobility, the people paid no longer any ſubmiſſion to the laws: robberies, murders, and other alarming diſorders, the conſtant preludes to civil war, were committed in every part of the kingdom. Gaveſton ſtill deſpiſed the threatening ſtorm, and even treated the young queen with contempt.

A parliament was now called to remove theſe diſorders, and reſtore the domeſtic tranquillity of the kingdom. The barons, determined not to miſs ſo favourable an opportunity of effectually humbling the favourite, came to Weſtminſter attended by a numerous armed retinue, required the baniſhment of Gaveſton, and prevailed upon the biſhops to threaten him with excommunication. Edward found it would be madneſs to reſiſt, and therefore complied with their demands; but inſtead of ſending him out of the Engliſh dominions, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and accompanied him as far as Briſtol when he ſet out for his new government.

A. D. 1309. Edward, deprived of the company of Gaveſton, careſſed his nobles, and ſoon removed the bad impreſſion made on their minds by the inſolent behaviour of the favourite: they even conſented to his being recalled, and all reſentment ſeemed to be buried in the grave of forgetfulneſs. But Gaveſton learnt not wiſdom from experience: he forgot his former misfortunes, and reſumed, on his return, the ſame inſolence and oſtentation which had before procured his exile. The barons were now more provoked than ever; they determined to put it out of the power of the king himſelf to protect ſo hated a minion. They again came to parliament, attended by an army of their retainers, and compelled the king to ſurrender his authority into the hands of twelve perſons, whoſe ordinances were to have the force of ſtatutes.

A. D. 1311. This junto governed the kingdom twelve months, and then produced a ſet of ordinances, which the king confirmed with the ſame facility he granted this unlimited commiſſion to the barons. By theſe ordinances it was enacted, that the church ſhould enjoy her privileges; that the peace of the kingdom ſhould be kept; that the two charters ſhould be obſerved; that the cuſtoms ſhould be collected by natives, and paid into the exchequer, whence the money ſhould be iſſued by the treaſurer and chamberlains for the maintenance of the houſehold, that the king might be ſupported by his own revenue, without being obliged to oppreſs the ſubject; that Emery Frenobalde, and his partners, by whom the cuſtoms had hitherto been farmed, ſhould account for their receipts within a fortnight after Michaelmas, on pain of being arreſted, ſtripped of their effects, and treated as public enemies. That no prizes ſhould be taken by the king's officers without the owner's conſent. That the duty of three ſhillings on every tun of wine ſhould be no longer collected. That the juriſdiction of the ſteward and marſhal of the king's court ſhould be limited to cauſes reſpecting the officers of the houſhold, and ſuch as reſided within the verge of the court. That it ſhould be deemed felony for any perſon to take corn, goods, or merchandize, under a falſe pretence of purveyance for the king. That ſheriffs ſhould be appointed by the chancellor, treaſurer, king's council, barons of the exchequer, and juſtices of the king's bench; and that none ſhould be entruſted with the office but ſuch as had lands of ſufficient value to anſwer for their actions. That parliaments ſhould be held once a year. That the coin of the kingdom ſhould not be altered, but for very cogent reaſons, and by conſent of the baronage. That all perſons proſecuted unjuſtly, and acquitted, ſhould be entitled to damages. That none ſhould be appealed maliciouſly, or outlawed in counties where they had no lands or tenements. That they ſhould neither forfeit their eſtates, nor loſe their lives, provided they ſurrendered themſelves to the king's priſon to ſtand trial. That pardons for robbery, and other felonies, ſhould not be granted without good reaſon, but deemed void, unleſs agreeable to the king's oath, the courſe of law, and the cuſtom of the kingdom. That all privy-ſeals for ſtopping law, or common right, on falſe pretences of being in the ſervice of the crown, ſhould be declared void, and the plaintiff recover damages on the diſcovery of the deceit. That the juriſdiction of the court of exchequer ſhould be confined to ſuch pleas as concerned the crown, the officers of the exchequer, and their menial ſervants. That acquittances ſhould be given for debts paid, and accounts paſſed in the exchequer; or, if denied, the plaintiff ſhould have redreſs in parliament. That all grants of lands, caſtles, towns, offices, wards, and eſcheats, in any part of the king's dominions, made ſince the ſixteenth of May in the preceding year, ſhould be reſumed by the crown, and not renewed to the ſame perſons, without the advice of the barons, or conſent of the parliament; and that all grants which ſhould be made before the king's debts were paid, and his revenues improved, ſhould be deemed null and void, and the procurers of ſuch be puniſhed by the award of the baronage. That all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady Veſey, who had obtained grants from the king diſhonourable to the dignity, and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil counſel to his majeſty, removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own weak and worthleſs creatures, embezzled the king's treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleaſure, protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the royal power and dignity, and formed aſſociations inconſiſtent with the laws of the land; he ſhould, for theſe miſdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as a public enemy. That the king ſhould not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed by the parliament, who ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of the ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the keepers of foreſts, the eſcheators on both ſides the Trent, and, in a word, all perſons employed under the crown in any part of his majeſty's dominions. That all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe ordinances; and that one biſhop, two earls, and as many barons, ſhould be choſen in every parliament, to receive complaints againſt the king's miniſters, and others who ſhould violate theſe ordinances, and to puniſh offenders at diſcretion.

Several of the above ordinances were truly laudable, and tended to the regular diſpenſation of juſtice, and the protection of the weak againſt the powerful; but others wholly deprived the king of his prerogative, and rendered him a mere cypher in government. Edward knew this; and therefore, when he ſigned them, he ſecretly determined to obſerve them no longer than he had an opportunity of declaring them void, and of no effect. For as the commiſſion was granted ſolely for the purpoſe of making ſuch ordinances as ſhould be advantageous both to the king and his people, ſuch articles as ſhould be found prejudicial to either, could not be conſidered as ratified and confirmed. The parliament was therefore no ſooner diſſolved, than the king repaired to York, where he publiſhed a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveſton, "as being unjuſt, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation."

A. D. 1312. Gaveſton immediately obeyed the royal mandate, and was reinſtated in all his former credit and authority. Exaſperated at this conduct of the king, and dreading the reſentment of the powerful minion, the barons flew to arms, and beſieged Gaveſton in Scarborough caſtle. The king exerted all his power in raiſing an army for the relief of his favourite; but his attempts were in vain; the people refuſed to join his ſtandard. While the king was thus employed in endeavouring to raiſe a body of forces, Gaveſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon, and the want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf a priſoner for two months, during which time means ſhould be uſed for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms propoſed by the barons ſhould not be accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it. Pembroke, who had conducted the ſiege of the caſtle, being now maſter of the favourite's perſon, conducted him to the caſtle of Dedington, near Banbury; where he left him, probably by conſent of the others, with a feeble guard, under pretence of preſſing buſineſs. But before he returned Gaveſton was carried off by the earl of Warwick, who, together with the earls of Lancaſter, Arundel, and Hereford, in violation of their engagements, and contrary to all laws human and divine, cauſed him to be beheaded by the hands of an executioner.

Edward was tranſported with rage when he was informed of the death of his favourite. He threatened to take the ſevereſt vengeance, and even to exterminate his whole nobility who were concerned in that deteſtable action. But he ſoon found that his threatenings were in vain. The more reaſonable part of the nation could not indeed behold this bloody tragedy without horror, and dread the conſequence of a reformation begun with murder and perjury; yet they did not think it adviſeable to plunge the nation into all the horrors of a civil war, and depopulate the kingdom to revenge a breach of the laws of humanity. Nor was Edward himſelf inexorable in his reſentments: he ſoon liſtened to the terms of accommodation. It was ſtipulated, that the barons ſhould aſk him pardon publickly on their knees, and he was ſo pleaſed with theſe vain appearances of exterior ſubmiſſion, that he readily forgave them all their paſt offences.

A. D. 1314. The death of Gaveſton having thus reſtored tranquillity between the king and his barons, it was now determined to ſend a powerful force againſt the Scots, who taking advantage of the troubles in England, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. The whole military force of the kingdom was aſſembled; and Edward put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, which, according to the Scottiſh writers, amounted to an hundred thouſand men. Bruce, whoſe army was inferior in numbers, endeavoured to ſupply by art, what he wanted in ſtrength. Perſuaded that this important conteſt was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he choſe the field of battle with the utmoſt prudence, and made the neceſſary preparations for receiving the Engliſh. He poſted himſelf at Bannock-burn, about two miles from Sterling; having a hill on his right flank, and a moraſs on his left. In the front of his camp ran a ſmall rivulet; the banks of which, as well as the bed of the ſtream, he filled with ſharp ſtakes; and cauſed deep pits to be dug a little beyond the oppoſite bank, into which ſharp ſtakes were alſo planted, and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the Engliſh army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottiſh camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued between two parties of cavalry. The Engliſh were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother of the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in perſon. The conteſt was very bloody; but was at laſt decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleft his head with a battle-axe, in ſight of both armies. The Engliſh, on the loſs of their leader, retreated to the army; but had not night put a ſtop to the reinforcements which were marching to the relief of each party, the action had then become general.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, the Engliſh troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, compoſed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, and the king himſelf led the centre or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, conſiſting chiefly of foot, in three lines, and a body of reſerve. The centre was commanded by himſelf, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reſerve by Sir James Douglas.

Juſt as the charge was going to be ſounded, a diſpute happened between the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, with regard to making the firſt attack upon the enemy. The firſt claimed it by cuſtom, as having always been enjoyed by his anceſtors; and the latter as conſtable of England. The earl of Glouceſter determined not to ſubmit to his opponent, broke the rank, and impelled by all the ardour of youth, ruſhed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole ſquadron was thrown into confuſion, and he himſelf periſhed. This imprudent ſally of youth proved fatal to the Engliſh army. Several of the covered pits had been diſcovered during the ſkirmiſh in the evening; and the king, in order to prevent a ſimilar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the moraſs, and attack the main body of the Scottiſh army in flank; and during the confuſion of that unexpected attack, the cavalry were to have forced the paſſage of the rivulet, and fallen ſword in hand on the embarraſſed enemy.

The fate of Glouceſter was hardly determined, when the body of infantry having made the preſcribed circuit, fell with the utmoſt fury on the wing commanded by Randolph, and galled them ſo ſeverely with repeated ſhowers of arrows, that they were thrown into diſorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confuſion, and fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed with great ſlaughter. The main body of the Engliſh, however, marched up with great reſolution to attack the enemy; when they obſerved on the heights towards their left, the appearance of another army marching leiſurely to ſurround them. This formidable appearance was nothing more than a number of waggoners and ſumpter boys, whom Bruce had ſupplied with military ſtandards, which at a diſtance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The Engliſh were ſtruck with a panic; they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and Bruce obtained a complete victory. The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious; beſides which they took ſeveral perſons of diſtinction priſoners, who paid largely for their ranſom. Edward himſelf had ſcarce time to reach Dunbar caſtle, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horſe, hoping to intercept Edward if he attempted to eſcape to Berwick by land; but the king eluded his vigilance by paſſing to that town in a ſmall veſſel.

By this victory the independence of Scotland was ſecured, and Robert Bruce firmly ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors. That intrepid general diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much after the victory by his humanity and generoſity, as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his priſoners with the greateſt tenderneſs; he ſent the bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford to the Engliſh monarch at Berwick; he diſmiſſed lord Monthermer, for whom he had a particular friendſhip, without ranſom; he exchanged the earl of Hereford and other noblemen, for his wife, his daughter and ſiſter, the earl of Mar and the biſhop of Glaſgow, who had remained priſoners in England ever ſince the battle of Methven: and he cauſed the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A. D. 1315. Notwithſtanding this alarming misfortune, which called for the united force of the whole kingdom to recover the loſs ſuſtained at Bannock-burn, the barons, who ſeemed regardleſs of the honour of their country, were not in the leaſt affected, they even founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the crown. They no ſooner ſaw the king return with diſgrace, than they inſiſted on a renewal of their ordinances, and Lancaſter was placed at the head of the miniſtry. Edward perceived his danger, and ſenſible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, attached himſelf to a new favourite. This was Hugh le Diſpenſer, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, deſcended from a noble family, and an Engliſhman by birth. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs, neceſſary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which alone could have ſupported him in this dangerous pre-eminence, ſurrounded by ſuch numbers of powerful enemies. Had the oppoſition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to ſupport the honour of their country, theſe defects would have been conſidered as abundantly ſupplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had alſo acquired a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been reſpected for his wiſdom, his valour and his intrepidity. But envy now obſcured all his merits; his paſt ſervices were forgotton; and he was, together with his ſon, devoted to deſtruction by the turbulent barons. They firſt indicated their diſpleaſure by abſenting themſelves from parliament; but this not producing the deſired effect, they determined to have recourſe to more powerful methods for completing their deſigns.

It was not long before an opportunity offered which gave them a pretence for attacking the miniſters. Edward, who had ſet no bounds to his bounty with regard to his favourites, had not only married the younger Spencer to his neice, one of the co-heireſſes of the earl of Glouceſter, ſlain at the fatal battle of Bannock-burn, but alſo given him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown. This tranſaction, which could be conſidered as nothing more than a proper ſubject for a law-ſuit, cauſed an inſurrection in the kingdom. Lancaſter, and ſeveral other barons, flew to arms, and peremptorily demanded the baniſhment of the two Spencers. The king refuſed to comply; upon which they marched to London, and preſented to the parliament an accuſation againſt the favourites. All reſiſtance was in vain: the two Spencers were condemned to baniſhment without a ſingle crime being proved againſt them. They, however, ſubmitted to their ſentence, and all diſturbances ſeemed happily to ſubſide.

A. D. 1321. Poſſibly Edward, in his circumſtances, might have ſubmitted to this encroachment made upon his prerogative, had not a freſh inſult rouſed him from his indolence. The queen, having occaſion to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds in Kent, belonging to lord Badleſmere, one of the confederated barons, diſpatched ſome of her ſervants to deſire a night's lodging in the caſtle; the requeſt was not only denied, but they were even refuſed admittance, and ſome of them killed. This outrageous behaviour to a princeſs who had joined the barons againſt the younger Spencer, was reſented by all parties, and the king, levying an army, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and put the governor and ſeveral of the garriſon to death. This ſeaſonable act of juſtice was approved even by the turbulent barons themſelves, and Edward, who ſaw the conſequences of provoking that ferocious body, was determined to attempt the recovery of his prerogative. He ventured to recall the two Spencers, whoſe ſentence he declared to be illegal and unjuſt, as being paſſed without the conſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons aſſembled in parliament. He added, "That he was bound by the great charter to receive "the petitions of the Spencers, becauſe he was obliged not to deny juſtice to any man."

A, D, 1322. But neither reaſon nor the voice of humanity itſelf, had any force with the aſſociated barons; they continued in arms, but their forces were not ſufficient to meet thoſe of the king in the open field. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, they had recourſe to the Scottiſh monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promiſing to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with a body of forces. Encouraged by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, Lancaſter poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the paſſage of the river. But he wanted intrepidity in the day of battle; he was intimidated at the approach of the royal army, and retreated towards Borough bridge, in order, if poſſible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for Lancaſter, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, ſuſpecting his deſign, poſted himſelf, at the head of a body of troops, to oppoſe his paſſage over the Eure, ſo that Lancaſter found himſelf reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to Harcla. He choſe the former: but the earl of Hereford being ſlain in the firſt attack, the barons troops fled with great precipitation, and Lancaſter was taken priſoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and condemned to death. Lancaſter now experienced the ſame indignities which had before been practiſed upon Gaveſton. He was dreſſed in mean apparel, placed upon a lean horſe without a bridle, and a hood put upon his head. In this ignominious manner he was conducted to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Pomfret, amidſt the ſcoffs of the rabble, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaſter, a prince of the blood, and one of the moſt powerful barons ever known in England; but whoſe turbulent temper hurried him into meaſures deſtructive at once of the peace of ſociety, and the honour of his country. He ſacrificed all the rules of juſtice and humanity to his revenge, and fell himſelf a victim at the altar of his own ambition.

But the ſanguinary inquiſition did not end with the death of Lancaſter; about twenty other barons were afterwards tried and executed. Many made their eſcape into France, and others were thrown into priſon. Oppoſition ſeemed to lie gaſping at the feet of Edward. Harcla was rewarded for his ſervices with a large eſtate and the earldom of Carliſle; but he did not long enjoy the royal bounty. He entered into a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland, and paid the forfeit of his life as an atonement for his folly.

The younger Spencer profitted not by former experience. Elated with ſucceſs, and giddy with power, he inflamed ſtill farther the hatred of the public againſt him, by new acts of violence. Freſh complaints were every day preſented againſt his conduct, and the king, deſpairing of making a ſucceſsful campaign againſt Scotland, while the nation was divided, concluded a truce with Robert for thirteen years; and the Scottiſh monarch, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was ſatisfied with enſuring himſelf a quiet poſſeſſion of it during ſo conſiderable a period.

A. D. 1325. But Edward did not long enjoy his triumph over the turbulent barons: calamities of a more violent kind now threatened the deſtruction of the Engliſh monarch. Charles the Fair, the third ſon, and the third ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, ſummoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. Spencer, who ſaw all the conſequences that might attend his own authority during the king's abſence, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament was conſulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole aſſembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in perſon, but that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the court of France, requeſting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. Charles refuſed to poſtpone the ceremony, and ſent a body of forces to attack Guienne. It was now thought proper to ſend the queen Iſabella to her brother's court, in order, if poſſible, to bring about an accommodation; but all her attempts were in vain; Charles inſiſted on the homage being performed immediately by the king in perſon.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, the fertile imagination of Iſabella, furniſhed her with an expedient for removing all difficulties, and putting it in her power to be revenged on the younger Spencer, whom ſhe deteſted. She propoſed that the king ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Guienne to his ſon, and that the prince ſhould be ſent to Paris to perform the duties of a vaſſal. This propoſal concealed a ſnare which the Engliſh council never expected. Edward and Spencer were charmed with the contrivance, and the young prince ſoon after arrived at Paris. Iſabella had now gained her principal point, and determined to make uſe of her good fortune, by procuring the deſtruction of her enemies.

Edward and his favourite were ſoon convinced of the egregious blunder they had committed, in truſting the perſon of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman. The queen, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and their common hatred of Spencer ſoon cemented a a ſecret friendſhip between them. Among the reſt was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welſh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young nobleman ſoon inſinuated himſelf into her affections, and ſhe ſacrificed to a vicious paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return; ſhe declared her reſolution of continuing in France till the Spencers were baniſhed England with infamy and diſgrace.

A. D. 1326. Edward tried every gentle method to bring her to a ſenſe of her duty, but in vain; ſhe remained deaf to the lenient voice of intreaty. Recourſe was therefore had to the pope, who readily engaged in the cauſe of the injured Edward. He wrote a very preſſing letter to the king of France, inſiſting, even on the pain of excommunication, that the queen of England ſhould be ſent back to her huſband. Charles was ſo affected by this menace of the pontiff, and much more by the ſhameful commerce carried on between Mortimer and his ſiſter, that he determined to ſupport her no longer. He accordingly ſhewed her the pope's letter, and deſired that ſhe would quit his dominions immediately.

Iſabella had provided againſt this event, which ſhe had for ſome time expected. She had affianced her ſon, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promiſed her an aſylum in his dominions, and to aſſiſt her with a body of troops to humble her enemies. She therefore retired directly into Hainault, where ſhe was received with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and reſpect. Every method was now uſed for raiſing an army to attend the queen and the young prince to England; and about three thouſand men at arms were collected for this expedition, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. But Iſabella did not found her hopes of ſucceſs on the number and valour of her troops in the intended invaſion of her huſband's dominions, but in the connections ſhe had formed with the diſcontented nobles. All the old Lancaſtrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had ſuffered with the late earl of Lancaſter, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in conſequence of her ſucceſs, to be reſtored to the eſtates which had been forfeited in conſequence of the rebellion of their relation. Beſides theſe, others had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons, approved her meaſures; ſo that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and the prince, with ſuch a body of foreign forces as was ſufficient to protect them againſt immediate violence, to turn the whole force of the tempeſt againſt the unfortunate Edward.

The queen having collected her forces at Dort, embarked with her ſon, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty-fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, and other factious nobles. But to give her hoſtile appearance a ſtill more favourable aſpect, ſhe renewed her declaration, that the ſole motive of her enterprize was to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature. This proclamation had the deſired effect: the ardour of the Engliſh to join the ſtandard of the queen was amazing; even Robert de Watteville, who had been ſent by the king to oppoſe her progreſs in Suffolk, deſerted to her with all his forces.

Edward now ſaw the conſequences of his folly in parting with the young prince, whoſe preſence ſecured the barons againſt forfeitures. The king was ſtill at London, and applied to the citizens for aſſiſtance againſt the invaders of his kingdom; but he ſoon perceived that no reliance could be placed on their loyalty; they were alſo poiſoned with the leaven of rebellion. Edward therefore ſet out for the weſtern parts of England, hoping that his ſubjects in that corner of the kingdom would commiſerate majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſupport their king againſt the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. But he was deceived; they flocked not to his ſtandard; and that unfortunate prince formed a reſolution of paſſing over into Ireland, leaving the elder Spencer to command in the caſtle of Briſtol.

Edward had hardly left London, before the populace committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. They plundered the houſes, and murdered the perſons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the biſhop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great croſs in Cheapſide, where his head was ſevered from his body. The other cities followed the example of the capital; and taking advantage of the national confuſion, committed every ſpecies of outrage with wantonneſs and impunity.

The earl of Kent, aſſiſted by John de Hainault, at the head of his foreign mercenaries, purſued the king to Briſtol, and inveſted the caſtle, where the elder Spencer had ſhut himſelf up, and would have defended the fortreſs to the laſt extremity, had not his garriſon been infected with the diſloyalty of the times; but they mutinied againſt their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy. No reſpect was paid to this venerable nobleman, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former ſervices, as well as his virtues, were forgotten; and though they could alledge nothing againſt him but his loyalty to his maſter, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. So dreadful is the paſſion of revenge in the breaſts of a ferocious nobility; the common dictates of humanity, as well as the laws, both human and divine, are ſacrificed at its altar!

The king, purſuant to his reſolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himſelf among the mountains of Wales. Iſabella was alarmed when ſhe heard her huſband was ſtill in his own dominions. She feared that the diſtreſs of their ſovereign might turn the tide of popular favour againſt her party; and it was determined to ſeize the royal perſon. The difficulty of diſcovering his retreat was ſoon removed, by bribing the Welſh; and the king was taken at Caerfilly, in Glamorganſhire, with the younger Spencer, Baldoc the chancellor, and a few domeſtics; all the reſt of his courtiers having deſerted him in his misfortunes. The king was committed to the care of the earl of Lancaſter, and confined in Kenelworth caſtle. The younger Spencer, without any form of trial, was executed, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity and inſult. Baldoc, the chancellor, being a prieſt, could not, with ſafety, be ſo ſuddenly and ſo illegally diſpatched. He was conducted to London, where he was aſſaulted by the populace, who uſed him with the utmoſt cruelty, and threw him into Newgate, where he ſoon after expired.

A.D. 1327. But the meaſure of Iſabella's wickedneſs was not yet full. It was not ſufficient to have ſeized the perſon of the king; it was alſo neceſſary that he ſhould reſign his ſceptre, and even that his life ſhould fall a ſacrifice to her ſafety. She made no ſcruple of convoking, in the name of her huſband, a parliament, who were to dethrone him. A charge was accordingly exhibited againſt him; in which, though it was drawn by his moſt inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were objected to him; malice itſelf not being able to find any particular crime that could be objected againſt him. But this was of little weight in an aſſembly convoked for his deſtruction. The ſpirit of faction had annihilated juſtice. The parliament depoſed the king with the ſame facility they would have baniſhed a ſimple individual. Certain commiſſioners were immediately named for carrying to Edward the reſolution of the parliament with regard to his depoſition. This deputation conſiſted of three biſhops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Truſſel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. They were inſtructed to uſe every argument in their power to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary reſignation of that power with which they were determined to truſt him no longer.

The biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of his moſt inveterate enemies, were ſent to converſe with him before the deputies arrived, in order to prepare him for the approaching change of his condition. Edward was ſufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when theſe two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they diſcharged their commiſſion was perfectly ſimilar to the reſt of their conduct. Inſtead of pouring the balm of conſolation into the breaſt of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent ſmart by a thouſand malicious inſinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the leaſt ſtruggle to maintain his dignity, by refuſing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obſtinate in refuſing to reſign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his children from the ſucceſſion, and place another perſon on the throne of his anceſtors." This menace awakened all the fondneſs of a father in the ſoul of the unfortunate Edward: he pauſed; he dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen ſtate; conſented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber. As ſoon as he had recollected his ſpirits, he entered the chamber of audience dreſſed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment againſt him were read, and the commiſſioners had demanded his immediate reſignation, he was unable to ſtand the ſhock; his ſpirits forſook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the biſhop of Lincoln ſupported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting paſſions. As ſoon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commiſſioners, the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe. And Sir William Truſſel renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance and fealty.

The melancholy ceremony being finiſhed, the commiſſioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impoſſible to prevent theſe attrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, the perfidy, and the infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocriſy, in publickly bewailing, with tears, the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the Engliſh. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increaſed the public odium, and ſhe was looked upon with deteſtation by every friend to truth, to virtue, to fidelity. The current of popular favour was now changed; the queen was regarded with horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was deplored. A ſcene of majeſty in diſtreſs attracted the pity, the compaſſion, the tears of the people. The earl of Lancaſter himſelf was touched with theſe generous ſentiments:

ments: he treated his priſoner with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect; he is even ſaid to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour.

Iſabella and Mortimer were alarmed: they well knew the conſequence, if Edward ſhould again be placed in the ſeat of power; and determined to add the guilt of murder to their long catalogue of crimes. The king was accordingly taken out of the hands of Lancaſter, and delivered over to lord Berkley, and Mautravers and Gournay. Berkley himſelf behaved with great kindneſs to the royal captive; but the two others treated him with the utmoſt cruelty and inſolence, though the goodneſs of Edward's conſtitution ſupported him under all theſe afflictions, till orders arrived from the queen and Mortimer to finiſh the inhuman tragedy. But even his death was to be attended with cruelty. Theſe deteſted monſters in the human ſhape, threw the impriſoned monarch on his bed, held him down violently with a table, which they threw upon him, and thruſt into his fundament a red-hot iron, inſerting it through a horn, in order to prevent any external marks of violence upon his perſon. But the guards and ſervants were ſufficiently apprized of the horrid deed, by the ſcreams with which the king, in ſuch unutterable agonies, filled the caſtle. Theſe proclaimed to the world the infernal orders of an adulterous woman, and a perfidious nobleman. They cried to heaven for vengeance, nor did they long cry in vain.

Thus periſhed, by the hands of inhuman aſſaſſins, Edward II. a prince of the mildeſt diſpoſition, though he experienced the fate of a tyrant. He was totally incapable of government in thoſe ferocious times. The ſceptre was too weighty for his feeble arm. He might, indeed, have reigned in tranquillity, had he placed his favours on deſerving objects; and if the exorbitant power of the barons, in that age, would have ſubmitted to the authority of a miniſter. But the nobles, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition the great abilities of his father were ſcarce ſufficient to reſtrain, overturned the conſtitution when the reins of government were held by a more feeble hand. They dreaded the valour and firmneſs of the one, and deſpiſed the ſlender abilities of the other. The laws wanted power to reſtrain the violences of the great, and the voice of juſtice was ſtifled amidſt the din of arms. The king was accuſed of crimes committed by his enemies; and all the dreadful ſcenes of devaſtation, the natural conſequences of civil diſcord, though they owed their riſe to the turbulent ambition of his barons, were imputed to him. The people conſidered their monarch as the ſource of thoſe miſfortunes which flowed from the brutal manners of the great. His moſt inveterate enemies have not accuſed him of any crime; and perhaps it will be difficult to find, in the annals of hiſtory, a prince more innocent, or more inoffenſive than Edward II. But the feudal conſtitution required a perſon of ſtrength, of firmneſs, of valour, to hold the reins of government. Edward was deſtitute of theſe abilities; and fell a victim to vice and licentiouſneſs in the forty-third year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign.

The king left four children, two ſons and two daughters. Edward, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded him in the throne; John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, and died very young at Perth: Jane, afterwards married to Edward Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

During this reign, the order of the Knights Templars was diſſolved, by the barbarous injuſtice of Clement V. inſtigated by the cruel and vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair. This order owed its riſe to the firſt fervour of the cruſades; and by uniting valour with devotion, the two moſt popular qualities of that age, and employing both in the defence of the Holy Land, they ſoon made rapid advances to credit and authority. Hence they alſo acquired, from the piety of the faithful, very ample poſſeſſions in every country of Europe, eſpecially in France. But time having relaxed the ſeverity of their original virtues, and convinced them of the inefficacy of thoſe expeditions to the Eaſt, which had ſo long depopulated Europe, they choſe rather to enjoy in their native countries thoſe opulent eſtates, than expoſe themſelves to inceſſant dangers againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. By this change of conduct they loſt their popularity, while their riches tempted the avidity of ſeveral of the monarchs of Europe. But though they were no longer beheld with reverence by the people, they ſtill maintained a conſiderable part of their former credit; the vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair alone proved the ſource of their deſtruction. They were accuſed, by two profligate and impriſoned knights of their own order, of crimes ſo repugnant to reaſon and policy, that their being mentioned was abundantly ſufficient to deſtroy the credit of the witneſſes. But Philip was implacable. All the Templars in France were ſeized and committed to priſon in one day; above an hundred of them were put to the moſt cruel tortures, and fifty-nine burnt together near the abbey of St. Antoine, in Paris. Even the grand maſter of the order, John de Molay, and Guy, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphine, two of the principal noblemen in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were committed alive to the flames before the church of Notredame. Clement V. one of Philip's creatures, and who then reſided at Poictiers, aboliſhed the whole order, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power. Their conduct underwent the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny in ſeveral parts of Europe, but not the leaſt trace of the crimes imputed to them by Philip was even pretended to be diſcovered. A very ample teſtimony of their piety and morals was ſent to the pope by the Engliſh.

The Arts and Sciences made but a ſmall progreſs in England during this period. But it often happens, that in the darkeſt nights of ignorance and error, ſome bright ſtar of uncommon luſtre darts the beams of genius amidſt the dreadful gloom, and illuminates, for a ſeaſon, ſome parts of the dun obſcurity. Roger Bacon was a genius of this kind, and born for the inſtruction of the human ſpecies; but the age in which he lived knew not his merit. He was a Franciſcan friar at Oxford, and ſtiled Doctor Mirabilis for his great learning, but much more for his inventions, the genuine characteriſtic of genius. He diſcovered the teleſcope, burning-glaſs, camera obſcura, gun-powder, the tranſmutation of metals, and ſeveral other particulars known only to himſelf. Future times, and future artiſts, have claimed the diſcoveries made by Bacon. A greater genius in mechanics had not then aroſe ſince the days of Archimedes. But all his merit could not protect him againſt the barbarous opinions of the age in which he lived. He was perſecuted by an enthuſiaſtic clergy, at a time when philoſophy had made a leſs progreſs than any other branch of learning, and geometry and aſtronomy were branded with the odious name of necromancy. He died on the eleventh of June, 1292.

In the year 1237, water was firſt conveyed into the city of London, by means of leaden pipes from ſprings in the manor of Tyburn; but the infant artiſts of that age were forty-eight years in completing that uſeful work; the great conduit in Cheapſide, built of ſtone, and furniſhed with ciſterns lined with lead, not being finiſhed till the year 1285.

The noble diſcovery of the mariner's compaſs was made about the year 1302; but the perſon to whom we owe that invaluable acquiſition is not certainly known; though one Flavio de Givia, a native of Amalfa, in the kingdom of Naples, is ſaid, by ſeveral, to have been the fortunate perſon. But though the Engliſh lay no claim to the diſcovery, they were the inventors of the box in which the magnetical needle is ſuſpended, a contrivance by which it is always kept in an horizontal poſition.

When it is conſidered that all Europe was now involved in a night of ſuperſtitious ignorance, we ſhall not be ſurprized that ſo few diſcoveries were made during this period. The ſciences were abſorbed in myſteries of theology, and learning chiefly confined to the clergy, who generally employed their talents in uſeleſs, and often in ridiculous ſpeculations. Some indeed ſtudied phyſic, but in ſo ſtrange and imperfect a manner, that every epidemical diſtemper which reſiſted their injudicious method of practice became a real plague, and ſwept away multitudes of people. The phyſicians were too ignorant and too poſitive to admit of any innovations in the practice of the healing art; they knew not the art of adapting medicines to the nature of the diſeaſe, and the conſtitution of the patient.

Among other wild and ridiculous notions, which prevailed in this age of bigotry and ſuperſtitution, it was imagined, that the perſons afflicted with the leproſy, a diſeaſe then very common, had conſpired with the Saracens to poiſon all the ſprings and fountains in ſeveral countries. This chimerical notion, which evidently ſprung from the ſource of ignorance, drew on thoſe unhappy perſons the utmoſt ſeverity of juſtice. The phyſicians were too ignorant to convince the people of the injuſtice of ſo ridiculous an accuſation.

# BOOK VIII.

## From the depoſition of Edward II. to the death of Henry IV.

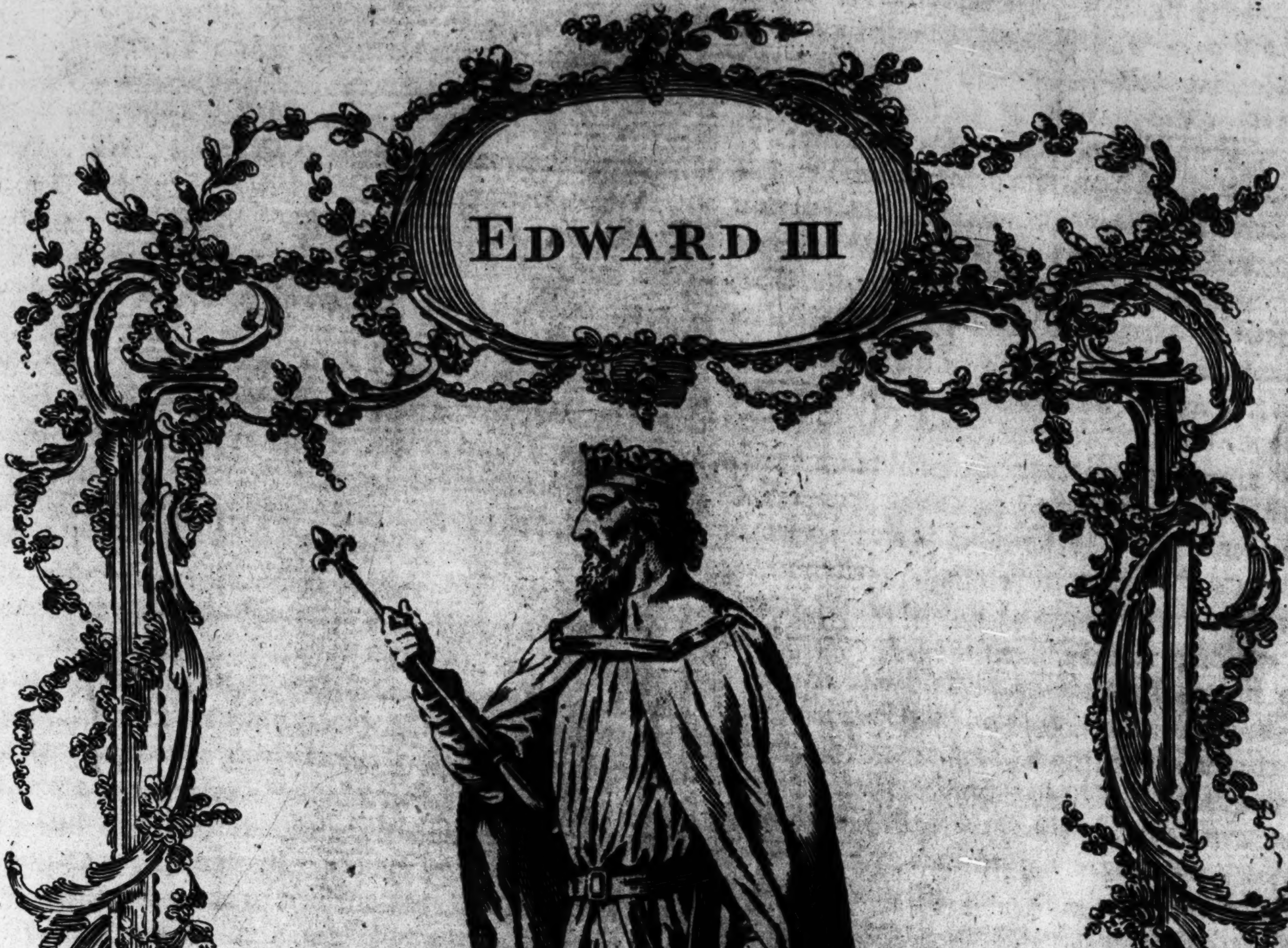
## EDWARD III. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

A. D. 1327. EDWARD, though placed in the ſeat of power on the reſignation of his father, was too young to hold the reins of government; a council of regency was appointed by the parliament for directing the adminiſtration of affairs during his minority. This council conſiſted of twelve perſons; five prelates, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Worceſter, and Hereford; and ſeven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surry, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Roſs. The earl of Lancaſter was appointed guardian and protector of the king's perſon. But it could not be expected that the dreadful diſorders which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom, would ſubſide during the minority of young Edward; eſpecially as the reins of government were held by a faithleſs, paſſionate, headſtrong woman, totally governed by an ambitious and unexperienced miniſter, who, though he poſſeſſed even more power than the younger Spencer, had neither his abilities nor his intereſt.

Bruce, who conſidered the truce as terminated by the reſignation of the elder Edward, took advantage of the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, and made an attempt upon the caſtle of Norham, but the governor, Sir Robert Manners, having received intelligence of the deſign, made ſo furious a ſally on the Scottiſh forces, that they were put to flight with great ſlaughter, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country. Bruce was not, however, intimidated, he collected an army on the frontiers, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, and threatened to invade the northern counties. The Scots had been long trained to the deſultory practices of war. The noble equipage of their troops conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a ſupply in caſes of neceſſity, each ſoldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron, on which he inſtantly baked the oatmeal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief ſubſiſtence was the cattle he ſeized; and his cookery was as expeditious as his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the ſkin hanging looſe in the form of a bag, on ſome ſtakes driven into the ground for that purpoſe; he poured a ſufficient quantity of water into this bag, kindled a fire below, and thus made it ſerve as a cauldron to boil his victuals. Soldiers like theſe, wholly unincumbered, and who diſlodged themſelves in a moment, could ravage provinces with impunity; and to this particular they chiefly owed the ſucceſs they met with in their invaſions of the northern counties.

The Engliſh miniſtry were averſe to a war with Scotland, but it would have been fatal to their power had they ſuffered ſuch inſults to eſcape with impunity. Young Edward earneſtly deſired to lead his troops againſt the enemy, and chaſtiſe their inſolence. No objection was made to his making the campaign in perſon, and he marched to the northward at the head of ſixty thouſand men. After the utmoſt difficulty he found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. But however deſirous Edward was of coming to an engagement, he ſoon perceived that he could not attack the enemy in their preſent ſituation, without expoſing his army to the utmoſt danger. Incenſed at being ſo near the enemy without being able to bring them to an engagement, Edward ſent them a defiance, and challenged them to meet him in the open field, and terminate their quarrel by a deciſive battle. Douglas was highly exaſperated at this defiance, and adviſed to accept the challenge ſent by the king of England; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who told Edward, that he never liſtened to the counſel of an enemy in any of his operations. But Douglas, tho' he could not prevail on Murray to bring on a general engagement with the Engliſh, determined not to continue idle in his camp. He put himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, paſſed the river in the night, and entering the Engliſh camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign to ſurprize and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by ſome of Edward's ſervants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble reſiſtance, and ſacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himſelf cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his tent, and eſcaped. The Engliſh were now alarmed, the greater part of the Scots were ſlain; but Douglas himſelf, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. Soon after the Scots decamped during the night, and marched with ſuch expedition, that it would be in vain for Edward to hope he ſhould be able to overtake them.

A. D. 1328. The bad ſucceſs of this expedition fell violently upon the infamous Mortimer, who had uſurped the whole authority of the government. The king himſelf was highly incenſed, and was determined to free himſelf from the power of a miniſter who ſeemed regardleſs of national honour. Mortimer ſaw his danger, and thought it neceſſary, on any terms, to make a peace with the Scots. Accordingly he


EDWARD III
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England*

BRITISH
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he entered into a negotiation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, renounced the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority, and was contented in return with ſtipulating the payment of thirty thouſand marks. Though the queen and Mortimer had ſufficient intereſt to procure a confirmation of this treaty by the parliament, yet it was no ſooner made public, than it excited an univerſal clamour throughout the kingdom; the people expreſſed their reſentment in the moſt poignant terms. They declared openly, that this peace was neither honourable nor neceſſary; that thoſe who concluded it had baſely ſacrificed both the blood and treaſure of the nation to private views; that the queen, who under pretence of her huſband's incapacity, had uſurped his authority, had now ſufficiently diſcovered how unable ſhe herſelf was to hold the reins of government; and that all the errors committed by the elder Edward during the whole courſe of his reign, were nothing in compariſon to what ſhe had done in the very beginning of her adminiſtration.

Mortimer perceived that his treaty with Bruce had rendered him very unpopular, and he began to dread the conſequences, eſpecially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, the archbiſhops of Canterbury, the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, and ſeveral powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He knew the conſequence if a majority in that aſſembly ſhould favour the complainants, and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. He ſucceeded; and it was agreed that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed in the enſuing parliament. In the mean time a general pardon paſſed the great ſeal, for all who had joined in the late confederacy.

A. D. 1329. But though Mortimer had been obliged to temporize, he was determined to have his revenge, and to ſingle out an object that might ſtrike his enemies with terror. The weakneſs of the earl of Kent promoted his criminal intentions. He cauſed a report to be ſpread, that Edward the ſecond was yet alive and confined in Corfe caſtle. The earl, who had always retained a ſincere affection for that unfortunate brother, though he had joined the queen's party to drive the two Spencer's from the kingdom, immediately formed a deſign of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no ſooner procured ſufficient proofs of his deſign, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and committed to priſon.

A. D. 1330. The parliament was immediately aſſembled, and the ſlaviſh though turbulent barons, condemned him to loſe his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehenſive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and he was beheaded the day after his ſentence was pronounced. But though the barons wanted virtue and fortitude to oppoſe the deſigns of an inſolent miniſter, the earl was ſo beloved by the people, that when he was brought upon the ſcaffold, the common executioner refuſed to perform his office; nor could any one be found to ſupply his place, till the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for all the robberies he had committed. But crimes like theſe could not long remain unpuniſhed by a prince who knew how to reign.

This inhuman action filled up the meaſure of Mortimer's crimes, and rendered him univerſally odious. All parties, forgetting their former animoſities, conſpired the deſtruction of this inſolent and perfidious miniſter. Edward himſelf, now in his eighteenth year, was deſirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary puniſhment, a man who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility to his inſatiable thirſt of power. But it was abſolutely neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt precaution. Mortimer had ſo entirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of affairs, that the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion; he was always upon his guard, was continually attended by one hundred and eighty armed knights and their followers, and had even ſurrounded the throne itſelf with his emiſſaries, who acted as ſpies on the behaviour of the king and his friends. A prince of leſs fortitude than Edward would have been deterred by ſo many difficulties; but Edward was a ſtranger to fear. He imparted his deſign to William lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen, who all promiſed their aſſiſtance, and it was determined to ſeize Mortimer during the ſeſſion of parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Nottingham.

In order to this it was propoſed that the king ſhould occupy the caſtle of Nottingham, which would enable them to carry on their deſigns with more ſafety and ſucceſs; but on their arrival they found the caſtle already filled with the attendants of Iſabella and Mortimer, one or two apartments only being left for the king and a few of his attendants. It was now ſufficiently evident, that it would be impoſſible to execute their deſign without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the caſtle. Lord Montacute was therefore ſent to gain him over to their party, which was affected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of ſhewing at once his affection for the perſon of his ſovereign, and his deteſtation of thoſe, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of deſtruction. But at the ſame time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for him to admit any aſſiſtance by the common entry, the caſtle being ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected, that there was a ſubterraneous paſſage formerly contrived as a ſecret outlet to the fortreſs, but at preſent concealed by a heap of rubbiſh. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The attempt ſucceeded; Mortimer was ſeized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, without the leaſt reſiſtance, and ſent directly under a ſtrong guard to the tower of London.

A parliament was immediately ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter for the trial of this tyrannical miniſter, and a proclamation was iſſued for all perſons who had any complaints to prefer againſt him, to appear before that aſſembly, in order to obtain redreſs for all their juſt grievances. Nor was juſtice long deferred. The firſt buſineſs that engaged the attention of the national aſſembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accuſation was immediately drawn up, and conſiſted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and miſdemeanours. Among others, he was accuſed of having uſurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſollicited and obtained exhorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting for his own uſe twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, diſturbed their deliberations, and threatened ſeveral of the members with death. Theſe facts were all notorious. It was thought unneceſſary to call witneſſes: and Mortimer was condemned to ſuffer as a traitor, without being ſuffered to make his defence. The ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. The queen was confined to her houſe at Riſings in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds a year. The king conſtantly viſited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but ſhe never recovered the leaſt degree of power or authority in the ſtate.

A. D. 1331. Edward now publiſhed a proclamation, informing his ſubjects, that he had taken into his own hands the reins of government. He could not have diſſeminated a more pleaſing article of intelligence. The people were rejoiced at ſeeing on the throne a prince, of whoſe abilities for government they had already formed the moſt pleaſing idea; and the firſt acts of his public adminiſtration tended to convince them that their hopes were not founded on a chimerical baſis. He reſumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demeſnes during his minority, and rewarded thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſeizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiſcations that had been awarded againſt the barons who had oppoſed the deſtructive meaſures of that miniſter. He reverſed the ſentence of attainder againſt the earl of Kent, reſtored his ſon to the family eſtate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. All the ſheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, he diſplaced; diſpatched orders to all the judges to adminiſter ſtrict juſtice to all perſons without delay, notwithſtanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary; and purſued every meaſure that appeared conducive to eſtabliſh the public peace, and introduce a frugal management of the national treaſure.

Beſides the diſorders that had crept into the adminiſtration of public affairs, there were others that equally required the abilities and firmneſs of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infeſted with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had ſet the power of the magiſtrates at defiance, and exerciſed, with impunity, their lawleſs depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them againſt their enemies. It was therefore previouſly neceſſary to deſtroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a ſolemn promiſe from his barons, aſſembled in parliament, to break off all connections with ſuch malefactors, as a diſgrace to nobility. He iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all juſts and tournaments, which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for aſſembling great numbers of armed men, to the diſturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking theſe neceſſary meaſures, he marched in perſon againſt the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and diſperſed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew to the continent for ſafety. The miniſters of juſtice followed the royal example; they were indefatigable in diſcovering and purſuing, and ſtrict in puniſhing criminals. By theſe ſalutary methods, the diſeaſe was removed, and travellers paſſed from one part of the kingdom to the other in ſafety.

A. D. 1332. While Edward was thus employed in promoting the happineſs of his people, an accident happened which excited his ambition. Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and ſhewn himſelf ſo worthy of a throne, died ſoon after the concluſion of the laſt peace, and left his ſon David, a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray. Among other particulars in the late treaty, it was ſtipulated, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war; and the Engliſh, who enjoyed eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. Edward had ſcrupulouſly performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refuſed to follow the example of the Engliſh monarch. It would have been in vain to attempt any other method for redreſs but that of petition, while Robert ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre; but the feeble ſtate of the kingdom under a minority induced them to enter into an aſſociation for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont was at the head of this confederacy. He claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and propoſed, as the moſt effectual method of obtaining juſtice, to invite Edward Baliol, ſon to John Baliol, to make an attempt for recovering his father's crown.

Baliol, who, ever ſince the death of his father, had lived on his patrimonial eſtate in Normandy, little thought of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but the propoſal was too flattering to be refuſed. Young Baliol engaged in the enterprize, and joined the diſcontented barons in England. Edward was now applied to for aſſiſtance; but the Engliſh monarch was too prudent to engage openly in the attempt, though he ſecretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the ſparks of civil diſcord into a flame. Scotland was at this time in a very feeble condition. Murray, who had ſo often led the Scots to victory, had lately paid the debt of nature; and lord Douglas, diſdaining a life of indolence and eaſe, had paſſed over into Spain, and periſhed in a battle againſt the Moors.

Baliol and the diſcontented nobles did not meet with any great ſucceſs in raiſing forces, but determined to try the fortune of a battle. They embarked at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, and in a few days reached the coaſt of Fife. On their approaching the ſhore, they perceived a body of the militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppoſe their landing; but the Engliſh charged the Scottiſh general with ſuch reſolution, that he was totally defeated; and himſelf, with near a thouſand of his ſoldiers, ſlain on the ſpot. No further oppoſition was made to their landing; and they advanced to Dunfermling, where they ſeized a magazine of arms and proviſions. Here Baliol, in reviewing his little army, found they fell ſhort of three thouſand men.

Donald, earl of Marre, who had ſucceeded Murray in the regency, was greatly inferior to his predeceſſor; he wanted his prudence, his intrepidity, his reſources. He, however, ſoon collected an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to meet the enemy; but all his motions were deſultory; and he obſerved no order in the encampment of his army.

Baliol, who wanted neither valour nor activity, advanced into the heart of the country, hoping to be joined by the old partiſans of his family; but he was deceived. He came at the head of an Engliſh army, and that circumſtance alone was ſufficient to render him obnoxious to the Scots. In the midſt of this diſappointment, he was informed, that the earl of Marre was encamped at Gladſmuir, on the oppoſite ſide of the river Erne. Baliol was not intimidated: he paſſed the ſtream at Duplin; and falling unexpectedly on the Scottiſh forces during the night, threw them into confuſion, and drove them from their camp with great ſlaughter.

The Engliſh flattered themſelves that they had obtained a complete victory; but ſome of the chiefs aſcending an eminence to ſurvey the country, perceived the Scottiſh army, now recovered from their panic, advancing towards them in three diviſions. The Engliſh flew to arms; and poſting themſelves in a narrow defile, reſolutely waited the approach of the enemy. The Scots, exaſperated at their late defeat by a handful of men, advanced to the attack with the utmoſt precipitation, without regarding ſome broken ground which lay between them and the Engliſh. But they were ſoon convinced of their folly; their ranks were diſordered; and the ſecond diviſion preſſing upon the firſt, threw the whole into confuſion, ſo that they became an eaſy prey to the Engliſh. Above twelve thouſand of the Scots fell in the engagement: and among them the flower of their nobility, particularly the regent himſelf, Robert Bruce, a natural ſon of the late king: the earls of Athole and Montieth; and the lords Hay, Keith, and Lindſey. Not above thirty men fell on the ſide of the Engliſh.

Animated by theſe repeated ſucceſſes, Baliol advanced to Perth, which he entered without oppoſition, and immediately repaired the fortifications.

This neceſſary work was hardly finiſhed, before the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of an army of forty thouſand men, appeared, and inveſted the place by land, determined to reduce the Engliſh by famine. They alſo collected a few veſſels, under the command of one John Crabbe, a Flemiſh ſailor, in order to block up the place by water. But the Engliſh ſquadron, which were lying at the mouth of the Tay to ſupply Baliol's army with proviſions, ſoon drove Crabbe from his ſtation, and took the greater part of his ſhips. The Scottiſh generals now perceived that it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth; they abandoned the enterprize; the army diſperſed; and the kingdom was, in effect, ſubdued by an handful of men.

The uſual conſequences attended the good fortune of Baliol: the nobility and gentry flocked to make their ſubmiſſion. The young king, and his queen, ſiſter to the king of England, were ſent into France; and Baliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, on the twenty-ſeventh of September.

A. D. 1333. He did not, however, long enjoy the crown he had ſo eaſily obtained; for having imprudently diſmiſſed the greater part of his Engliſh followers, he was driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to ſeek protection in England. Before this revolution happened, Baliol had perceived, that it would be impoſſible for him to keep poſſeſſion of the throne without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh monarch. Accordingly he ſent a meſſage to Edward, offering to renew the homage for his crown, acknowledge his ſuperiority, and to marry his ſiſter, if a diſpenſation from the pope could be obtained, as her nuptials with David Bruce had never been conſummated. Ambitious of gaining what he had loſt by the treachery of Mortimer, Edward entered into a treaty with Baliol; but that prince being now driven from his throne, there was a neceſſity for replacing him in the ſeat of power.

If any excuſe was wanting for the Engliſh monarch to break the peace lately concluded with Robert Bruce, the Scots themſelves furniſhed one ſufficient to rouze a leſs ambitious prince than Edward. Elated with their late ſucceſs againſt Baliol, and allured by the hopes of plunder, the Scots broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waſte with fire and ſword. Edward immediately ſent orders to Sir Anthony Lacy to begin hoſtilities againſt the enemy. His commands were obeyed with the utmoſt alacrity; the invaders were defeated, and obliged to return into their own country with great precipitation.

Douglas, the regent, was alarmed at this breach of the treaty, and ſpared neither intreaties, excuſes, nor ſubmiſſions, to divert the gathering ſtorm, that threatened the deſtruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain; Edward liſtened only to the voice of ambition. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Berwick, where Edward commanded in perſon. That place was conſidered by the Scots as the key of their country; and the regent had accordingly furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Sir William Keith; while he himſelf formed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as ſoon as that fortreſs was inveſted by Edward.

The ſiege continued near two months; when great part of the fortifications being demoliſhed, the garriſon agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. The terms were accepted; and a meſſenger diſpatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, the regent, informing him of the conditions, and preſſing him to march immediately to their relief. The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led againſt the Engliſh, determined him to comply with the requeſt of the garriſon. He marched immediately to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown-hill, a little to the north of Berwick, in ſight of the Engliſh camp. His army was divided into four bodies, and headed by the principal nobility of Scotland.

The Engliſh were alſo drawn up in four ſeparate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this diſpoſition Edward waited the attack of the enemy; who began to aſcend the hill, with great impetuoſity, about five in the afternoon; but the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, the weight of their armour, the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows diſcharged from the bows of the Engliſh, and the large ſtones rolled down upon them, ſoon checked their career. They halted; and their general being that moment transfixed with an arrow, fell lifeleſs to the ground. The utmoſt conſternation now ſeized the Scottiſh army. Edward perceived their diſorder, and commanded lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light-armed infantry, to charge them in flank; while he himſelf attacked their front with a detachment of veterans. The Scottiſh knights, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſperate, had diſmounted from their horſes, but could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh. The whole army fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action, and all the chief nobility were either ſlain or taken priſoners. The Engliſh loſt only one knight, one eſquire, and thirteen private ſoldiers. The town and caſtle of Berwick immediately ſurrendered; and no farther aſſiſtance being apprehended, Edward, after leaving a conſiderable part of his army with Baliol, returned into England.

It was now impoſſible for the Scots to oppoſe the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were loſt, their army was diſſipated, their king in France, and their regent ſlain. Submiſſion was their only reſource. Baliol accordingly marched through the whole country; and all the caſtles, except thoſe of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates at the firſt ſummons.

A. D. 1334. A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh on the tenth of February, where Baliol was acknowledged king, the ſuperiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to him; and Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland, were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England. Such ſhameful conditions could not fail of exaſperating the Scots. They ſubmitted to them indeed, but determined to obſerve the treaty no longer than they were not in a condition to break it.

An opportunity ſoon offered: the Engliſh troops returned to their own country, and the Scots immediately flew to arms. They renounced the fealty they had ſworn to Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. At the ſame time they elected Sir Andrew Murray regent, and defeated Baliol in ſeveral ſmall, but deciſive actions. Edward now ſaw, that it was neceſſary for him to ſubdue that ſtubborn people a ſecond time; and he accordingly made preparations for invading Scotland at the head of an army impoſſible for them to withſtand.

A. D. 1335. The Engliſh monarch reached Berwick early in the ſpring, and purſued his march, without oppoſition, into the very heart of Scotland; the enemy having abandoned all the plains at his approach, and retired to the mountains and faſtneſſes of their country. Edward perceiving it would be in vain to traverſe a wild, deſerted, and barren country, returned to Perth. Several ſmall ſkirmiſhes, however, happened between the Scots and the ſtraggling parties of the Engliſh; in one of which Sir Andrew Murray, the regent, was taken priſoner.

While Edward continued at Perth, he detached a body of forces, under the command of his brother, John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the weſtern counties, which were principally inhabited by the Brucean party. The Scots, who imagined themſelves able to face a part of the Engliſh army, left their faſtneſſes, and preſented themſelves in order of battle. A bloody engagement enſued; and the victory was, for ſome time, doubtful, but at laſt declared in favour of the Engliſh. A great number of the Scots periſhed on the field of battle. The adherents of Bruce were ſo intimidated by this defeat, that they determined to ſubmit to the terms Edward ſhould think proper to impoſe; and a treaty was accordingly concluded, on the following terms: "That the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they ſhould enjoy their lands, honours, and offices in Scotland, and be reſtored to their Engliſh poſſeſſions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchiſes of the church and boroughs of Scotland ſhould continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives ſhould be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in ſome particular caſes, where their king, Edward Baliol, ſhould make uſe of his prerogative in favour of perſons of another nation." It was alſo ſoon after agreed by the reſt of Bruce's party, who at firſt refuſed to ſign the above treaty, "That Edward Baliol ſhould enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that at his death it ſhould deſcend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, ſhould be honourably maintained at London."

Hoſtilities being thus terminated, Edward ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, and the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He alſo appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and returned to England, at the head of the greater part of his army.

But though the Scots had again ſubmitted to Edward, they were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only watched for a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke to which neceſſity alone had compelled them to ſubmit. They did not wait long. The earl of Athol was not at all adapted to govern ſuch turbulent people. Inſtead of ſoothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, he treated them with rigour; and the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had ſhut herſelf up, having ſtill refuſed to open its gates to the Engliſh, the guardian imprudently beſieged the fortreſs. This action awakened all the pride and anger of the Scots: the earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas haſtened immediately to the relief of the fortreſs, attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt impetuoſity, and routed them with great ſlaughter. The earl of Athol himſelf was among the ſlain. Animated with this ſucceſs, they inveſted the caſtles of Coupar and Lochendoris. The ſtandard of war was again diſplayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before any farther hoſtilities were commenced, the pope and the king of France interpoſed their good offices; and a truce till the ninth of May, in the enſuing year, was agreed to, in order to give time for concluding a general treaty of peace.

A. D. 1336. The conferences were accordingly opened at Newcaſtle early in the ſpring; but Philip de Valois, who now filled the throne of France, and found his intereſt in the diſſentions between the Scots and Engliſh, gave ſuch inſtructions to his envoys, that though they aſſumed the characters of mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarraſſing the negotiation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. Philip had already afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance to the Scots; and his envoys now aſſured them, that their maſter would never abandon the cauſe of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but ſupport him to the utmoſt of his power. Elated with theſe promiſes, and exaſperated againſt the invaders of their country, the Scottiſh deputies inſiſted on ſuch high terms, that Edward broke off the treaty in a tranſport of reſentment, and both parties made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

Edward had always been very careful to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by the moſt popular acts; and being now determined to reduce the refractory Scots to an abſolute ſubmiſſion, which could not be executed without large ſupplies, he wiſely paſſed ſeveral ſalutary laws for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and the more effectually ſecuring the property and perſons of individuals from the deſigns of ſecret or open enemies. Among others, were ſeveral acts for the freedom and extenſion of commerce, and the preſervation of the weight and quality of the coin; for the more effectually bringing to juſtice the perpetrators of murders, robberies, and other ſpecies of felony; and for reſtraining his officers from committing exceſſes in the caſe of purveyance. By theſe, and other ſimilar methods, he ſo endeared himſelf to his ſubjects, both clergy and laity, that they very readily granted him large ſubſidies for ſupporting the conqueſts he had made in Scotland, and finally reducing that nation under the Engliſh government.

Strengthened by theſe ſupplies, and fired with reſentment againſt the Scots, Edward marched a fourth time into Scotland, and laid thoſe countries waſte which had declared againſt him. The lord Beaumont, who commanded a ſeparate detachment, laid the town and caſtle of Aberdeen in aſhes, to revenge the death of Sir Thomas Roſſelin, whom the inhabitants had attacked and killed on his landing at Dunotter. Edward met with no oppoſition in his march; but ſtill the nation itſelf was as far as ever from being broken and ſubdued. The Scots had retreated to their faſtneſſes; experience taught them prudence: they knew they were not able to meet the Engliſh in the open field, and wiſely abandoned the low countries to the ravages of the enemy. The hopes of a war, which now ſeemed inevitable, between England and France, encouraged them to perſevere in their oppoſition to Edward; they ſtill flattered themſelves with being able to recover their national liberty.

A. D. 1337. We have now reached that period of hiſtory, which produced a tranſaction that gave occaſion to the moſt memorable events; and therefore it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of its ſprings and cauſes. After the death of Lewis X. of France, the public attention of that kingdom was engroſſed by a queſtion of the Salic law. That prince left only one daughter; and they had never examined in France, Whether females were capable of inheriting the crown? Laws had been enacted only to ſerve the preſent occaſion. They had no knowledge of the Salian code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; the want of which had been ſupplied by the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and theſe cuſtoms were continually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair had adjudged the province of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next male heir; and the ſucceſſion of Champagne had, at ſome times, been ſettled upon the females, and at other times taken from them. Charles the Fair took poſſeſſion of Champagne in right of his wife, to the excluſion of the princes. Right therefore varied with power: it was not a fundamental law of the ſtate to exclude a daughter from her father's throne. Beſides the article in the ancient Salian code, which deprives the females of the right of inheriting in the Salic country, ſeems to have been founded only on this particular, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public aſſemblies of the nation. But the queen is not obliged to bear arms; the nation does it for her. It may, therefore, be affirmed, that the Salic law, a regulation in other reſpects ſo little known, was relative to the other fiefs, and not to the crown. Theſe arguments were, for ſome time, maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle to the princeſs, daughter of Lewis X. and by ſeveral princes of the blood. Lewis X. had two brothers, who, in a ſhort ſpace of time, ſucceeded him, one after the other. The elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles, at that time, not thinking himſelf ſo near the crown, attacked the Salic law, out of jealouſy of his brother. Philip the Long took care to have it determined at a meeting of ſome barons, prelates, and burghers of Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. Had the other party prevailed, the contrary would have been declared a fundamental law. Philip died after a very ſhort reign, and left no male iſſue. The Salic law was then confirmed a ſecond time; and Charles the Fair, who had oppoſed it, ſucceeded to the crown, without any formal diſpute, and excluded his brother's daughters. At the death of Charles the Fair, the ſame cauſe was again decided; his queen was pregnant at the time of his deceaſe, and a regent was wanting for the kingdom.

Edward, as the ſon of Iſabella, ſiſter to Charles the Fair, claimed the regency; but it was conferred on Philip de Valois, as the firſt prince of the blood; and on the queen's being delivered of a daughter, aſcended the throne with the conſent of the nation. Edward, however, determined to maintain his right to the ſucceſſion; a claim the more inſupportable, as the three ſons of Philip the Fair had left daughters who were ſtill living, and whoſe rights were therefore preferable to that of Edward. The king of Navarre's claim was alſo better founded than that of Edward, as being deſcended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, the immediate ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair.

But notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, Edward determined to attack France, and wreſt from the hand of Philip de Valois that ſceptre which he imagined to belong to him, as the next in blood to the deceaſed king. He was greatly encouraged in this reſolution by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in conſequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. Inſpired with the moſt implacable revenge againſt Philip, Robert omitted no arguments to induce the king to declare war againſt France, in favour of his title to that crown. Edward was the more inclined to liſten to the arguments of Robert, becauſe Philip had given protection to David Bruce, the exiled king of Scotland. Philip was no ſooner informed of the counſel given by Robert d'Artois, than he iſſued a ſentence of felony and forfeiture againſt him; and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, was involved in the ſame ſentence. This menace was eaſily apprehended; it wanted no comment; and Edward made preparations for carrying the war into the heart of France, in order to prevent his provinces on the continent from falling into the hands of Philip.

In order to divert the arms of the French monarch from Guienne, and at the ſame time to make an effectual attack upon Philip's dominions, Edward endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany. The earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Banquet, were engaged to join the Engliſh. This confederacy was not, however, thought ſufficiently formidable, without the acceſſion of Flanders; but this required ſome addreſs to accompliſh. The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures, had acquired riches and ſome ſhare of independence, had riſen in tumults, inſulted the nobility, and driven their earl into France; determined to free themſelves from every ſpecies of tyranny. The leader of theſe popular inſurrections was one Jacob Van Ardevelt, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in a more arbitrary manner than any of their lawful ſovereigns. He never appeared in the ſtreets without a guard of fourſcore perſons, who, from the leaſt ſignal given by this demagogue, murdered any perſon who happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. Whatever he thought proper to propoſe in the aſſembly of the ſtates, was never contradicted, becauſe every member feared his power. Edward courted the aſſiſtance of this ferocious leader, who refuſed to join in the alliance, unleſs Edward would aſſume the title of king of France, in order to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who heſitated on the right of invading the territories of their liege lord. Edward agreed to the condition, and Ardevelt invited him into Flanders. About the ſame time, Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might appear to have a right to command the princes of Germany.

Every thing now portended an immediate rupture between the crowns of France and England. Philip invaded Guienne; and Edward ordered the duke of Brabant to demand, in his name, the crown of France, conſtituted him his lieutenant general of that kingdom; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his ſubjects, to pay him obedience. Provoked at Edward's aſſuming his crown, Philip aſſembled a conſiderable army to chaſtiſe the Flemings, and reinſtate the earl of Flanders in the poſſeſſion of that country. But Edward ſent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the deſigns of Philip abortive. The Engliſh, on their arrival on the coaſt, were informed that Guy de Rickenbourgh, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cadſant, in order to cut off all communication by ſea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore reſolved to drive him from that advantageous poſt. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the Engliſh, after an obſtinate diſpute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle enſued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horſe, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken priſoner, had he not been reſcued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horſe, charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury, and took Guy de Rickenbourgh priſoner with his own hand. The loſs of their leader ſtruck the French with conſternation; they immediately fell into confuſion, and were routed with prodigious ſlaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings ſent a meſſage to Edward, preſſing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in perſon. But the immenſe preparations for the enſuing campaign produced nothing deciſive. The allies of Edward were weak in themſelves; and having no other object than his money, which began to be exhauſted, they were at once very ſlow in their motions, and very irreſolute in their meaſures.

A. D. 1339. Edward at laſt took the field, at the head of an army of near fifty thouſand men, and encamped between Marchiennes and Douay; but being informed that Philip was advancing with an army of near double his force, he left his camp, and croſſed the Schelde to meet him, and terminate, by one deciſive action, a war attended with ſo ruinous an expence. But both ſeemed to decline an engagement; and after facing each other for ſome days, Edward retired back into Flanders, and diſperſed his army.

Though the Engliſh monarch had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to ſtay in the Low Countries till the war was finiſhed, he found it impoſſible to keep his promiſe. His abſence had already occaſioned many diſorders in England, where bands of robbers diſturbed the peace of the nation; and the Brucean party had not only recovered what they had loſt in Scotland, but alſo invaded the northern counties of England. Theſe circumſtances were conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for Edward's paſſing over into England; and the king having promiſed, on his word of honour, to return in perſon, the duke gave his conſent to his departure.

A. D. 1340. As ſoon as Edward landed in England, he iſſued writs for aſſembling a parliament at Weſtminſter. The aſſembly ſhewed an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting the monarch, and providing for the ſecurity of the realm againſt all invaders. They granted the king a large ſupply; and orders were iſſued for fortifying Southampton and the Iſle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, to protect the coaſts; for ſending ſupplies of proviſions to the caſtles of Edmburgh and Stirling; and for raiſing a body of ſeven hundred and eighty-two men at arms, two thouſand light-horſe, and two thouſand and ten archers, for defending the marches of Scotland. Theſe tokens of affection deſerved a grateful return, and accordingly Edward granted a full remiſſion of all debts due to the crown, and of all proſecutions on foreſt-treſpaſſes ſince his acceſſion to the throne. To theſe he added a confirmation of the two charters, and of the franchiſes of the boroughs. But notwithſtanding the remarkable harmony that prevailed among the branches of the legiſlature, the parliament declared, that they owed Edward no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms ſhould for ever remain diſtinct and independent. It was foreſeen, that France, if ſubdued, would become the ſeat of government, and England be regarded only as a province of the monarchy.

While Edward was making preparations for returning into the Low Countries, advice arrived from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had aſſembled a powerful fleet to intercept him in his paſſage. Orders were therefore given for fitting out a ſufficient number of ſhips for carrying the king, and a conſiderable body of forces, to the continent. The utmoſt expedition was uſed on this occaſion; and Edward embarked at Orwell on the thirteenth of June, attended by the principal nobility of England. His fleet conſiſted of two hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, having on board a powerful body of men at arms, and archers. A few days after their departure, Edward diſcovered the French fleet in the harbour of Sluiſe, and immediately made preparations for fighting the enemy. Early the next morning, the French, who had left the harbour, appeared in three diviſions; and about eleven the engagement began with the utmoſt fury. The Engliſh had taken care to get to windward of the enemy, and grappled their ſhips ſo firmly with thoſe of the French, that they formed a firm compact body, and the men fought with the ſame firmneſs as on dry land. The French, whoſe number of veſſels was much greater than that of the Engliſh, obſerving a ſhip carrying the royal ſtandard of England, advanced to attack her with the utmoſt intrepidity; but all their efforts were in vain. The examples of the king and his gallant nobles animated to ſuch a degree both the ſeamen and ſoldiers, that they every where maintained a ſuperiority over the enemy. The French could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh; many hundreds of them leaped overboard, and periſhed in the ſea. In this critical moment, a reinforcement of Flemiſh ſhips joined the Engliſh, and determined the fortune of the day. Two hundred and thirty of the enemy's ſhips were taken; and thirty-two thouſand Frenchmen were ſlain, with two of their admirals. The loſs of the Engliſh was inconſiderable. Philip's courtiers were ſo aſtoniſhed at this dreadful misfortune, that none dared to be the meſſenger of ſuch alarming intelligence. His jeſter at laſt gave him a hint, by which the monarch diſcovered the loſs he had ſuſtained, and the triumph of the Engliſh.

This victory added a luſtre to Edward's authority among his allies; and he ſoon marched at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, compoſed of Engliſh, Germans, Flemings and Gaſcons. The firſt attempt was the ſiege of Tournay; but the city was no ſooner inveſted, than Edward detached fifty thouſand men, under the command of Robert d'Artois, who poſted himſelf near St. Omer's to favour the ſiege. Robert's troops were chiefly compoſed of tradeſmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly ſtrangers to military diſcipline. From ſuch troops very little could be expected; and accordingly they were totally routed by a ſally from the garriſon, notwithſtanding the great abilities of their leader.

This defeat did not, however, intimidate Edward. He puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and met every where with a noble reſiſtance. Tournay was, at that time, one of the nobleſt cities in Flanders, and contained above ſixty thouſand inhabitants. It was defended by a garriſon of fifteen thouſand men, commanded by Robert Butraud and Matthew de la Trie, marſhals of France; aſſiſted by the counts of Eu, Guiſnes, Foix, Narbonne, and other gallant noblemen, who were reſolved to periſh under the ruins of the city, rather than open their gates to the enemy.

At the end of ten weeks, the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; and Philip having collected a prodigious army, advanced within a few leagues of the Engliſh camp; not with a deſign to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to aſſiſt the garriſon whenever an opportunity offered. Edward, exaſperated at the length of the ſiege, ſent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat, or by an action of a hundred againſt a hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that a vaſſal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the duel was, beſides, propoſed on very unequal terms; but if Edward would increaſe the ſtake, and put alſo the kingdom of England on the iſſue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge. Theſe bravadoes were in the true ſpirit of the times; but both theſe kings were too wiſe to think ſeriouſly of putting them in execution.

While the two armies continued in the neighbourhood of each other, and a battle was every day expected, the counteſs dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip, though ſhe had retired to the convent of Fonteville after the death of her huſband, left her retreat on this intereſting occaſion, to employ her good offices for bringing about a peace between perſons ſo nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a ſhort ceſſation of hoſtilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required that Philip ſhould free Guienne from all claims of ſuperiority, and entirely abandon the protection of Scotland. Theſe conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to. The ſucceſs of Edward certainly entitled him not to make ſuch demands. His allies were never firmly attached to his intereſt: they were, indeed, deſirous of his money, but never intended to weaken the power of France. Accordingly, when they found that his treaſure was nearly exhauſted, they abandoned the confederacy; and Edward being preſſed by his impatient creditors, he was obliged to paſs privately into England.

His embaraſſment had chiefly aroſe from the nature of the ſubſidy granted by parliament. It conſiſted of corn and wool, on account of the ſcarcity of money; and theſe commodities could not be collected and diſpoſed of ſoon enough to anſwer his exigencies. But though this was nothing more than might have been expected, Edward was determined to puniſh the ſheriffs and officers of his revenue; for he conſidered them as guilty of negligence, which had, in ſome meaſure, occaſioned the bad ſucceſs of his expedition. The biſhop of Chicheſter, chancellor; the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer; and the archbiſhop, prime miniſter, now felt the weight of his diſpleaſure. The two former were impriſoned; but the primate, fearing the effects of Edward's anger, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himſelf by the weapons of the prelacy. He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt all who had violated the immunities of the church.

A. D. 1341. A parliament being aſſembled, the primate, who had received no ſummons to attend, preſented himſelf at the gate in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his ſeat as the firſt and higheſt peer of the realm. He was, however, denied admittance for two days ſucceſſively; but Edward, ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences that might attend his quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted of the conceſſions made by the churchman, and the primate was again received into favour.

This diſpute with the archbiſhop, the immenſe debt Edward had contracted on the continent, and the arbitrary meaſures he had purſued with regard to the officers of his revenue, alarmed the parliament, and it was determined to ſet proper bounds to the royal prerogative. They required a new confirmation of the great charter; they paſſed a bill, whereby it was enacted, that no nobleman ſhould be proceeded againſt or puniſhed, but by the judgment of his peers aſſembled in parliament; that the more important offices of ſtate ſhould be filled by the king, with the conſent of the council and barons; that every ſeſſion theſe offices ſhould be reſumed by him, and the miniſters who diſcharged them reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould, in that condition, anſwer, before the parliament, to any accuſations brought againſt them; and that if they were any ways found guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their dignities, and more ſufficient perſons be ſubſtituted in their place. Edward ratified theſe acts in full parliament, but never intended to make them the rule of his conduct.

By making theſe important conceſſions, the king obtained large ſupplies from the parliament, particularly a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, to be tranſported to Flanders before Michaelmas, with a prohibition to all other perſons from ſending thither any wool, till that period was elapſed. But though Edward had, by ſacrificing ſome parts of the royal authority, extricated himſelf from his preſent difficulties, he did not ſeem deſirous of continuing the war on the ſide of Flanders, in ſupport of his title to the crown of France. An unforeſeen accident renewed the hoſtilities between the two kingdoms. John III. duke of Britany was deſirous of leaving his dutchy to a daughter of his brother the count de Ponthievre; but in order to prevent the calamities that always attend a diſputed ſucceſſion, he determined to marry her to ſome prince capable of repelling any attempts that might be made to diſturb the tranquillity of his country. Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, appeared to him the moſt proper for this purpoſe. He conſulted the ſtates of Britany, who approved of his choice: the marriage was concluded; and all the vaſſals ſwore fealty to Charles and his ſpouſe, as their future ſovereigns. The count de Montfort himſelf, one of John's brothers by a ſecond marriage, acknowledged the rights of his neice, and made no difficulty of taking an oath of fealty to Charles. But he forgot both his conceſſion and his oath on the death of John, and exerted himſelf in taking poſſeſſion of the country. He engaged many of the moſt conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority, and made himſelf maſter of Rennes, Nantes, Breſt, Hennebonne, and moſt of the important fortreſſes of the dutchy. He met with very little oppoſition in his attempts, Charles de Blois being engaged in ſolliciting, at the court of France, the inveſtiture of the dutchy.

But though Montfort had made theſe acquiſitions, he was ſenſible he ſhould not be able to ſupport himſelf againſt the attempts of Charles de Blois, unleſs aſſiſted by ſome powerful ally. He therefore determined to apply to the Engliſh monarch. Accordingly, under pretence of ſolliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had fallen to him by the death of his brother, he viſited Edward; made that prince an offer of doing him homage, and of acknowledging his title to the crown of France, provided he would engage to aſſiſt him againſt Charles de Blois. Edward ſaw immediately all the advantages that might attend an alliance with Montfort; and being at the ſame time incited by the perſuaſions of Robert d'Artois, he agreed to the conditions, and a formal alliance was concluded between them.

Thinking his treaty with Edward was a profound ſecret, Montfort made no difficulty of repairing to Paris, in order to ſupport his claim to the dutchy of Britany. But he was ſoon convinced both of his error and the imprudent ſtep he had taken. Philip, at his firſt audience, told him plainly, that he had no right to Britany, and at the ſame time reproached him with having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince, who was the profeſſed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having paſſed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was ſatisfied of the goodneſs of his claim, and was ready to ſubmit to the judgment of his peers, with regard to Britany. Philip immediately appointed a day for diſcuſſing his claim, but forbid him to ſtir out of Paris till after the ſentence was pronounced.

Montford was now ſufficiently convinced that he had every thing to fear, and took a reſolution to make his eſcape. He accordingly withdrew from Paris during the night in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and reached Britany in ſafety. Philip was no ſooner informed of his eſcape, than, in a tranſport of rage and indignation, he inſtantly confiſcated the earldom of Montfort, commanded the parliament of Paris, by his ſole authority, even without ſummoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal proceſs, to adjudge Britany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the ſentence into execution, he ſupplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon John, duke of Normandy. Montfort, who was unable to face the French army in the field, ſhut himſelf up in Nantes, which was ſoon beſieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was ſtrongly fortified, and capable of holding out a conſiderable time againſt the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up to the enemy, Monfort himſelf was taken priſoner, and committed to the caſtle of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. The captivity of Montfort ſeemed to have determined the fate of Britany. But the heroic virtues and conjugal fidelity of his wife ſupported the falling fortunes of his family. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, one of the moſt extraordinary women of that age, no ſooner heard of the impriſonment of her huſband, than aſſembling the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided. She preſented herſelf in the midſt of the aſſembly with her infant ſon in her arms, and conjured them to preſerve from deſtruction, the only remaining heir of that illuſtrious family, who had ſo long held the ſceptre of Britany. Deeply affected by her politic addreſs, they promiſed to ſupport her with their lives and fortunes. All the other fortified towns in the dutchy embraced the ſame reſolution; and the utmoſt expedition was uſed to furniſh them with every thing neceſſary for making a noble defence againſt the enemy. The counteſs herſelf repaired to Hennebonne, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Britany, determined there to wait for the expected ſuccours from Edward, and in the mean time ſent her infant ſon to England, that he might not be expoſed to the ſame unhappy fate with his father.

Perſuaded that the reduction of Hennebonne, together with the captivity of the counteſs, would put a final period to all oppoſition, Charles de Blois inveſted the place with a numerous army, compoſed of French, Spaniards, Genoeſe, and ſome Britons. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the place defended with a bravery that would have done honour to the beſt general of the age. The French were repulſed in every attack, and perpetually harraſſed with ſoldiers from the garriſon. The counteſs was foremoſt in every danger, and led her troops with the utmoſt prudence and intrepidity. Perceiving that the beſiegers in making an aſſault upon one part of the town had neglected to ſecure a diſtant quarter of their camp, ſhe ſallied out at the head of two hundred horſe, made a dreadful ſlaughter, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage and magazines. A detachment was immediately ſent from the main body of the army, and Jane ſoon perceived that her retreat was cut off. A moment was ſufficient to form her reſolution; ſhe ordered her men to diſperſe, and fly to Breſt, where ſhe would ſoon meet them. Her commands were obeyed, and Jane, having increaſed her eſcort to five hundred men, cut her way through part of the enemy's camp, and entered the town amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the garriſon.

But notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the counteſs, the town was at laſt reduced to the laſt extremity. Several breeches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general aſſault. It was now thought neceſſary to offer terms of capitulation, and the biſhop of Leon was actually ſent for that purpoſe to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the counteſs, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortreſs, diſcovering the Engliſh fleet coming to her aſſiſtance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garriſon, and the biſhop of Leon was recalled. The French were confounded when they ſaw the Engliſh enter the harbour, and laid aſide their deſign of making a general aſſault. This reinforcement conſiſted of a body of men at arms, and ſix thouſand archers, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the beſt captains of the age. The courage of the garriſon was now revived; they readily joined the Engliſh in a ſally, drove the beſiegers from their poſts, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

This reinforcement was not, however, ſufficient to enable the counteſs to take the field againſt the enemy, and ſhe therefore determined to paſs over into England to ſollicit in perſon more effectual ſuccours from Edward. Her requeſt was granted; a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The counteſs herſelf returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the paſſage, by a French ſquadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The counteſs behaved with her uſual intrepidity, and the action continued with great obſtinacy till night put an end to the conteſt; and before the morning appeared a dreadful ſtorm ſeparated the two fleets; but the Engliſh reached the harbour of Hennebonne in ſafety.

The firſt attempt made by Robert was againſt Vannes, which he carried by aſſault, but was dangerouſly wounded, and during his confinement a party of the Britons, in the intereſt of Charles, attacked and took the place by ſurpriſe. Robert had the good fortune to eſcape; but died ſoon after in his paſſage to England. Edward was greatly affected at the loſs of this nobleman, and ſwore he would revenge his death; an oath which he punctually obſerved. He aſſembled his army, embarked at Sandwich on the fifth of October, and after a paſſage of two days, landed at Breſt. He formed three important ſieges at the ſame time, and by attempting too much, miſcarried in all. The duke of Normandy, at the head of forty thouſand men, encamped in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh, and cut off their proviſions. In this dangerous ſituation Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce for three years was concluded on the following conditions:

I. That Vannes ſhould be ſequeſtered, till the expiration of the truce, in the hands of two cardinals, to be diſpoſed of by them in ſuch a manner as they ſhould think proper.

II. That the Flemings ſhould be abſolved from the cenſures which the pope, at the inſtigation of the king of France, had denounced againſt them.

III. That the places taken on both ſides ſhould remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors, and the priſoners ſet at liberty, on paying their ranſoms.

IV. That the allies both of France and England ſhould be included in this treaty, and that the two kings ſhould exert their utmoſt endeavours to prevent hoſtilities in Guienne, France and Britany.

A. D. 1343. Soon after the ratification of theſe articles Edward returned to England; but neither of the monarchs ſeemed deſirous of obſerving the truce; Philip was deſirous of procuring the departure of Edward, and the motive of Edward was that of extricating himſelf from a very dangerous ſituation. It is therefore no wonder, that the leaſt incident was laid hold of to break the truce, and recommence hoſtilities. Edward complained loudly of the execution of ſome Briton lords, whom Philip had put to death, under pretence of their being guilty of treaſon. He was even ſo incenſed, when he firſt heard of the fate of theſe noblemen, that he gave orders for beheading all the priſoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed upon to recall the bloody ſentence, by the remonſtrances of Henry, earl of Lancaſter. He, however, ſent for one of the principal captives, and told him, with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris, was a ſufficient reaſon for retaliating the ſame puniſhment on him and his fellow priſoners, yet he would not ſtain his reputation by imitating ſo bad an example; he would not ſatiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent; but, by the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, he would ſeverely puniſh the author of ſuch unparalleled treachery and barbarity. Nor were his threats in vain.

A. D. 1344. He diſpatched Henry, earl of Derby, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to begin hoſtilities in Guienne. Derby was the ſon of Henry, earl of Lancaſter, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen of the Engliſh court. He was at once intrepid and humane, beloved by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. For ſome time he was very ſucceſsful in his invaſions of the enemy's territories. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general encamped at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and made himſelf maſter of the place. This ſucceſs animated the Engliſh; they proceeded in their conqueſts with great rapidity, till they had reduced the greater part of Perigord.

A. D. 1345. But while the earl of Derby was reducing the French towns, the count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, inveſted Auberauche, which had lately fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. Derby haſtened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny propoſed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with ſuch ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that the Engliſh entered one quarter of the French camp without reſiſtance, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord, and Valentinois, were taken priſoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their ſurprize; and their troops ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The confuſion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with diſorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms and advanced againſt the enemy. Elated with ſucceſs the Engliſh attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garriſon, alarmed by hearing the trumpets ſound a general charge, and diſcovering by the light of the dawn the Engliſh enſigns, ſallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above ſeven thouſand fell in the action, and twelve hundred were taken priſoners; among whom were nine counts, and above three hundred knights and gentlemen of diſtinction. Derby, having thus defeated and diſperſed the

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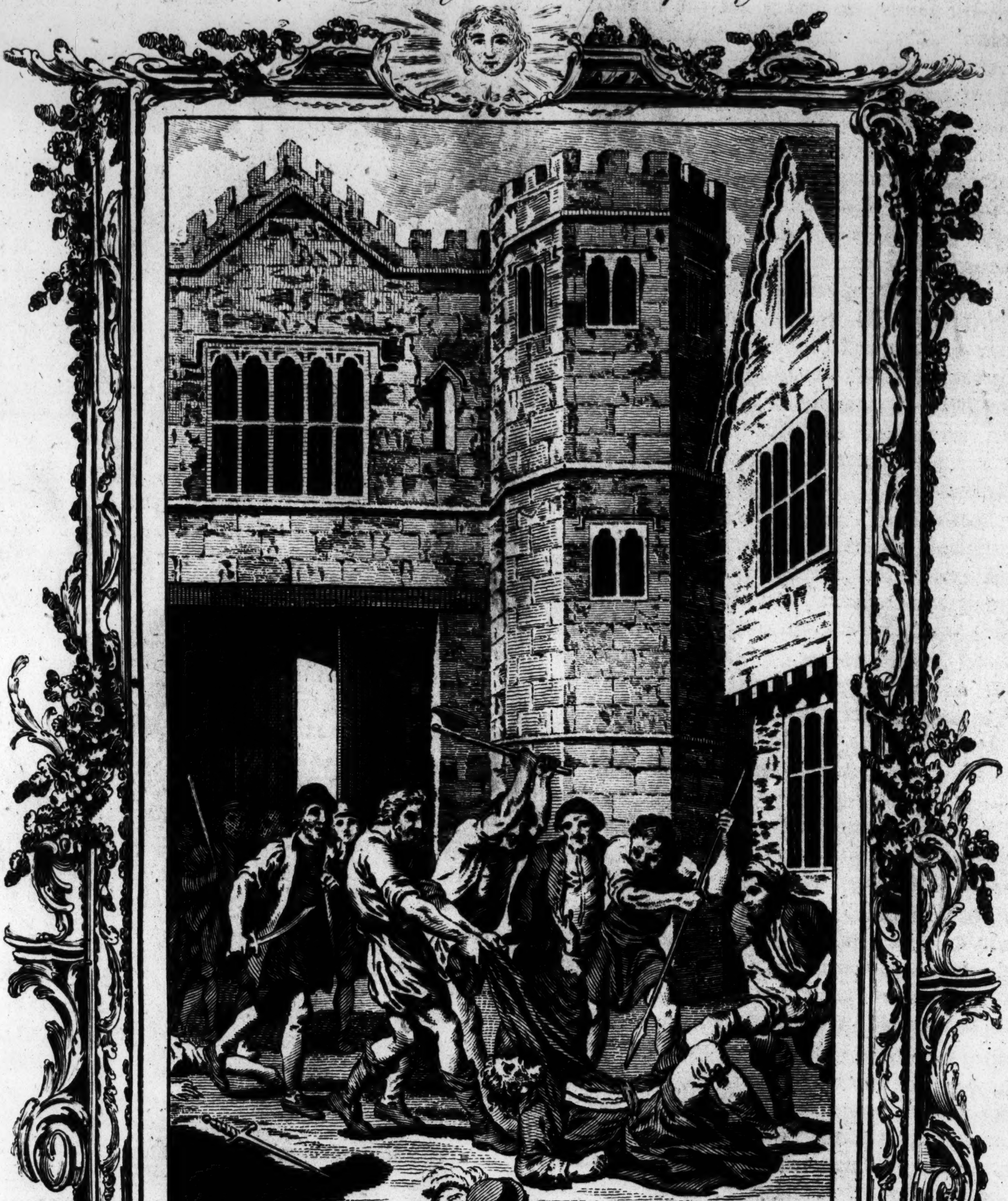

Wale del. Grignion sculp.

TRAGICAL DEATH *of*
*Jacob Van Ardevelt.*

the French army, made a very rapid progreſs in reducing the adjacent provinces. Monſegar, Monpeſat, Villa Franche, Miremont, Tonnius, Damaſſen, Aiguillon, a fortreſs deemed impregnable, Angouleme, and Reole, fell ſucceſſively into the hands of the Engliſh. He would have extended his conqueſts ſtill farther, but the advanced ſeaſon of the year obliged him to put his army into winter quarters.

A. D. 1346. Alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, Philip collected a numerous army, under the command of his ſon, the duke of Normandy, aſſiſted by the duke of Burgundy. It would have been madneſs for Derby to have met the French in the open field: he was therefore reduced to the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive. He therefore furniſhed all the fortified places with good garriſons, large quantities of proviſions and military ſtores; and then paſſed over to England, to inform Edward of the ſtate of the provinces, and the danger to which they were now expoſed. The duke of Normandy opened the campaign with the ſiege of Angouleme, the garriſon of which made a noble defence; but were at laſt reduced to extremities. John lord Norwich, the governor, ſaw the impoſſibility of defending the place much longer; but being unwilling to ſurrender at diſcretion, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to ſave at once his own honour, and his ſoldiers from being made priſoners of war. He aſcended the ramparts, and deſired to ſpeak with the duke of Normandy. His requeſt was granted. The duke approached the walls; and Norwich begged a ceſſation of arms for the morrow, which was the feaſt of the Virgin, to whom the duke, as well as himſelf, paid great devotion. The duke very readily agreed to the propoſal; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out of the town as ſoon as the morning appeared. Perſuaded they were going to be attacked, the French flew to arms; but Norwich diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. "I ſee," exclaimed that prince, "the governor has outwitted me; but let us be contented with taking the place."

The report of Derby, with regard to the dangerous ſtate of Guienne, quickened the motions of Edward, who had determined to head his army in perſon. He therefore ſummoned all his allies on the ſide of Flanders to furniſh their contingents of troops, but they refuſed to fulfil their engagements. Edward had, indeed, lately loſt his friend, Jacob Ardevelt, the demagogue of Ghent. That popular leader, deſirous of transferring the government from the earl of Flanders to the prince of Wales, had propoſed, in a meeting of the ſtates, to inſiſt that their count ſhould renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in caſe he perſiſted in maintaining that connection, that they ſhould transfer their allegiance to young Edward: adding, that they had nothing to fear from the reſentment of either their own ſovereign or the king of France, as the Engliſh monarch was both able and willing to ſupport them effectually. The ſtates, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected propoſal, and afraid of contradicting that popular leader, deſired time to conſult their conſtituents, as they had no authority to determine a queſtion of ſuch importance without their conſent. The requeſt was too reaſonable to be denied, and the aſſembly broke up in great confuſion. His enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him: they charged him with having embezzled vaſt ſums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude immediately changed their opinion. The idol they had ſo long worſhipped was now devoted to deſtruction: they thirſted for the blood of a perſon, for whoſe preſervation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have ſhed their own. Ardevelt ſoon felt the effects of this fatal change in the ſentiments of the people. They ſurrounded his houſe, forced the door, and dragged him into the ſtreet, where he was ſacrificed to the reſentment of an enraged and ferocious people.

Edward finding it would now be in vain to make any attempt on the ſide of Flanders, he embarked, with his forces, for Guienne; but contrary winds ſtill prevented him from ſailing. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, Geoffrey D'Harcourt, a Norman baron, prevailed upon Edward to change the deſtination of his enterprize. D'Harcourt was a nobleman highly eſteemed both for his perſonal merit and valour; but having been perſecuted by Philip, fled into England for protection. He diſplayed the advantages that muſt attend an expedition into Normandy, a province well cultivated, full of rich and flouriſhing cities, deſtitute of troops, and at a great diſtance from the French armies. Hence he very juſtly obſerved, that it would be much more advantageous for the Engliſh to land in Normandy than in Guienne. Edward was convinced of the juſtice of his remarks; and, as ſoon as the wind permitted, put to ſea; and, after a paſſage of two days only, landed at La Hogue without oppoſition. Here Edward knighted his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, a youth then only ſixteen years of age. His army conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, ten thouſand Welſh infantry, and ſix thouſand Iriſh; a number in appearance not at all adapted to the purpoſe of invading France; though the ſucceſs of the campaign far exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations. An univerſal conſternation was immediately ſpread through the whole province of Normandy, where not the leaſt apprehenſions were entertained of an invaſion. The ſhips were deſtroyed at La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourgh. The towns of Valougnes, Carentam, and St. Lo, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and the Engliſh marched to Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This city was both rich and populous, but without fortifications. Perſuaded that that the wealth of Caen would induce the Engliſh to plunder the city, Philip diſpatched the count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and the count de Tankerville, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, for its defence. The Engliſh approached the ſuburbs; and the inhabitants, elated with the reinforcements they had received, ſallied out upon the enemy, contrary to the advice of the conſtable. The conſequence was what might naturally be expected when undiſciplined multitudes attack a regular army; they were totally defeated, and the counts d'Eu and Tankerville taken priſoners. The Engliſh entered the city with the fugitives, and a dreadful maſſacre began: neither age, nor ſex, nor condition, were ſpared; all fell a ſacrifice to the ſword of the Engliſh. Edward at laſt put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; the inhabitants laid down their arms, and the city was plundered with more deliberation. The booty was prodigious; and the whole was embarked, together with three hundred of the richeſt burghers, and all the priſoners of diſtinction, and ſent to England.

The caſtle of Caen, however, ſtill held out; and Edward, who thought the reduction of it would be of little conſequence, marched through the biſhoprics of Liſieux and Evreux towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvere and Liſieux; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine, he found the bridge already broken down, and the French monarch poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to a battle. He laid the whole country waſte, burnt the ſuburbs of Pont l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The ſame fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain; and ſome of the light troops carried their ravages to the very gates of Paris. Edward made another attempt to paſs the Seine at Poiſſy, but met with the ſame diſappointment; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the river. Some ſtratagem was therefore neceſſary to elude the vigilance of Philip. Accordingly the Engliſh monarch marched, with great rapidity, farther up the Seine; but by a ſudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poiſſy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the paſſage, croſſed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In his route he burnt the ſuburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he ſoon found himſelf in the ſame dangerous ſituation as before: all the bridges on the Somme were either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded. The country was ruined. Philip was advancing againſt him at the head of an hundred thouſand men; and Godemar de Faye ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide of the Somme, with a numerous army, to obſerve his motions. In this alarming criſis, he offered a reward to any perſon who could lead his army to a place where he might paſs the Somme; and a peaſant of Normandy, preferring riches to the ſafety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetague, where the ſtream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This diſcovery revived the courage of the Engliſh; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about ſun-riſing the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly anſwered the deſcription given of it by the peaſant; but the oppoſite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thouſand men. This oppoſition was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward, who was always maſter of his paſſions, and maintained a remarkable coolneſs and preſence of mind in the midſt of the moſt furious battle. He plunged himſelf into the ſtream, calling out, "Let all who love me follow my example." Animated by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, the ſoldiers threw themſelves into the river with the moſt amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble oppoſition; but nothing was capable of ſtopping the career of the Engliſh: they were not intimidated by any oppoſition; and after a bloody diſpute, put the enemy to flight, and gained the oppoſite bank, juſt as the van of Philip's army, under the command of the king of Bohemia and John de Hainault, appeared. It is impoſſible to expreſs the vexation of Philip, in being thus diſappointed of his revenge. He had traced the Engliſh above fifty leagues by the ſmoaking ruins left behind them, and now thought himſelf ſure of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a paſſage impoſſible, while the Engliſh purſued their march with great tranquillity.

Though Edward had thus eſcaped the danger of being attacked in his late alarming ſituation, he was convinced it would be impoſſible for him to purſue his march over the extenſive plains of Picardy, without expoſing his van to inevitable deſtruction by the perpetual attacks of a numerous cavalry: he therefore determined to wait for the enemy, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly choſe an advantageous ſpot of ground near the village of Crecy; and to ſecure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horſe, he threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a ſmall wood, where he depoſited his baggage. Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he drew up his army on a ſmall eminence, and divided it into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Geoffrey Harcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delawar, Holland and Cobham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This line conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſhmen. The ſecond line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, aſſiſted by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Baſſet of Sapcote, and Malton; and conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, two thouſand four hundred archers, and four thouſand bill-men. He himſelf commanded the third line, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and five thouſand three hundred bill-men. In this poſition Edward waited, with great tranquillity, the approach of the enemy.

Philip, after paſſing the Somme at Abeville, purſued his march at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, determined to take the ſevereſt revenge on the Engliſh, who had laid his country waſte, and inſulted the ſtandard of France. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Crecy, he detached ſeveral of his officers to reconnoitre the poſition of the Engliſh. They readily obeyed, and faithfully deſcribed, at their return, the admirable order of Edward's forces. The count de Balche, one of the beſt ſoldiers in Philip's army, added, that there was not the leaſt danger of Edward's declining a battle; and therefore he adviſed, that inſtead of attacking the Engliſh immediately, the engagement ſhould be deferred till the next morning, that the troops might reſt themſelves after their fatiguing march. But this was over-ruled. The force of numbers was thought ſufficient to balance every inconvenience, and it was determined to begin the action immediately.

The French were now in ſight of the Engliſh; and Edward, that he might ſtill farther animate his men, rode through the ranks, and urged every motive that had a tendency to raiſe their natural valour, and inſpire them with the noble reſolution of remaining conquerors, or falling in the glorious attempt. He told them, that the number of the enemy ſhould be ſo far from intimidating, that it ſhould inſpire them with courage; that confuſion would be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch multitudes of undiſciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to their own reſolution, would be abundantly ſufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, "I requeſt nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The troops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of their ſovereign; they wiſhed to be led againſt the enemy.

While Edward was employed in raiſing the ardour of his troops, Philip endeavoured to marſhal his army; but this was impoſſible. He ſent orders, indeed, for the lines to halt till they received farther inſtructions; but his commands were but imperfectly obeyed. His army being compoſed of a great number of princes and noblemen, jealous of each other's honour, and moſt of them ſtrangers to military ſubordination, preſſed forward to begin the attack; ſo that when the van halted, purſuant to the orders of Philip, the ſucceeding ranks continued to move forward with great impetuoſity, till the whole became one enormous body moving towards Crecy in great confuſion; nor was it in the power of Philip to remove the diſorder till they came near the Engliſh army, when they ſtopped of themſelves, and gave Philip an opportunity of drawing them up in ſome order. He divided his army into three lines, conformable to that of the Engliſh. The firſt was led by John de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and compoſed of three thouſand men at arms, twenty-nine thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. Theſe were placed oppoſite to the Engliſh archers. Charles, count of Alençon, brother to Philip, led the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand infantry. The third diviſion was headed by Philip in perſon; and formed a body of reſerve, amounting to twelve thouſand men at arms, and fifty thouſand foot.

The battle was begun by the Genoeſe croſs-bowmen; but a ſudden ſhower having fallen a little before the engagement, their bow-ſtrings were relaxed, and their arrows fell ſhort of the enemy. The ſame misfortune had not, however, attended the bows of the Engliſh archers: they were preſerved in caſes, whence they now drew them, and poured in ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, that the Genoeſe, unable to ſupport the ſhock, were thrown into diſorder, and fell back upon the duke d'Alençon's cavalry. Another diſcharge doubly increaſed the confuſion; the whole vaſt body ſeemed to be compoſed of hurry, terror, and diſmay.

At laſt the duke of Alençon diſengaged himſelf from the flying Genoeſe, made a circuit with his cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the firſt battalion of Engliſh archers. The battle now became deſperate and bloody. The French opened themſelves a paſſage through the archers, and advanced againſt the prince of Wales, who received them with ſuch firmneſs and reſolution, that numbers of them were ſlain; but the prince himſelf was ſtill in the greateſt danger of being ſurrounded by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. The earls of Arundel and Northampton perceived his ſituation, and detached a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Philip took advantage of this motion, and ſent three ſquadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a meſſenger was diſpatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his ſon, and deſire him to order a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. “Is he dead or wounded?” ſaid the king with great tranquillity. He was anſwered in the negative. “Return,” added he, “and tell my ſon, that I reſerve the honour of the day to him, and that I am confident he will ſhew himſelf worthy of the honour of knighthood.” This anſwer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they ſeemed to be inſpired with freſh courage: they were more than a match for the increaſing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the Engliſh, who, in their turn, attacked the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were unable to ſtand the ſhock. The duke of Alençon was ſlain. A dreadful carnage enſued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common ſoldiers, fell promiſcuouſly, and formed a frightful heap of ſlain.

Enraged to ſee the two firſt lines of his army totally defeated, Philip advanced at the head of the body of reſerve, which the confuſion that reigned in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging; but there was now no longer any equality in the action. Confounded at the ſight of ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen ſlain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops anſwered not the courage of their leader, who gave ſignal proofs of his valour and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refuſed any longer to face the Engliſh, and a general flight enſued. Philip himſelf was wounded, and carried off the field of battle by John de Hainault. The ſtandard of France was thrown down, and the whole army diſperſed; but the ſlaughter did not ceaſe till darkneſs put an end to the diſpute. The victory being complete, the king flew into the arms of the prince of Wales and exclaimed, “My gallant ſon, heaven grant you may perſevere “in the glorious courſe you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourſelf “to-day, ſufficiently proves you deſerve the crown “you are born to wear.”

Such was the iſſue of the famous battle of Crecy, fought on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt; when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the ſwords of the Engliſh twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, among whom were the dukes of Lorrain and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Reaudemont, Harcourt, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Sancerre; with the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The former had been long famous as a general, but age had now deprived him of his ſight. He could not, however, be perſuaded from engaging in the hotteſt part of the battle. He cauſed the reins of his bridle to be interlaced with thoſe of two valiant knights, and ruſhed between thoſe to the ſpot where young Edward fought in perſon, and with whom he exchanged two or three random ſtrokes. But he was ſoon after parted from him, and, together with his valiant companions, fell among the ſlain. His creſt was compoſed of three oſtrich feathers, with this motto, ICH DIEN, I ſerve; and in memory of this celebrated victory it was aſſumed by the prince of Wales, and has been ever ſince reſumed by his ſucceſſors.

No quarter was given by the Engliſh at the battle of Crecy; probably owing to their peculiar ſituation; though others ſay it was in conſequence of ſimilar orders iſſued by Philip. But though mercy was refuſed to the living, the dead were treated with the greateſt marks of humanity. Edward ſent the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; cauſed the field of battle to be conſecrated, attended in perſon the funerals of the noblemen who fell in the action, and ordered the common ſoldiers to be interred with the greateſt decency.

This battle was almoſt as remarkable for the ſmall loſs of the Engliſh as for the prodigious ſlaughter of the French. Only one eſquire, three knights, and a few private men fell in this remarkable action. So great is ſuperiority of prudence and conduct over numbers and temerity. It is ſaid that the Engliſh derived great advantages from ſome pieces of artillery in their army; an invention which had ſome years been known, and of which it is ſurprizing that Philip neglected the advantage. But notwithſtanding ſeveral authors of credit mention this particular, there is reaſon to believe that the whole is founded on miſtake. It is not natural to think that Edward in ſo long, ſo laborious, and ſo dangerous a march and retreat, could carry about with him an unweildly train of artillery, eſpecially when it is conſidered that the cannon of that age were prodigiouſly clumſey, and conſequently of much greater weight than ours. Beſides, none of the hiſtorians who lived at that time, though they were very minute in deſcribing his paſſage over the Somme, mention any thing of artillery, though it would have been of much greater uſe than his archers, who lined the banks of that river to cover his paſſage.

Edward drew the moſt ſolid advantages from the battle of Crecy. He had obſerved and regretted the great length of the voyage to Guienne, the only method by which he could ſend troops to defend his provinces, or attack the monarch of France. His great object was, therefore, to ſecure an eaſy paſſage into that kingdom; the death of Ardevelt having deſtroyed his authority in the Low Countries. He had now an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of ſome part on the French coaſt oppoſite to England, and Calais ſeemed the beſt adapted to anſwer his deſigns. Accordingly he led his victorious army thither, and inveſted the place on the third of September.

Few years are recorded in the annals of hiſtory more glorious to England than that at preſent under conſideration: the armies of Edward were every where victorious. The duke of Normandy was recalled from Guienne, on the landing of Edward in Normandy; no army was left to oppoſe the progreſs of the earl of Derby; nor did that able general fail to improve ſo favourable an opportunity. He took Maribeau and Luſignan, by aſſault; Taillebourg, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Poictiers, opened their gates at the firſt ſummons. Theſe acquiſitions opened him a free paſſage into the adjacent provinces, and Derby extended his incurſions to the banks of the Loire; ſpreading terror and deſolation through all that part of the French dominions.

The war was ſtill carried on in Britany, and the counteſs of Montford continued to diſplay her heroic virtues. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Réen, and puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. The place was of too much importance for the counteſs to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She put herſelf at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French during the night, routed their whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. This miſfortune called another heroine from obſcurity. The counteſs of Blois, in whoſe right her huſband claimed the dutchy of Britany, ſeized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the counteſs of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and the cabinet; the war was carried on with the ſame vigour as before the captivity of her huſband.

The Scots had ſome time ſince recalled their king, David Bruce, from France; and at the inſtigation of Philip, took the opportunity of invading England during the abſence of Edward, at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men. David, whoſe ſole intention was to ravage the country, levied the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and committed the moſt dreadful diſorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The diſtreſs of the people animated queen Philippa to march in perſon to their defence; and having collected an army of twelve thouſand, led them againſt the Scottiſh invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies, the firſt was commanded by lord Piercy; the ſecond by the archbiſhop of York and lord Neville; the third by the biſhop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in perſon. In this order the Engliſh approached the army of Bruce encamped at Neville's-Croſs, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines; the firſt, conſiſting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottiſh nobility, was commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond by Robert, high-ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

While both armies ſtood ready to engage, queen Philippa rode through the ranks of the Engliſh, exhorting every man to do his duty, and to take ample revenge on the barbarous ravagers of their country. The battle was begun by a troop of Genoeſe croſsbowmen, who ſerved in the diviſion under Robert; but they were ſoon routed by the more experienced Engliſh archers. Robert perceived the ſuperiority of the latter, and preſſed on furiouſly with his men at arms, to begin a cloſe fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The Engliſh archers opened immediately to the right and left, to let the enemy paſs, but cloſed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the Engliſh infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greateſt intrepidity; and it was for ſome time doubtful to which ſide Fortune would give the victory. Baliol ſaw the danger, and led up his diviſion to the aſſiſtance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now ſtruck with a panic, and immediately betook themſelves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, wheeled ſuddenly about, and fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity on the flank of the diviſion commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, aſſiſted by his barons, made a noble ſtand againſt the attacks of the Engliſh; but the conteſt was unequal; the whole diviſion was broken and put to flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. The third diviſion, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, ſtill ſtood firm, but were ſoon broken when attacked by the whole force of the Engliſh. Murray was ſlain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas taken priſoner. The Engliſh now remained maſters of the field of battle; and this victory would, in all probability, have determined the fate of Scotland, had not Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the Engliſh, and retreated in ſuch excellent order, by which the other fugitives had time to join him, and form a body, which the victors did not think proper to purſue.

The Scots had been often unfortunate in their pitched battles with the Engliſh, but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the preſent. Fifteen, ſome ſay twenty thouſand Scots, fell in the action. And from a liſt of the ſlain, and thoſe who were taken priſoners, it appeared, that there was ſcarcely a noble family in Scotland that did not ſhare in this public calamity.

David, and about thirty-ſix noble priſoners, were ſecured in the tower of London; and Philippa embarking at Dover, paſſed over to the Engliſh camp before Calais, where ſhe was received with all the honours that were due to her rank, to her merit, and ſucceſs.

Edward had yet made but little progreſs in the ſiege of Calais. John de Vienne, a knight of Burgundy, who commanded there, was a perſon of approved courage and fidelity; ſo that the Engliſh monarch, ſenſible of the difficulty of taking the place by force, had, from the very beginning of the ſiege, determined to reduce it by famine. He accordingly blocked up the place both by land and ſea; ſo that, after a ſiege of ſome months, the place was in want of proviſions; and the governor was obliged to put out all the uſeleſs mouths, that the garriſon might ſubſiſt the longer: and Edward, with a generoſity not common in theſe times, not only ſuffered theſe diſtreſſed people to paſs unmoleſted through his camp, but alſo ſupplied them with money for their journey.

A. D. 1347. Philip, ſenſible of the importance of Calais, and deſirous of ſuccouring a garriſon that had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in defending that fortreſs, determined to attempt their relief, and approached the place at the head of an army of two hundred thouſand men. But he ſoon perceived that it would be madneſs to attack the Engliſh camp, and therefore had recourſe to negotiation. He offered to cede Guienne, together with the earldom of Ponthieu, and propoſed a match between their children. Theſe offers were, however, rejected. On which Philip diſpatched a herald to Edward, offering to decide their quarrel in the open field; but the Engliſh monarch was too prudent to riſk the whole upon the uncertain iſſue of a ſingle combat; and Philip was obliged to decamp, and diſperſe his numerous army.

Deſpairing of relief, and almoſt wholly deſtitute of proviſions, the garriſon deſired to capitulate. John de Vienne accordingly appeared upon the walls, and made a ſignal for a conference; and Edward ſent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propoſe. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to ſurrender the place, and deſired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garriſon ſhould be ſecured. Manny anſwered, that Edward was ſo exaſperated againſt the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, that he was ſure he would receive the town on no conditions that ſhould confine him with regard to their puniſhment. "Is this" replied Vienne, "the treatment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the ſame conduct from any Engliſh knight in my condition, which I have performed for my ſovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the eſteem of every prince, much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtleſs, the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Struck with the juſtice of theſe ſentiments, and being a friend to valour wherever it was found, Manny exerted all his intereſt with Edward in behalf of the brave garriſon of Calais. He repreſented the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from ſo dangerous a precedent, which could not fail of increaſing the miſeries of war, already ſufficiently ſevere. Edward felt the whole force of his obſervations, and thought proper to mitigate the ſeverity of the conditions he had demanded. He only inſiſted, that ſix of the principal citizens ſhould repair to his camp with the keys of the fortreſs, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper. Theſe conditions being complied with, he promiſed to ſpare the lives of the reſt of the inhabitants.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the horror and confuſion which theſe ſevere conditions excited in the breaſts of the inhabitants of Calais. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions and affecting remonſtrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was reſolved by the garriſon to ſubmit to the maſſacre that muſt follow from their refuſal, rather than devote ſix of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reaſon than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Euſtace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, ſtept forth, and offered to lay down his life for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon inſtance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themſelves ready to ſhare in the glorious ſacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. Theſe willing victims to the ſafety of their countrymen appeared before Edward, laid the keys of their city at his feet, and were ordered to be executed immediately. Pierced with the afflictions of virtue in diſtreſs, the queen fell on her knees before Edward, and beſought him with tears to ſpare the lives of thoſe brave men, whoſe only crime was their attachment to their ſovereign. Edward could not withſtand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the heroic burghers were pardoned. But the compaſſion of Philippa did not terminate here: ſhe carried the almoſt famiſhed victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repaſt, made them a preſent of money and clothes, and ſent them back to their friends in ſafety.

Edward being now maſter of Calais, took every precaution in his power to ſecure his conqueſt. He knew that it would be impoſſible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, and re-peopled it from England. This policy preſerved the place ſeveral centuries from falling again into the hands of a French monarch.

A. D. 1348. Satiſfied with this important conqueſt, Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope, and concluded a truce with Philip; but the terms of it were very ill obſerved; and an attempt was made to recover Calais, by corrupting the governor. One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a ſtranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entruſted by the Engliſh monarch with the command of this important fortreſs. Geoffrey de Charny, governor of St. Omer's, found means to open a negotiation with Aimery; who, in conſideration of twenty thouſand golden crowns, promiſed to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortreſs; and the moſt proper methods were accordingly taken to inſure ſucceſs. Edward, informed of the deſign by Aimery's ſecretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. He ſent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promiſed to ſpare his life, if he would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. The Italian heſitated not a moment to promiſe his utmoſt aſſiſtance in executing the intended deſign. A day had been appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward having prepared a detachment of a thouſand men, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London with the prince of Wales, and reached Calais the evening before the treacherous deſign was intended to be carried into execution. Charny arrived; and a choſen band of ſoldiers was admitted at one of the poſtern gates by the governor, who received the ſtipulated ſum. All the French who entered were immediately taken priſoners, while Charny was waiting with impatience for the ſignal to enter the town in triumph. At laſt the great gate was opened, but not for him. The Engliſh ruſhed out under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, both Edward and the prince of Wales ſerving as volunteers. Charny was aſtoniſhed, but determined to diſpute the victory with the enemy. He drew up his men in a ſquare battalion, and maintained the fight till break of day with the greateſt intrepidity. During this conteſt, a valiant knight, called Euſtace de Ribaumont, had the glory of fighting a ſingle combat with Edward, whom he beat twice to the ground, and who as often recovered himſelf with ſurpriſing agility. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt Ribaumont owned himſelf conquered, and delivered his ſword to the king. Charny, in the mean time, maintained the fight with great obſtinacy; but perceiving his retreat cut off by another detachment from the town, he ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the officers were conducted to Calais, where they were treated with great courteſy: they ſupped with the prince of Wales and the Engliſh nobility. No reflections were made on their conduct; even Charny himſelf was not reproached for his treachery. Ribaumont was loaded with praiſes by Edward, who alſo preſented him with a ſtring of pearls he wore about his own head; ſaying to him, "I know you, Sir Euſtace, to be gay and amorous, and that you take delight in the company of ladies and damſels. Let them all know from whom you received this preſent. You are no longer a priſoner. I acquit you of your ranſom, and you are at liberty to-morrow to diſpoſe of yourſelf as you think proper." This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry; and in a famous combat of thirty knights againſt thirty, fought about this time, Beaumanoir called out, as they were going to engage, that it would be ſeen that day, "who had the faireſt miſtreſſes."

A. D. 1349. The order of the garter, which was now inſtituted, probably owed its origin to the love which Edward bore to the counteſs of Saliſbury. That celebrated lady, at a court ball, dropped her garter, which the king took up; and obſerving that ſome of his courtiers ſmiled, as if he had not obtained that favour merely by accident, he called out, "Honi ſoit qui maly penſe." Evil to him who evil thinks. Theſe words became the motto of the order. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than twenty-four perſons beſides the ſovereign; though it ſoon became a capital object of ambition to courtiers.

But theſe rejoicings and feſtivities were terminated by a dreadful peſtilence, which at this time invaded all the kingdoms of Europe. It firſt appeared in the northern parts of Aſia; and after ſpreading over all that country, continued its deſtructive progreſs from one end of Europe to the other. The weſtern parts of England firſt felt this fearful ſcourge, which ſoon after reached the capital, and raged, with unremitting fury, near two years; ſo that hardly one tenth part of the inhabitants ſurvived. Above fifty thouſand ſouls periſhed in London only. This dreadful viſitation rendered a prolongation of the truce neceſſary, neither the French nor Engliſh being in a condition to renew hoſtilities. The Scots, indeed, took advantage of this misfortune to renew their ravages in the northern parts of England, but paid dearly for their temerity. Above five thouſand of them were ſwept away by the plague, and the reſt returned to their own kingdom, to diſſeminate the peſtiferous ſeeds of this dreadful diſeaſe among their countrymen.

A. D. 1350. Before this ſcourge of heaven was removed, Philip paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon John, duke of Normandy, a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues, but rather of a private than a public nature. With a heart full of the juſteſt ſentiments of honour and ſincerity, he was, of all others, the moſt improper perſon to ſway the ſceptre of France in theſe turbulent times; he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, that penetration and ſagacity, which the ſituation of his affairs required. His kingdom was filled with domeſtic commotions, which greatly favoured the views of the Engliſh. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into combuſtion by aſſaſſinations and perfidies. He entered into a private treaty with the Engliſh, and even ſeduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but that prince being at laſt convinced of the folly of ſuch deſtructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of king John: though this ſtroke proved not deciſive in maintaining the royal authority.

A. D. 1356. Man ſeldom depreciates the humiliating hand of heaven longer than he feels the weight of his chaſtiſement; the ſanguinary ſpirit of ambition which ſeemed to have crouched beneath the late tremendous ſcourge of Providence, once more reared its head on the removal of that calamity. The ſeizing of the king of Navarre was reſented by Edward; and the prince of Wales, generally known by the name of the Black prince, from the colour of his armour, having the preceding year made a ſucceſsful expedition into Guienne, now advanced into Quercy, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and four thouſand foot. The ſucceſs of this young warrior was aſtoniſhing: he waſted Quercy, the Limoſin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon Bourges and Iſſodun, took Vierzon by ſtorm. Here he refreſhed his army, and here he received the firſt intelligence that the king of France was poſted at Chartres, on the other ſide of the Loire, all the fords of which were ſtrongly guarded. Young Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance, and therefore reſolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John perceived his intention, croſſed the Loire, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poictiers. Edward perceiving that a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldeſt, and moſt experienced commander. He poſted his handful of men in a place of difficult acceſs, full of hedges, buſhes and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great diſadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a ſquare battalion of the flower of his Engliſh archers; nor could the enemy avail themſelves of their vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, till this corps was broken.

The French army, which conſiſted of above ſixty thouſand men, was encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper uſe of his numerous forces, his ſucceſs had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that a few days would have been ſufficient to have forced him to ſurrender at diſcretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no reſtraint; they imagined themſelves ſure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the Engliſh. Juſt before the charge was ſounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his entreaty the battle was deferred till he had viſited the Engliſh prince, and endeavoured to ſave the farther effuſion of human blood, by an advantageous peace. Edward, conſcious of his own dangerous ſituation, told the cardinal that he would agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchaſe a retreat to Bourdeaux, by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made, during this and the former campaign, and by ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during ſeven years. Theſe offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince himſelf, together with a hundred of the chief nobility in his army, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners; and on theſe conditions he offered a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The anſwer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much leſs than diſhonour. He declared that neither himſelf nor his knights ſhould be taken but in battle; and that he would rather ſacrifice his life than conſent to ſuch infamous terms.

The ſword was now to determine the important conteſt. The next morning was to be the period of the lives of thouſands. No advantage was omitted by Edward: he employed the night in ſtrengthening the poſt he had ſo judiciouſly choſen, with new intrenchments; and detached a body of choſen men under the command of de Greilly, capital of Buche, with orders to make a compaſs round the hill, and keep himſelf concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was ſurrounded, till the battle ſhould begin, and then to fall with the utmoſt fury on the French rear. He now divided his troops into three diſtinct bodies, but ranged in ſo cloſe compact a manner, that they ſeemed to form only a ſquare battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were ſecured on one ſide by a ſteep hill, and on the other by a moraſs. The earl of Warwick was ſtationed on the ſide of the hill, with the troops which compoſed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, was poſted behind a hedge about a ſtone's caſt from the lane through which the French muſt march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his poſt at the head of the main body, which extended itſelf among the vines and buſhes; the weaker part of the field being incloſed by the carriages and baggage waggons.

The French army was alſo divided into three bodies; the firſt was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin of France, aſſiſted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which conſiſted of forty thouſand of the beſt troops in France, was led by the king in perſon.

The battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred choſen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the Engliſh; but were ſo galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that more than one half of them were ſlain before they reached the front of Edward's diviſion, where the reſt were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marſhals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of choſen cavalry had advanced cloſe behind the men at arms to ſupport them, met with ſo warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the ſame time ſo impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the ſpot, and Andrehen obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner: moſt of the corps ſhared the fate of the former. The firſt attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, diſpirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment the capital de Buche fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible diſorder: the Engliſh archers plied them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with ſwords and battle-axes ruſhed upon them and made the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, while Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of the

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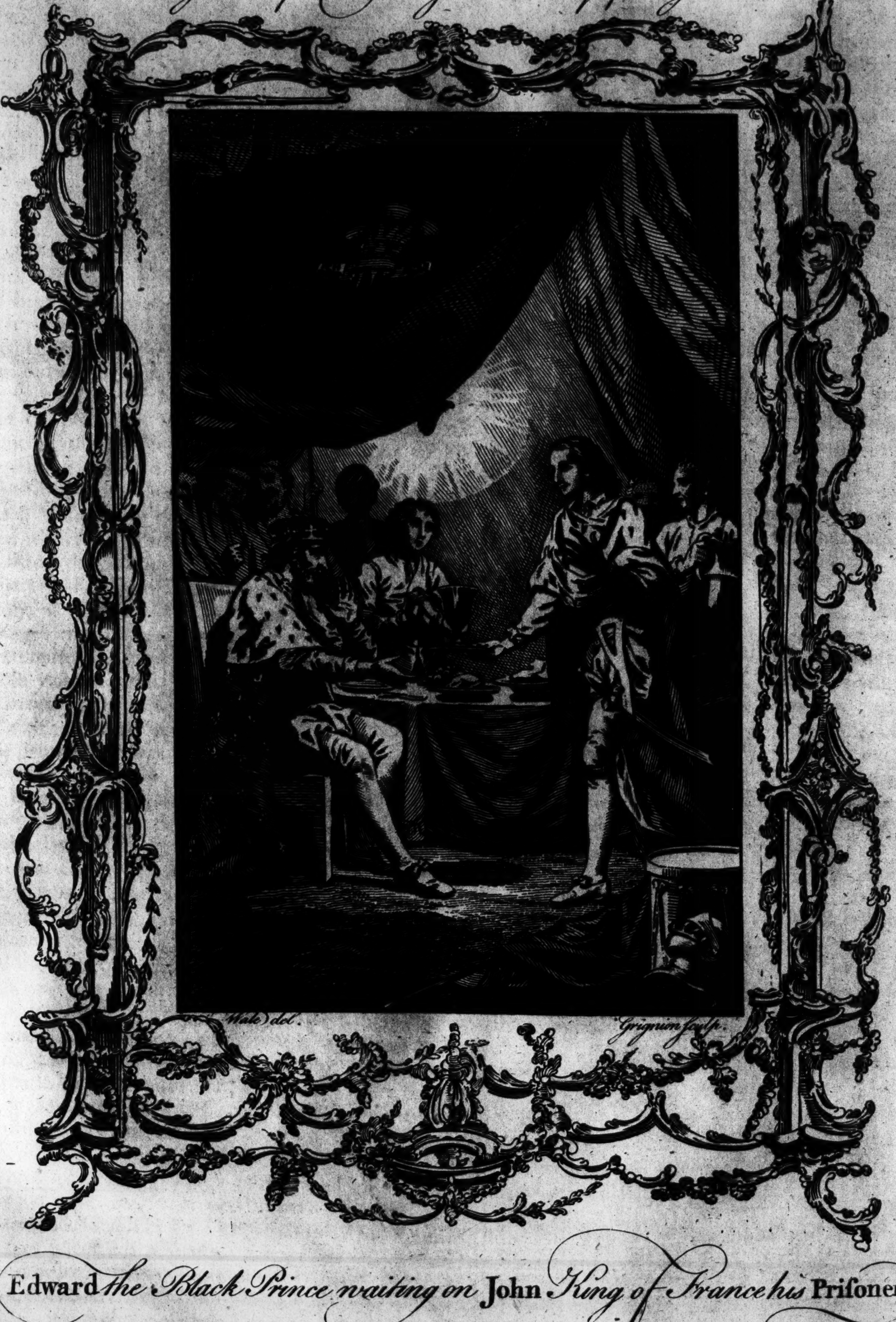
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

**Edward** *the Black Prince waiting on* **John** *King of France his* **Priſoner.**

James
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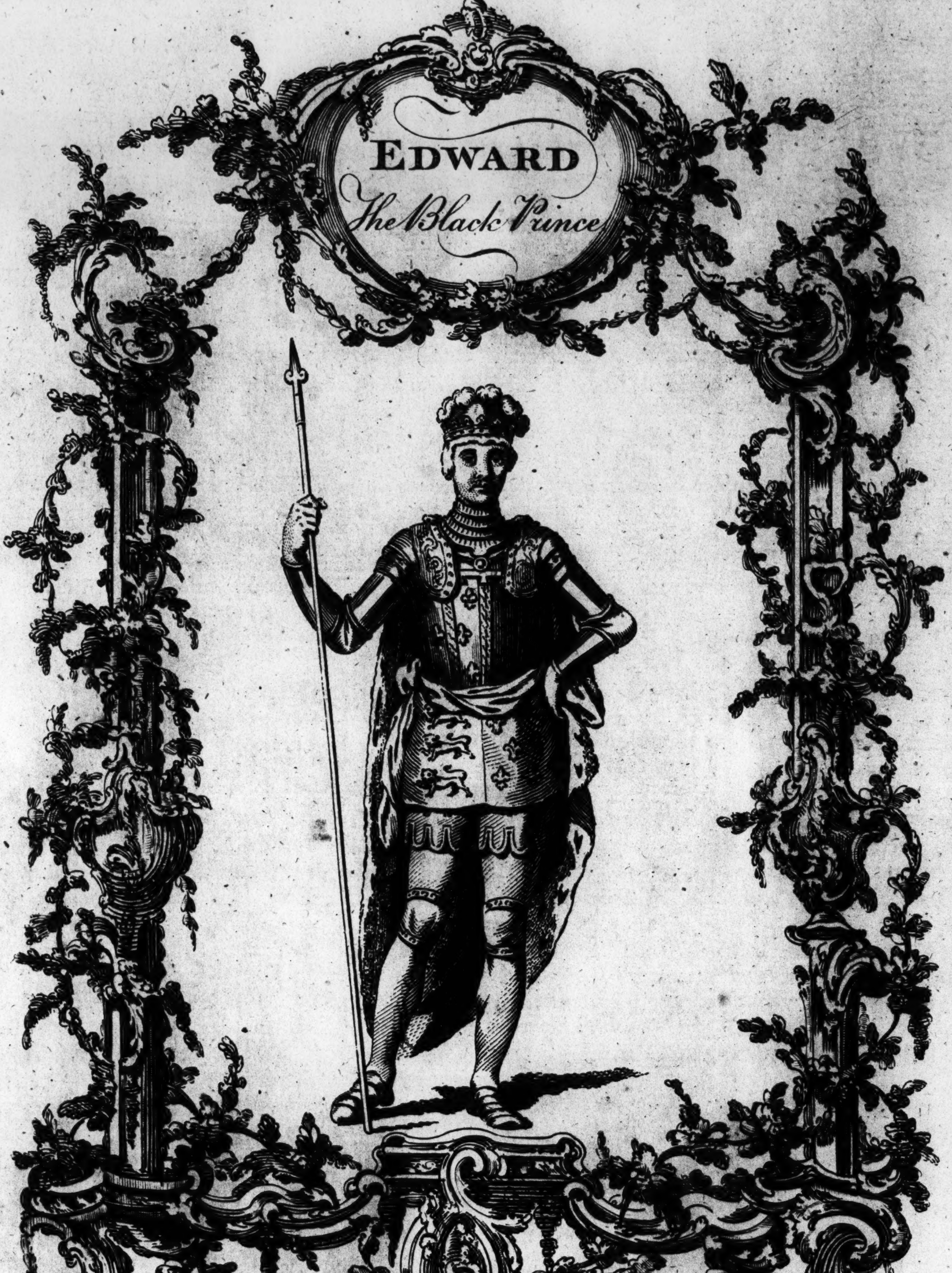
EDWARD
The Black Prince

Wale delin. Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle, and the whole diviſion followed their example. The duke of Orleans, ſtruck with the ſame panic, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, though the greater part had never charged the enemy.

But ſtill the grand diviſion compoſed of the houſehold troops, and headed by their king in perſon, aſſiſted by his principal nobility, ſtood firm, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory with the Engliſh, who were far inferior in number. They were, however, greatly diſmayed at the precipitate flight of their companions. The lord Chandois called out to the prince that the battle was won, and Edward immediately mounted his horſe, and advanced at the head of his army to attack the main body of the French. The dreadful ſtruggle for victory now began; all that had paſſed before ſeemed only an exerciſe of arms, in compariſon of the violent ſhock which now enſued. John exerted his utmoſt efforts to retrieve by his valour what he had loſt by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the moſt amazing impetuoſity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front, and a ſtubborn conteſt enſued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the duke of Athenes, conſtable of France, were ſlain; but being left without a commander, they quitted the field of battle, leaving the king himſelf and his young ſon Philip, expoſed to all the fury of the enemy. John now ſaw himſelf reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who were continually leſſening by the ſwords of the Engliſh. At laſt, wearied out with fatigue and overwhelmed with numbers, he weilded the ſword but faintly, and he might eaſily have been ſlain, but every one was emulous of ſo noble a prize, and therefore as they approached called out to him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter; but unwilling to yield himſelf a priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank, he cried out, “Where is my couſin the prince of Wales; “to him only I will yield.” Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he ſtill perſiſted obſtinately to defend himſelf, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of aſſailants, and requeſted John to yield himſelf his priſoner; and John, after being aſſured that he was a knight, threw him his gauntlet as a ſignal of ſurrender: his ſon Philip was alſo taken with him.

Wearied with the toil of battle, the prince of Wales, who had been carried to a conſiderable diſtance in purſuit of the flying enemy, was repoſing himſelf under a tent he had ordered to be pitched for that purpoſe, when advice was brought him that the king of France and his ſon were ſurrounded, and either ſlain or taken priſoners. Edward immediately diſpatched the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, at the head of a ſmall detachment to enquire into the fate of the French monarch, and, if poſſible, to reſcue him from the hands of the ſoldiers. Warwick happily arrived ſoon enough to ſave his life. The Engliſh had taken the royal priſoners from Morbec: the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining them; and ſome of the brutal ſoldiers, rather than yeild the prize to their rivals, threatened to put both the illuſtrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed by the preſence of Warwick, who approaching the monarch with the greateſt marks of reſpect, offered to conduct him to Edward's tent.

The behaviour of the prince was even, if poſſible, ſuperior to the ability and valour he had diſcovered in the battle. Inſtead of indulging a ſupercilious pride too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors, he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a ſincere regard. He ſympathized with his misfortunes; he comforted him in his afflictions; he paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory to capricious fortune, or to the ſuperior power of an over-ruling providence. He ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner, and he himſelf waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when preſſed by the king to ſit down, he declared with the greateſt modeſty, “That it was not for a ſubject, like him, to ſit in “the preſence of ſo great a monarch.” This moderation added new luſtre to his glory.

The generous example of Edward was imitated by the whole army; the priſoners were every where treated with the greateſt tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpoils taken in the French camp was ſo great, that the meaneſt individual in the Engliſh army found himſelf placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ranſom of the noble priſoners alone were more than ſufficient for that purpoſe; though theſe were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were conſidered, and no more was exacted of them than they could eaſily ſpare; no man was that day impoveriſhed for his misfortunes; they had ſtill ſufficient to perform their military ſervice for the future in a manner ſuitable to their rank and quality. And after a ſolemn thankſgiving was performed in the Engliſh camp for their late victory, Edward marched at the head of his army to Bourdeaux.

A. D. 1357. This fatal event was no ſooner known to pope Innocent VI. than he ſent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to Bourdeaux, with orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring about a peace; but failing in their negotiation, they confined their requeſts to the obtaining a truce for two years. The prince of Wales, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to heal the wounds both nations had received in this dreadful conteſt, readily joined his endeavours to thoſe of the legates, and wrote over to the king, in ſuch preſſing terms, that his father ſent him full powers to act as he thought moſt conducive to the honour of his country. The prince heſitated not a moment: he ſigned the truce at Bourdeaux on the twenty-third of March.

After ſettling the affairs of Guienne the prince embarked with his royal captives, and landed at Sandwich in Kent on the twenty-fifth of May. He was received in every place through which he paſſed with the greateſt expreſſions of joy; but he conſtantly refuſed theſe honours which were offered him, deſiring that the reſpect intended for him might be transferred with every mark of attention and civility to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by a thouſand of the principal citizens of London on horſeback, and the mayor diſplayed, on this occaſion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dreſſed in his royal robes, and mounted on a ſtately white courſer, remarkable for its ſize and beauty, as well as for the richneſs of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left-hand of his priſoner, on a little black palfry, and in a meaner dreſs, as if ſtudious to avoid every mark of diſtinction. The ſtreets through which they paſſed were ſuperbly adorned with plate, tapeſtry, and armour. The proceſſion reached Weſtminſter-hall about noon, where king Edward, ſurrounded by a ſplendid circle of the nobles, and other great men, received his royal priſoner, in all the pomp of ſtate, but at the ſame time with all the courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly viſit. All the pretenſions of Edward to the crown of France ſeemed to be forgotten, and John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on the throne. The French monarch behaved with ſo much propriety on this occaſion, as to ſhew himſelf truly deſerving ſo generous a treatment: though conquered and a priſoner, he ſtill preſerved the dignity of a king. The French noblemen and knights met with the ſame generous and humane treatment.

The two moſt powerful enemies of Edward, the kings of France and Scotland, were now his priſoners. The latter, indeed, would have received his liberty long before, had not his ſubjects refuſed to pay his ranſom. At this juncture he ſeemed to have little cauſe to expect any favour from a victorious enemy, who had reduced his country to the greateſt diſtreſs, and whom, from the late amazing ſucceſs of his arms in other parts, might, according to the uſual frame of the human mind, be ſuppoſed not very ready to liſten to the dictates of humanity. But he was deceived. Edward, moved by the intreaties of his ſiſter, the queen conſort of Scotland, agreed to a negotiation for ſetting her huſband at liberty. The conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed, "That David ſhould be ſet at liberty, and acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hoſtages for the payment of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt, and be inviolably obſerved by both nations, till the whole ſhould be liquidated."

A.D. 1357. This treaty being ratified, David returned to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years. The affairs of Scotland were hardly finiſhed, before the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward, arrived in London, with propoſals for a peace: but of ſo ſtrange a nature, that Edward refuſed to return them any anſwer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of his holineſs, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the ſee of Rome, amounting to a thouſand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obſolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other ſuperior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

The impriſonment of the French monarch was the ſignal of a civil war in Paris; every ambitious perſon became the head of a party. Under a pretence of reformation, factions are generally eſtabliſhed. Charles, dauphin of France, was declared regent, and had the mortification of ſeeing almoſt the whole kingdom revolt againſt him. Paris, at that time, began to be a formidable city, for it contained fifty thouſand men capable of bearing arms. Charles found himſelf obliged to releaſe the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined. This was, in fact, letting looſe an enemy upon himſelf. The king of Navarre no ſooner obtained his liberty, than he came to Paris to blow the coals of ſedition, already ſufficiently kindled. Marcel, provoſt of the merchants of Paris, entered the Louvre at the head of the malecontents, where he cauſed Robert de Clermont, marſhal of France, together with the marſhal of Champagne, to be maſſacred in preſence of the dauphin. In the mean time, the peaſants tumultuouſly aſſembled from all parts, and, in the general confuſion, attacked every gentleman they met with, treating them as revolted ſlaves behave towards thoſe ſevere maſters who happen to fall into their hands. They revenged themſelves, by a thouſand cruel puniſhments, for the meanneſs of their condition. In the midſt of theſe convulſions of ſtate, Charles of Navarre aſpired to the crown; and a war was carried on by him againſt the dauphin, till the latter was obliged to diſſemble his reſentment, by agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and pardoning this too powerful and rebellious vaſſal. The other cities of the kingdom followed the example of the capital: they ſhook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and ſpread diſorder into every province. The nobles, whoſe inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had loſt their influence; and being reproached with cowardice, on account of their baſe deſertion of their ſovereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with univerſal contempt by the inferior orders. The diſbanded ſoldiers, and the peaſants, who had learned ſomething of the art of war, formed themſelves into parties in the different provinces, eſpecially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of "The Friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow called John of Gouge, a burgher of Sens, was declared king by theſe banditti, and did almoſt as much miſchief by his depredations as the lawful king had done by his misfortunes.

A.D. 1358. During theſe dreadful ſcenes of deſolation in France, a treaty was concluded between the kings of France and England; by which it was agreed, that, in conſideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the dutchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs ſhould enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Xaintonge, Perigord, Quercy, the Limouſin, Poictou, Touraine, Calais, Guiſnes, the Boulonnois, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the crown of France: and that John and the French nobles, who had been taken priſoners with him, ſhould pay, for their ranſom, four millions of golden crowns, upwards of a million and a half ſterling money. Theſe articles were ſent over to the regent of France, who laid them before a meeting of the ſtates, by whom they were rejected with diſdain, as deſtructive at once of the honour and ſafety of the nation. Edward was highly exaſperated at this refuſal, and determined to renew the war as ſoon as the truce was expired; flattering himſelf that he ſhould ſucceed better by arms than by negotiations.

A.D. 1359. The reſolution of Edward, with regard to an invaſion of France, was no ſooner known, than the ſplendor of his former victories induced a prodigious number of adventurers to flock to his ſtandard; and he croſſed the ſea to Calais at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men. This force was irreſiſtible, and the dauphin was too prudent to hazard a deciſive action. He allowed the enemy to ſpend their fury in the open country, while he employed himſelf to put all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence. It had been determined in a council of war called by Edward near Calais, to penetrate immediately into the heart of France, without loſing time in taking places: a wiſe reſolution, had it been punctually obſerved. But after waſting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, Edward was deſirous of being inveſted with the royal diadem of France in the city of Rheims. He accordingly inveſted the city, where three months were ſpent without effect, while his army daily diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and he was obliged at laſt to raiſe the ſiege.

A.D. 1360. Early in the ſpring he entered Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preſerved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois he plundered with the utmoſt cruelty. He advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the ſuburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he ſpread his army into the provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine. Here he was overtaken by ſo dreadful a hurricane, as ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of the univerſe. The ſhock of the elements, in thunder, lightening, and hail-ſtones of a prodigious ſize, ſtruck the boldeſt with terror. No leſs than ſix thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, were killed on the ſpot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof againſt this dreadful ſcene: he conſidered it as a warning from heaven to him, to ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with theſe ſentiments, he leaped from his horſe, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree inſtantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon juſt and honourable terms. Several hiſtorians have conſidered this ſtorm as the cauſe which inſpired Edward with pacific diſpoſitions: but perhaps the repreſentations of the duke of Lancaſter had more effect on the mind of Edward than this deſtructive hurricane. He inſiſted, that the acquiſition of the crown of France was not advanced by his ſucceſſes: that in one day he might loſe the advantages he had been ſeveral years in obtaining; and that a peace, in his preſent circumſtances, might be concluded, which would annex ſeveral provinces to England.

But whatever gave riſe to theſe pacific ſentiments, a negotiation was opened at Bretigni, where a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that France ſhould pay, at three different times, three millions of crowns of gold (about a million and a half ſterling) for the ranſom of king John: That the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintongue, Perigord, the Limoſin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigore, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rovergne; and enjoy theſe territories in the fulleſt manner, and without any feudal ſubjection or homage. That the diſpute between Charles de Blois, and John de Montfort, with regard to the dutchy of Britany, ſhould be candidly diſcuſſed, and referred to arbitration, under the ſanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither ſhould take any part in the quarrel, though the ſovereignty of Britany ſhould remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in that kingdom: That the king of France ſhould renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings. Forty hoſtages, among whom were two ſons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France, were ſent to England, as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe conditions. John made no difficulty to ratify the treaty, and was reſtored to his ſubjects.

A. D. 1362. This peace between the two kingdoms being concluded in France, occaſioned dreadful diſorders in that kingdom. Vaſt numbers of adventurers, who had inliſted in Edward's army, joined the bands of robbers that had for ſome time deſolated the provinces. Habituated to pillage, and ſtrangers to fear, they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Companies." At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with the Viſcontis, lords of Milan, took the Companies into his pay, and freed France from theſe formidable bands of ruffians.

Peace being now reſtored, young Edward married his couſin, Joan of Kent, the young and beautiful relict of the late earl of Holland. This princeſs was daughter of Edmund earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the preſent reign by the intrigues of queen Iſabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquiſite beauty, ſhe was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair Maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raiſed the honour of the Engliſh to ſo exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and inveſted with the property of many of the noble poſſeſſions ceded to the Engliſh by the treaty of Bretigni. He ſoon after croſſed the ſea, and fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and reſpected by all his ſubjects, who thought themſelves peculiarly happy in being governed by ſo great and generous a prince.

A. D. 1363. The firſt payment of the ranſom for John having been deferred, the princes, who were ſtill hoſtages at London, began to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou broke his parole, and eſcaped to Paris. This act, ſo contrary to the principles of honour and juſtice, filled John with the utmoſt concern; and he determined, at all events, to execute the conditions of the treaty. His council in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign: his purpoſe was fixed, and every argument loſt its force. "If juſtice and good faith" ſaid he, "were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, they ought yet to retain their habitation in the breaſts of princes." This noble way of thinking, incompatible with the maxims of policy, induced him to return to England, in order to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of his ſon, the duke of Anjou. But he did not long ſurvive this action, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary. He died ſoon after, in the palace of the Savoy, where he had been royally entertained at the king's expence, and the ranſom was never paid.

The kingdom of Caſtile was almoſt in as miſerable a condition as France. The throne was filled by Peter, ſurnamed The Cruel, from his ſanguinary and revengeful diſpoſition. He was placed in the ſeat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumſtances. His father, Alphonſo XI. had ſeven natural children by his miſtreſs, Eleanor of Guſman; and ſettled ſuch conſiderable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed ſtill more power, inſulted the queen dowager. Caſtile was therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen-mother, and the other Eleanor. When Peter came of age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, he was obliged to maintain a war againſt the faction of his natural brothers. He was victorious in a deciſive battle, took Eleanor priſoner; and, to ſatisfy his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon; who falling in love with the grand maſter of St. Jago, one of thoſe very baſtards who was then at war with her huſband, ſhe joined the faction, and Peter ſhut her up in a caſtle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight againſt the king of Arragon and his natural brothers at the ſame time; but victory ſtill followed his ſtandards, and he made a cruel uſe of it. He ſeldom forgave a crime; ſo that all his relations who had appeared in arms againſt him, were ſacrificed to his reſentment, and among the reſt the grand maſter of St. Jago. During theſe troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; and it was univerſally reported, that ſhe fell by the deteſted arts of poiſon. Henry of Tranſtamare, one of thoſe baſtards, animated with a deſire of revenging at once both the death of his mother, and that of the grand maſter of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, and a powerful army was ſoon raiſed, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Gueſclin, a native of Britany, famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the addreſs to engage the Companies, now returned from Italy, to follow him into Caſtile. They had been excommunicated by the pope, and were deeply affected by that ſentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any maxims of juſtice and humanity; though it was not ſufficient to make them abandon a life of rapine and extortion.

Gueſclin, in his paſſage to Caſtile, paſſed by Avignon, where the pope reſided, and demanded, ſword in hand, both an abſolution for his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. It was in vain for the pontiff to plead his inability to perform the latter; no excuſes were admitted, and the army left Avignon, hallowed by the bleſſing, and enriched with the ſpoils of the holy father.

Tranſtamare, ſupported by Arragon, and aſſiſted by thoſe troops which had increaſed in their march, was proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. It was in vain for Peter to oppoſe ſo powerful an army with ſucceſs, eſpecially as the greater part of his ſubjects had joined the enemy againſt him; and thought himſelf fortunate to eſcape with his life. He firſt repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being denied entrance into that kingdom, he repaired to Bourdeaux, to implore the aid and protection of the Black Prince.

A. D. 1367. Edward eſpouſed his cauſe, and undertook to replace him on the throne of Caſtile. His army paſſed the Pyrenees in three diviſions, each conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe. At his approach, all the Companies left Du Gueſclin's army, declaring they would never draw their ſwords againſt their native prince. But notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Companies, Henry de Tranſtamere and du Gueſclin were ſtill at the head of an hundred thouſand men. Both armies were now in ſight of each other, and ſoon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one ſide, and Henry de Tranſtamare and du Gueſclin, on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than Crecy and Poictiers, becauſe the conteſt was much longer diſputed. The victory was complete; above twenty thouſand of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and Bertrand du Gueſclin and the marſhall of Ardrehen were taken priſoners. Not above four knights and forty private men fell on the ſide of the Engliſh. Peter was reeſtabliſhed on the throne of Caſtile, and Henry de Tranſtamare obliged to fly to Arragon.

But gratitude was not one of Peter's virtues: he deceived his benefactor when he had no longer any need of his aſſiſtance. He refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces; and Edward, perceiving that his men daily periſhed by ſickneſs, found himſelf under a neceſſity of leading them back to Guienne. Peter, however, enjoyed not long the good fortune he owed to the perſon he had ſo ungenerouſly treated. The Black Prince had no ſooner croſſed the Pyrenees, and Bertrand du Gueſclin paid his ranſom, than the baſtard of Tranſtamare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Gueſclin began to raiſe a new army. The forces of Arragon, the rebels of Caſtile, and the French auxiliaries appeared on the ſide of Tranſtamare: while Peter's army conſiſted of the greater part of the Caſtalians, the troops of Portugal, and the Moors of Spain; but his new allies rendered him ſtill more odious, and were of very little ſervice in the day of battle. Tranſtamare and du Gueſclin having no longer the genius and fortune of young Edward to contend with, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Toledo. Peter was taken priſoner by du Gueſclin, and his brother Tranſtamare put him to death with his own hand.

A. D. 1369. Edward had contracted beſides a very dangerous diſorder during his campaign in Caſtile, an enormous debt, which Peter had ungenerouſly refuſed to pay. This obliged him to have recourſe to methods which tranſgreſs the bounds of prudent policy. He totally alienated from him the affections of the French, by impoſing upon them an unuſual and heavy tax. The nobility of Guienne made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt this impoſition, and even carried their complaints to the king of France as their lord paramount. The principal article in the treaty of Bretigni, regarded the renunciation of the ſovereignty, and were to have been made reſpectively by John and Edward, but had remained unexecuted, though the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations was wholly owing to the chicanery of France. Charles, who directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than thoſe of juſtice, admitted the appeal of the nobility of Guienne, and ſummoned the prince of Wales to appear perſonally in his court at Paris. The prince, exaſperated at ſo inſolent and unjuſt a meſſage, anſwered, with all the ſpirit of a young warrior, that it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. Charles was not, however, intimidated; he knew the declining years of Edward, the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health, and the extreme animoſity which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces had expreſſed againſt the Engliſh, would act very powerfully in his favour.

A. D. 1370. The firſt operations of war were commenced in Ponthieu, where the French met with very little oppoſition. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, aſſiſted by du Gueſclin, invaded the ſouthern provinces, and ſoon produced an important revolution. The ſtate of the prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. The brave Chandois, conſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in one action, and the capital du Buche, who ſucceeded him, taken priſoner in another. Young Edward ſaw the progreſs of the French with the utmoſt regret; but his diſtemper increaſed ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to throw up his command, and return to his native country.

Incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles, Edward meditated a ſevere revenge, but the infirmities of age ſuffered him not to head his armies in perſon, with that vigour and activity which attended him in the field of Crecy. Sir Edward Knowles was for ſome time very fortunate. He marched from Calais at the head of thirty thouſand men, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris, but without being able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and laid them both waiſte: but part of his army being there defeated by the admirable conduct of du Gueſclin, now created conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed, ſo that inſtead of reaching Guienne, they took ſhelter in Britany, whoſe ſovereign had entered into an alliance with England. The duke of Lancaſter, at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, made, ſoon after, the ſame attempt, and marched the whole length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux; but his rear was ſo dreadfully haraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their deſtination. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais only remained in the hands of the Engliſh, when the neceſſities of Edward obliged him to conclude a truce with the enemy.

A. D. 1376. But the loſs of his foreign dominions was not the only mortifications, the great Edward met with in the decline of life. The paſſion for military glory, that fired his breaſt during the vigour of his age was now extinguiſhed. His glory was buried in the grave of voluptuouſneſs. After the death of his virtuous queen Philippa, Edward attached himſelf to an inſolent miſtreſs, called Alice Pierce, who now engroſſed the whole regal authority. The parliament on this occaſion preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance, and the imperious lady was baniſhed from the court. Edward alſo ſatisfied his parliament in another requeſt. The nation had entertained a jealouſy of the great power of John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, and apprehended leſt he ſhould himſelf ſeize the crown on the death of his father. Edward, therefore, to remove their fears, declared, in full parliament, Richard, ſon to the prince of Wales, his heir and ſucceſſor. Soon after this declaration, the prince paid the debt of nature; an event that plunged the whole nation in the deepeſt ſorrow. He died at Windſor on the eighth of June, in the forty-ſixth year of his age.

The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a ſubordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generoſity, affability, and moderation, gained him the eſteem of all the world; even the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory would have received a luſtre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this celebrated hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, with the principal part of the nobility of France.

A. D. 1377. The king himſelf ſurvived the death of his favourite ſon but little more than a year. He paid the debt of nature at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry, on the twenty-firſt of June, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign Edward, whether we conſider him as a warrior, a legiſlator, or a monarch, appears to be one of the

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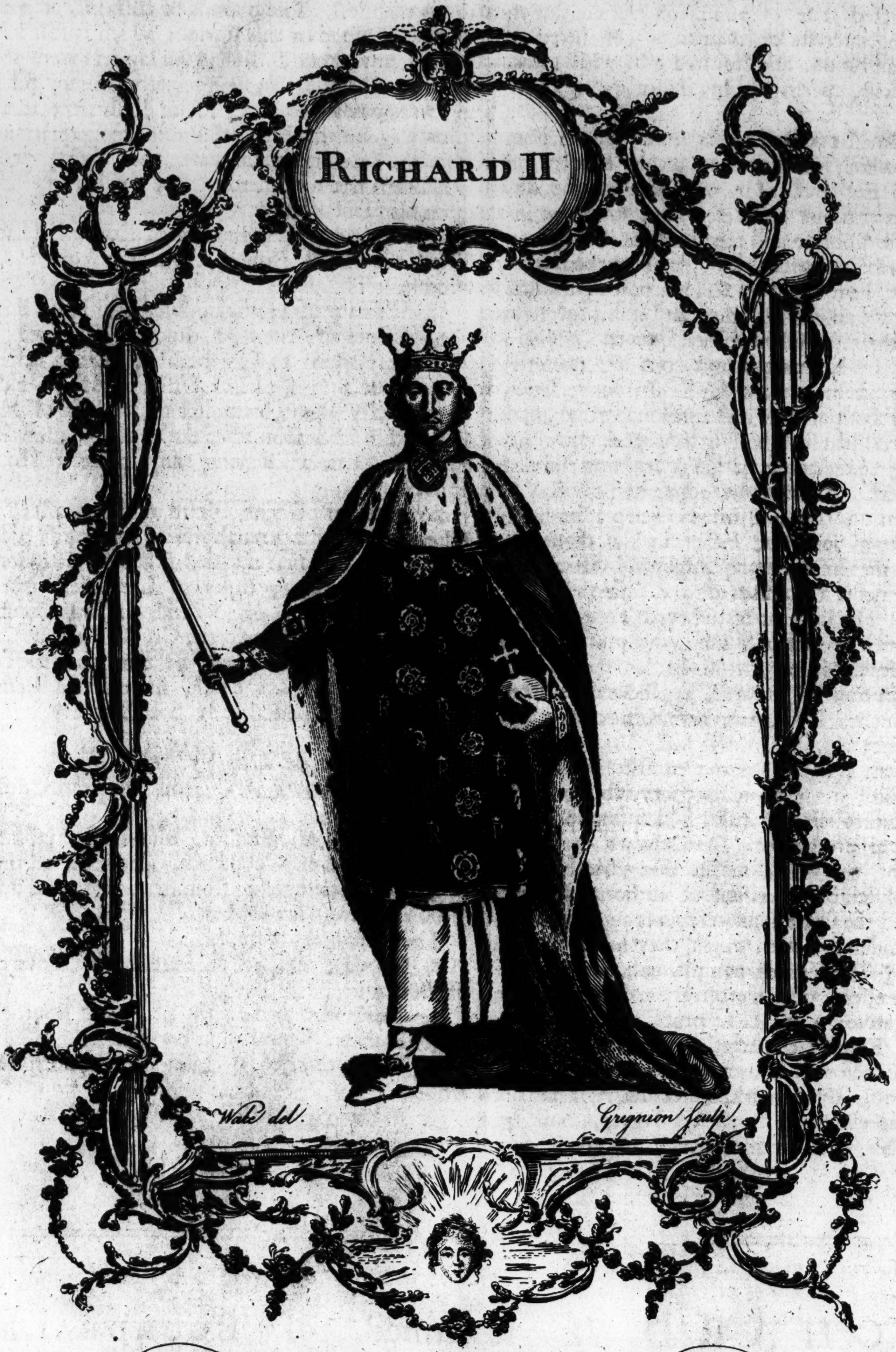
RICHARD II
Wale del.
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greateſt princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre. The love of glory was, indeed, his predominant paſſion; and it muſt be confeſſed, that he ſcrupled not to indulge it at the expence of humanity, the lives of his ſubjects, and the intereſt of his country. But it ſhould, at the ſame time, be remembered, that he was a man, and therefore ſubject to errors; and that the diſtracted ſtate of affairs on the continent, and the jarring intereſts of its princes, concurred in flattering his ambition, and inſpired him with ideas, which, otherwiſe, perhaps, he might never have conceived.

But his domeſtic character is much greater than his military, which has thrown ſo bright a luſtre on the annals of England. He was gracious and obliging to the virtuous and deſerving; ſtern and inexorable to the diſſolute and the faithleſs. He gained the affections of the great, though he curbed their licentiouſneſs: he made them feel his power, though they were not inclined to murmur at his ſeverity. He directed their turbulent ſpirits againſt a foreign enemy; and, by his valour and conduct, rendered moſt of their attempts ſucceſsful. In converſation he was at once both affable and communicative; nor did he ever diſdain to receive inſtruction from his inferiors, when either their ſtation or learning enabled them to give it. At the ſame time, he poſſeſſed ſo juſt a diſcernment, that few princes ever made a more happy choice of ſervants, either in the domeſtic, the civil, or the military departments. He was a friend to the poor, the afflicted, the fatherleſs, and the widow. He frequently relieved their wants; and his bounty was that of a king; he placed them beyond the reach of their miſeries for the future. In the diſtribution of rewards, he ſhewed a diſtinguiſhed judgment; merit was always ſure of being rewarded.

Edward was a friend to the conſtitution of his country, though his paſſion for glory often obliged him to break through the rules which ought to reſtrain the royal prerogative. He always conſulted his parliament, by which means that aſſembly acquired a conſiderable acceſſion of authority during his reign; and the Commons were no longer regarded with that indifference with which they had formerly been treated. They often complained, and not always without effect, of the arbitrary exertions of the royal prerogative; a ſufficient proof that the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, as it is now eſtabliſhed, were then well known. In one of Edward's ſtatutes there is this remarkable clauſe, "That no man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever, ſhall be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in anſwer by due courſe of law." But the moſt popular law paſſed during Edward's reign, was the ſtate which limited the caſes of high treaſon, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads; namely, the conſpiring the death of the king, the levying war againſt him, and the adhering to his enemies. The bounds of treaſon were, indeed, ſo much limited by this ſtatute; which is ſtill in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, by explaining a conſpiracy for levying war againſt the king, to be equivalent to a conſpiracy againſt his life; and this interpretation has, from the neceſſity of the caſe, been tacitly received.

Edward had a numerous iſſue by his queen Philippa of Hainault.

1. His eldeſt ſon, the heroic Edward, generally called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour.

2. William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy.

3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence; who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, heireſs of William de Burgh, earl of Ulſter. After her death, he married Violante, daughter to the duke of Milan; and died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity by that princeſs.

4. John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, from whom ſprung that branch which afterwards poſſeſſed the crown. He firſt married Blanche, daughter and co-heireſs of Henry duke of Lancaſter, to whoſe title he ſucceeded. His ſecond wife was Conſtance, eldeſt daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, in whoſe right he aſſumed the arms and title of that kingdom. After her death, he married Catharine Swinford, who had already bore him ſeveral illegitimate children.

5. Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and afterwards duke of York.

6. William of Windſor, who died an infant.

7. Thomas of Woodſtock, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and duke of Glouceſter from his nephew.

The daughters were,

1. Iſabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford.

2. Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux.

3. Blanche, who died in her infancy.

4. Mary, married to John de Montfort, earl of Britany.

5. Margaret, married to John de Haſtings, earl of Pembroke.

# RICHARD II. ſurnamed of BOURDEAUX.

A. D. 1377. THIS prince, who was only in the eleventh year of his age when he aſcended the throne, was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon; a circumſtance which, joined with the enthuſiaſtic fondneſs of the people for his illuſtrious father, the Black Prince, occaſioned an univerſal joy in the kingdom when he was placed on the throne of his anceſtors. His three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, oppoſed not his acceſſion. Indeed, their oppoſite tempers and diſpoſitions formed an unſurmountable obſtacle to any attempt of that kind. The coronation of the young monarch was celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon ſeveral of the young nobility. At this coronation we meet with the firſt mention in hiſtory of a champion, who appeared, completely armed, in Weſtminſter-hall, where his majeſty dined. He was attended by the high conſtable and marſhal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall, he threw his gauntlet on the ground, and challenged all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould dare to diſpute his majeſty's title to the crown. The origin of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is, however, utterly unknown: for though this is the firſt time we find it mentioned by hiſtorians, it is, doubtleſs, of a much earlier date; ſince Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelſby, in Lincolnſhire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.

The parliament, which met ſoon after the coronation, eſtabliſhed a council of regency; and the Commons proceeded to increaſe their influence, and to confirm their privileges. But the great power of the king's uncles directed, for ſome years, the meaſures of government. Lancaſter in particular, though very unpopular, and of a genius not at all adapted to any bold enterprize, yet having been accuſtomed to govern during the latter part of the late reign, took upon himſelf the chief direction of affairs, though neither himſelf nor his two brothers were named in the council of regency.

It was ſufficiently evident that a war was, in this ſituation of affairs, inevitable. The truce concluded with France was now expired, and hoſtilities had been already commenced by that formidable power, but no action of importance happened between the two kingdoms. Great preparations were, indeed, made, and events of the greateſt conſequence were expected, when Charles, king of France, paid the debt of nature, and left his crown to his ſon, Charles VI. a youth only twelve years of age.

A. D. 1381. But though no actions of importance had been performed in the war againſt France, the great expence attending the ſeveral expeditions had exhauſted the treaſury; and the parliament, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, impoſed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age; but they ordained, that in levying this tax, the rich ſhould relieve the poor by an equable compenſation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would require ſome conſiderable time, the court farmed out the grant to a ſet of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmoſt rigour from the people. This impoſition, added to the cruelty and preſumptuous behaviour of the tax gatherers, occaſioned one of the moſt ſingular mutinies recorded in the annals of hiſtory. The people had already acquired ſome idea of independence, and given ſeveral indications of their deſire of breaking thoſe chains which had ſo long been impoſed upon them by a haughty nobility. Enthuſiaſm alſo aſſiſted to augment this deſire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance. One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, viſited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audience the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions introduced by a few inſolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themſelves, and degrade the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies. Doctrines like theſe, ſo agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar thoſe ſparks of rebellion which the inſolence of the tax-gatherers blew into a flame.

The inſurrection began at Deptford, in Kent; where one of the collectors came to the houſe of Walter, a tyler by profeſſion, afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler, and demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peaſant refuſed to comply with the demand, urging, that ſhe was under the age preſcribed by act of parliament. The inſolent tax-gatherer not only refuſed to acquieſce in this deciſion, but offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary; and, at the ſame time, laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this inſolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who inſtantly flew to arms. Their example was followed by the peaſants of Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Hertfordſhire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln; ſo that even before the government had any warning of the danger, the diſorder was become too great for oppoſition.

Blackheath was appointed the place of a general rendezvous; and they accordingly aſſembled there, to the number of an hundred thouſand men, under their principal leaders, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw. The duke of Lancaſter was now on the borders of Scotland, and the number of regular troops in the kingdom very inconſiderable; ſo that the government was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, as having every thing to fear from this lawleſs aſſembly. A council was called in the Tower, where a reſolution was taken to ſend a meſſage to the inſurgents, to enquire the cauſe of this tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the meſſengers with the moſt haughty inſolence; and returned for anſwer, "That they were come to ſpeak to the king about certain important affairs; and deſired he would repair to their camp in perſon, and hear what they had to propoſe." Many of the council, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, oppoſed the king's going in perſon to treat with the rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being repreſented to the council, that the inſurgents were in full march for London, and that it would be impoſſible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the ſhore, he perceived ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he put back, and returned to the Tower.

Exaſperated at this diſappointment, the peaſants, who were by this time joined by the city rabble, advanced to the bridge, and threatened to burn the ſuburbs firſt, and then the capital itſelf, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by this threat, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a looſe to every ſpecies of exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the moſt wealthy citizens, and abuſed their perſons, together with thoſe of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, and ſoon reduced that magnificent ſtructure, together with all its ſplendid furniture, to aſhes. Another party ſet fire to the Temple; while a third repaired to the elegant monaſtery of St. John of Jeruſalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole ſtructure, together with all the books, records and papers. They beheaded all the gentlemen that fell into their hands, and expreſſed a particular animoſity againſt the lawyers and attornies.

The next morning they divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt diviſion, under Jack Straw, the ſecond leader in command, marched to Highbury manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The ſecond retired to Mile-End. And the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himſelf, took up their ſtation in St. Katharine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the eſcape of the miniſters and noblemen who had taken ſhelter in that fortreſs, and whom the rabble had devoted to deſtruction. The king, who had alſo retired thither for ſafety, finding the fortreſs, which was but weakly garriſoned, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, incapable of making any long defence, found means to eſcape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the moſt tractable, and had expreſſed a deſire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reaſon for this tumultuous aſſembly; telling them, that he was their king, that he was come to hear and redreſs their grievances. They inſiſted upon a general amneſty; the abolition of all ſlavery; liberty of trade in all market-towns, without paying either toll or impoſt; and that a ſtated rent ſhould be laid upon lands, inſtead of the ſervice impoſed upon villanage. Theſe requeſts the king granted very readily, but inſiſted on their laying down their arms immediately. They made no difficulty of obeying; and returned very quietly to their own houſes, leaving a few of each pariſh to carry down with them the general pardon, and charters of their freedom.

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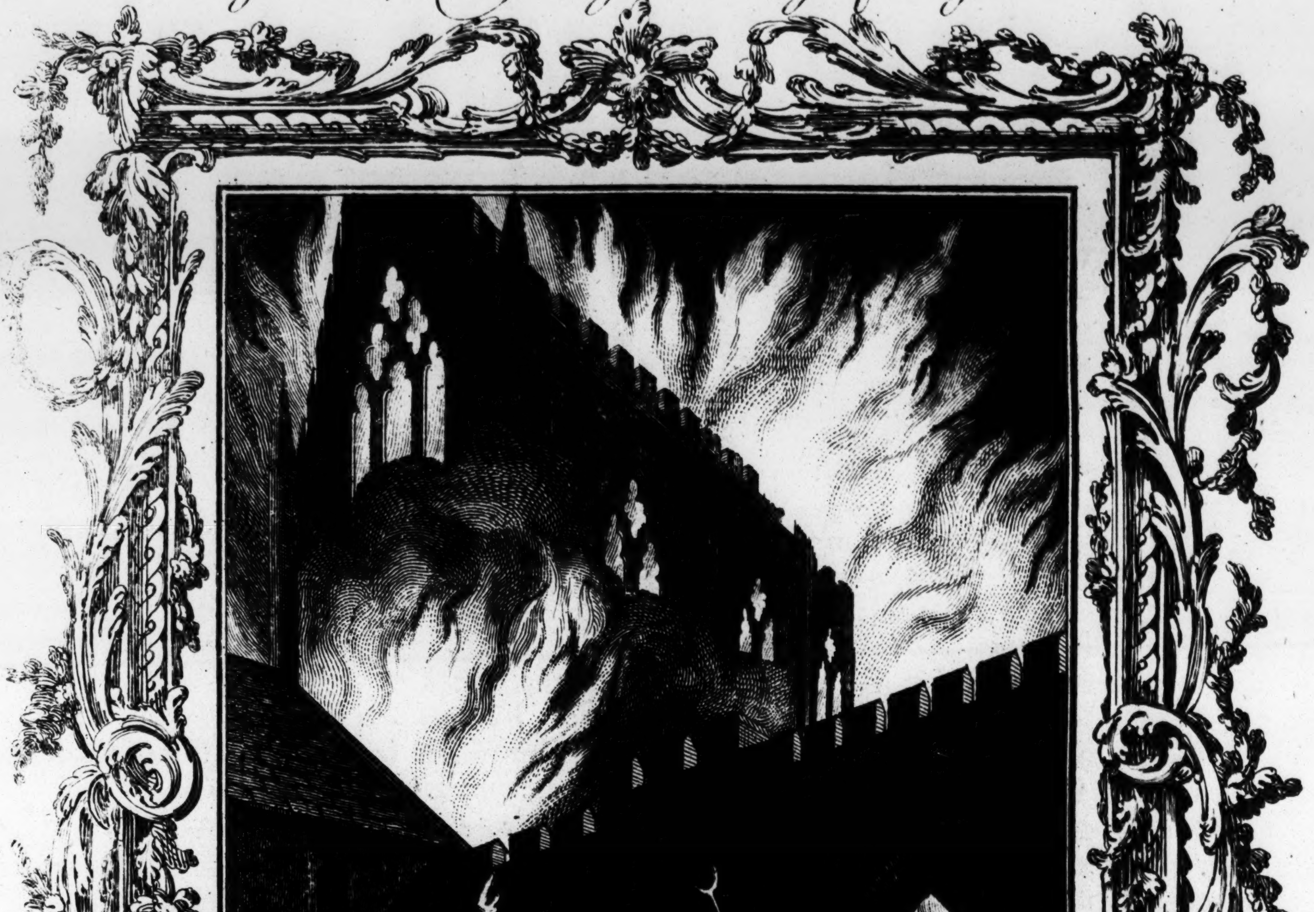

S. Wale delin. W. Walker sculp.

The Burning of St. John's Monastery, near Smithfield, by Wat Tyler's Rabble.

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But the rebels under Wat Tyler were of a more ferocious diſpoſition. They were determined to revenge the evils they had ſuffered on the heads of the nation, and, if poſſible, carry the romantic ſcheme of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with one diviſion of the inſurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garriſon were ſo intimidated by the multitude of rebels, that they refuſed to defend the place, and the gates were accordingly thrown open. This puſillanimous conduct raiſed the inſolence of the rabble to the higheſt pitch; and their behaviour was at once both brutiſh and barbarous. They ſeized Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then chancellor, dragged him to Tower-hill, and beheaded him with the utmoſt inſolence. Sir Robert Hales, lord treaſurer, and Legg, the Flemiſh farmer of the land-tax, ſuffered the ſame fate.

This ſucceſs, inſtead of ſatiating the vengeance, increaſed the ſanguinary diſpoſition of the rebels; every perſon of any note that fell into their hands, was ſacrificed as a victim to their lawleſs barbarity. The citizens now ſaw their error in admitting ſuch a turbulent multitude into the city. Their ſavage practices rouzed them to revenge, and recovered them from their conſternation. Walworth, the lord-mayor, and Philpot, one of the aldermen, promiſed the king, that they would ſupport him againſt the rebels, provided ſome method could be found to amuſe them with propoſals. Sir John Newton was therefore ſent to acquaint them, that the Eſſex men had accepted certain conditions from the government, in conſequence of which they had retired peaceably to their habitations; and that he was empowered to offer them the ſame terms, on their making the ſame ſubmiſſion. But the ſavage plebeians, fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, had now formed the moſt chimerical deſigns; they propoſed to murder the king, together with all the whole nobility, and bury all government in a general anarchy, in order to deſtroy every ſpecies of ſubordination, and render all men equal. Tyler, therefore, made no other anſwer to the king's meſſage, than that he would conſent to a peace if he liked the terms. Three different charters were ſent ſucceſſively by Richard, in the ſpace of a few hours, but were all rejected with the moſt provoking inſolence.

The miniſtry and principal men of the city were now thoroughly exaſperated, and Richard, attended by the lord mayor, and chief officers of London, rode to Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again ſent to the demagogue, inviting him to a conference with the king, in order that his majeſty might know his demands, and, if poſſible, give his conſent to their being granted. Tyler now ſeemed to be alarmed, and moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the rabble, with a very ſlow and deſultory pace. Newton told him the king was waiting for him, and deſired he would quicken his march. “Make what “haſte you pleaſe yourſelf,” replied the inſolent rebel, “I ſhall take my own time.” The true reaſon for this delay in the demagogue, aroſe from his expecting a large reinforcement from Hertfordſhire and the adjacent counties, and therefore he would willingly have deferred the conference till their arrival. But the government was now in a capacity to defeat their ſchemes, and therefore unwilling to ſuffer them to exerciſe their ſavage barbarity any longer. The magiſtrates of London had aſſembled a large body of well-armed and well-affected citizens, and Sir Robert Knowles was juſt arrived at the head of a thouſand veterans. When Tyler came into Smithfield, where the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told him that both decency and duty required that he ſhould be uncovered in the preſence of his ſovereign; but the traitor, inſtead of complying, was ſo highly offended, that he would have ſheathed his dagger in his breaſt, had not the king ſuddenly advanced, and drew off his attention, by aſking what he had to requeſt? Tyler was greatly diſconcerted; and made ſuch extravagant propoſals, and delivered himſelf in ſo incoherent a manner, that the king could make no reply. He demanded that all the ancient laws ſhould be aboliſhed; that all bondmen ſhould be free; that all warrens, parks and chaſes ſhould be laid open, and every perſon, the poor as well as the rich, ſhould have free liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added ſeveral other particulars relative to the levelling ſcheme he had formed, but in ſo confuſed a manner that they were not underſtood. The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no anſwer, which Tyler conſidering as a contemptuous refuſal, raiſed his dagger, and at the ſame time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horſe. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his reſentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now ſo exaſperated that he drew his ſword, and ſtruck him ſo violent a blow, that he fell to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched by Philpot.

The rabble, ſeeing their leader fall, prepared to take a ſevere revenge, and a dreadful ſlaughter would doubtleſs have enſued, had not Richard prevented it by an amazing preſence of mind. He ordered his company to ſtop; advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and with an affable and intrepid countenance aſked them, “What is the meaning of this diſorder, my good people? Are you angry becauſe you have loſt your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader.” Over-awed by the preſence of the king, the inſurgents followed him implicitly; and he led them into the fields near Iſlington to prevent the conſequences of any diſorder that might ariſe from an attempt to reduce them to obedience. They had no ſooner left the city, than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. A panic immediately ſeized the whole multitude: they threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Knowles propoſed that all the ringleaders ſhould be put to death, but the king would not permit any ſanguinary methods to be taken; and they were accordingly diſmiſſed with the ſame charters their companions had received. Theſe charters were, however, ſoon after revoked by the parliament, and the leaders of this extraordinary rebellion ſeverely puniſhed. Such was the end of a faction, which threatened the deſtruction of the kingdom; but as the deluded populace had no diſtinguiſhed leader, they could not have long contended with the royal authority. Such tempeſts, which were then common in Europe, ſerved, however, to ſhew what ſort of government then prevailed.

This remarkable inſtance of intrepidity and preſence of mind in Richard, who was now only ſixteen years of age, inſpired the people with the higheſt expectations of his future behaviour. But the preſages of early youth are often deceitful. As Richard advanced in years, his conduct abundantly demonſtrated that their hopes were built on a deluſive foundation; it was ſoon evident, that he wanted both judgment and capacity. What rendered this want of ability the more alarming to the Engliſh was the unſettled ſtate of affairs on the continent, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confuſion. On the death of Gregory X. Brigano, biſhop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took the name of Urban VI. But his paſſionate and turbulent diſpoſition rendered him a very improper perſon to be placed at the head of the church. He had not long been ſeated in St. Peter's chair, before he declared, in full conſiſtory, that he was determined to puniſh the kings of France and England, as the diſturbers of the peace of Chriſtendom. Cardinal de la Grange, a Frenchman, and equally paſſionate with the pope himſelf, roſe from his ſeat, and ſhaking his fiſt at the pontiff, told him that “he lied.” This raſh word involved all Europe in confuſion.

Moſt of the cardinals, ſhocked at the brutal diſpoſition of Urban, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and proceeded unanimouſly to the election of a new pontiff; and Robert, ſon to Amadeus III. count of Geneva, was elected, and took the name of Clement VII. The new pontiff was a perſon of great parts, eloquent, polite, liberal, and allied to moſt of the princes of Europe. The emperor, England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban; France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors and univerſities joined alſo in the conteſt. The two popes beſtowed on each other the appellations of Antichriſt and Uſurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. A civil and religious war was kindled in Europe, and the moſt horrid cruelties committed by both parties.

A. D. 1382. Clement preached up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications againſt all the adherents of Clement, but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a cruſade againſt his rival. With this commiſſion the pope ſent him plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the ſame indulgences to all who engaged in this expedition, as to thoſe who carried arms againſt the infidels. The publication of this cruſade in England anſwered the moſt ſanguinary wiſhes of the pontiff. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almoſt all ranks of people, engaged in it with the ſame ardour and alacrity as if they had been going to fight againſt an enemy that threatened to put a period to the Chriſtian name.

A. D. 1383. The utmoſt diſpatch was uſed in embarking the forces; and the biſhop landed at Calais on the fourth of May, at the head of fifty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. His firſt attempt was upon Gravelines, which he carried by aſſault. Intimidated by this ſucceſs, the inhabitants of Dunkirk opened their gates to the victor. Bourbourg, Caſſel, Berg, Furnes, Nieuport, Oſtend, Blankenberg, and all the towns on the ſea-coaſt as far as Sluiſe, followed the example of Dunkirk. Alarmed at this progreſs of the Engliſh, the count of Flanders determined to give them battle. Norwich, depending on the enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition of his followers, marched to meet the enemy, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men, now advanced to check the progreſs of the cruſaders. The prelate, on a general muſter of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thouſand men, occaſioned by the continual arrival of freſh reinforcements from England. But many of theſe were the very dregs of the people, and at once ignorant of diſcipline and impatient of command. It was, however, reſolved in a council of war, to fight the French army; but this was oppoſed by a large party of the troops, who inſiſted on their beſieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immenſe booty. It was in vain to oppoſe this ſtrange determination; and the biſhop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place; a ſtep which ultimately proved fatal to his enterprize. The approaches were carried on with great intrepidity; but he was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and ſend to England for a reinforcement. But ſo many difficulties occurred, that the ſeaſon was loſt before any thing could be effected; and the biſhop returned to England with the poor remains of his army.

This miſcarriage of the prelate did not, however, put an end to the ſchiſm in the church: it laſted forty years; during which ſpace of time, religion was made a pretence for the greateſt enormities. It was during this period of papal confuſion, that John Wickliff, a ſecular prieſt educated at Oxford, and diſtinguiſhed for the auſterity of his life and manners, ventured to inculcate tenets nearly the ſame with thoſe propagated by the reformers in the ſixteenth century. He denied the doctrine of the real preſence, the merit of confeſſion and monaſtic vows, and the ſupremacy of the pope. He maintained, that the numerous ceremonies of the church were deſtructive of true piety; that the ſcripture was the ſole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the ſtate, and ought to poſſeſs no temporal wealth; and that no taxes ought to be levied upon the people till the riches of the eccleſiaſtics had been expended in the ſervice of the kingdom. Theſe opinions, which had their riſe from the uſurpations and abuſes of the clergy, being well calculated to flatter the people, excited them to rebellion. Wickliff was, however, protected againſt the attempts of the eccleſiaſtics by many of the greateſt men in the kingdom; particularly the duke of Lancaſter, who greatly favoured the doctrines of this firſt reformer. Wickliff being ſummoned to appear in a ſynod held by the biſhop of London in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke accompanied him; and in the courſe of his examination, inſulted the biſhop, and even proceeded to threats; upon which the ſynod broke up in great confuſion. The proſelytes of this reformer were called Wickliffites, and Lollards; but as the principal leaders ſoftened or retracted thoſe tenets which were moſt obnoxious to the church, this innovation produced no revolution. The reſpect, however, for the holy ſee, was every day diminiſhing; and the violent ſchiſm already mentioned contributed greatly to open the eyes of the people, and rouſe them from that ſuperſtitious lethargy which had ſo long affected the inhabitants of Europe.

A. D. 1385. The Scots had taken advantage of the minority of Richard to diſturb the peace of the northern counties, and a large army was raiſed to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Richard headed his army in perſon. He entered Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who dreaded a pitched battle with the Engliſh, abandoned the low country, croſſed the Engliſh borders on the weſt, and plundered the counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaſhire. Richard, in the mean time, advanced to Edinburgh, and deſtroyed all the towns and villages that lay in his rout. He reduced that city to aſhes. He treated in the ſame manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low country. But when he was deſired to march towards the weſtern coaſt, in order there to wait the return of the enemy, and take a ſevere revenge on them for the devaſtations they had committed, his impatience to be in England, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, were more prevalent; and he carried back his army, without effecting any thing by theſe mighty preparations.

The French court had long been deſirous of wreſting their ſea-ports out of the hands of the Engliſh; and they were perſuaded that an opportunity now offered for that purpoſe; the duke of Lancaſter having carried into Spain all the flower of the Engliſh military force, in order to proſecute his empty claim to the crown of Caſtile. Great preparations were therefore made in France for an invaſion of England, as the moſt proper method of ſucceeding in their deſign. They collected an immenſe fleet and army at Sluiſe. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize, and the Engliſh were kept for ſome time in perpetual alarms. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, conſiſted of eighty thouſand men at arms, with their followers on horſeback, beſides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſhips of all ſorts were ready at Sluiſe to carry over this numerous army; and ſeveral warlike engines of a new conſtruction were put on board the fleet. This amazing armament engaged the attention of all Europe. The Engliſh were intimidated, particularly the city of London. The militia of the kingdom were ordered to the ſea-coaſt; the ports and harbours were put in a poſture of defence; and all the beacons on the coaſt prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy ſhould appear. A fleet was alſo fitted out to guard the channel, and every prudent meaſure which reaſon could ſuggeſt was purſued with the utmoſt care and alacrity.

But the ſafety of England was principally owing to other cauſes. Ambition and envy, ſo often the deſtruction of public undertakings, had poiſoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and aſpiring diſpoſition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor intereſt had been ſufficiently conſulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded ſo ſlow in aſſembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his diviſion. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet ſailed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coaſt above two hours before the wind changed to the oppoſite quarter, and a dreadful ſtorm ſucceeded, which, in a few hours, ſcattered the whole navy. Some of the ſhips were driven back into the harbour of Sluiſe; ſome were daſhed on the rocks, others foundered at ſea, and many of the ſtragglers were taken by the Engliſh. Such was the end of thoſe mighty preparations which had held all Europe in ſuſpence.

Richard had for ſome time conſidered the ſubjection in which he was held by his uncles with great regret, and determined to break theſe ignoble chains. Accordingly he threw himſelf into the arms of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very diſſolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engroſſed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to ſet bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the ſovereignty of that iſland; even the whole authority of the government was by degrees lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, and lately created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites. He was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and had ſerved in the army with applauſe. He had alſo been employed in ſeveral embaſſies and treaties of peace, in all which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudence, integrity, capacity and judgment; but his particular friendſhip for the duke of Ireland rendered him obnoxious to the people.

The princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, who now ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their power, determined to attack the favourites, and recover their former influence. An impeachment was accordingly drawn up againſt the chancellor, and Glouceſter undertook to carry it to the houſe of lords. It was, however, thought proper to obſerve the appearance of decency at leaſt, and accordingly the commons ſent a meſſage by their ſpeaker to the king, importing, that unleſs the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the diſpatch of public buſineſs. Richard, who little expected a motion of this nature, received the addreſs with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the ſpeaker very ſharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the buſineſs for which they were ſummoned, than to concern themſelves with his ſervants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their addreſs: he ſet out immediately for Eltham in Kent, leſt his preſence ſhould be conſtrued as a ſanction to the proceedings of the parliament.

The king having thus withdrawn himſelf from the national council, a meſſage was ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Ely, deſiring him, in the name of the parliament, to return: declaring, in caſe of refuſal, that they would immediately diſſolve themſelves. Richard finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, was obliged to be contented with ſtipulating, that except finiſhing the preſent impeachment againſt Suffolk, no attack ſhould be made againſt any other of his miniſters. The accuſation was at once both frivolous and unjuſt; but innocence was but a poor defence againſt the turbulent envy of the barons; Suffolk was condemned and depoſed from his office.

This ſtep was an introduction to greater exceſſes. Glouceſter and his aſſociates, indeed, obſerved their ſtipulation with the king, they attacked no more of his miniſters; but they proceeded much farther; they attacked the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority; and the exerciſe of the ſovereign power entruſted to fourteen commiſſioners, whoſe juriſdiction was limited to a twelvemonth, though it was ſufficiently evident, that the party of Glouceſter never meant to re-inſtate their monarch in his prerogatives. They obliged him not only to ſign this commiſſion, but to take an oath never to infringe it. Richard, however, entered a proteſt againſt this violence at the end of the ſeſſion, declaring, that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithſtanding his late conceſſion, ſhould ſtill be deemed entire and unimpaired.

A. D. 1387. This proteſt had no effect on the commiſſioners: they proceeded directly to the exerciſe of their office; and Richard found himſelf deſtitute of all authority. The king was, however, determined to make one attempt for the recovery of his power. He aſſembled the judges and lawyers, who made no ſcruple of declaring, that the commiſſion was derogatory to the royal authority; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who compelled him were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe were equally criminal who ſhould perſevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of diſſolving parliaments when he pleaſes; that the parliament while they ſit, muſt proceed firſt upon the king's buſineſs; and that they cannot, without the king's conſent, impeach any of his miniſters and judges.

It was not long before the duke of Glouceſter and his party were informed of this ſecret conſultation, and immediately had recourſe to arms, and demanded that the perſons who had ſeduced the king by their pernicious counſel, ſhould be delivered up as traitors to the ſtate. A few days after they appeared in his preſence armed, and attended by their followers; where they accuſed the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Bramble, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland ſaved himſelf by flight; but the others were condemned and executed. Force became the only rule of law in thoſe unfortunate times, when the paſſions of the great ſeemed to have annihilated every idea of juſtice.

A. D. 1388. During the ſcenes of anarchy in the Engliſh government, the Scots purſued their deſultory war with great advantage; but nothing worthy a place in hiſtory happened till the beginning of Auguſt, when they entered Northumberland with a ſmall army, conſiſting of three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, all veterans, and commanded by the two Douglaſes, the earls of Fife, Murray, and Dunbar, the moſt celebrated commanders in the Scottiſh army. They ravaged the whole country through which they paſſed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcaſtle, where the lord Henry Piercy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, ſon to the earl of Northumberland, firſt oppoſed them. But his troops were defeated, and himſelf was unhorſed in ſingle combat by the younger Douglas, who having ſeized his lance, vowed to carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory. Inflamed with rage at his late miſfortune, Hotſpur vowed that Douglas ſhould never carry his lance to Scotland in triumph. He accordingly collected a body of ſix hundred horſe and eight thouſand foot, and putting himſelf at their head marched in purſuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were haſtening to join him under the command of the biſhop of Durham.

Elated with their late ſucceſs the Scots had undertaken the ſiege of the caſtle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortreſs when Piercy, by forced marches,

marches, reached their camp. Rage had ſtifled prudence in the breaſt of Piercy: he would not delay the engagement for a moment, though his troops were ſo greatly fatigued with their long marches, and though night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a diſappointed warrior, but the darkneſs rendered it impoſſible to continue the conteſt, and they ſeparated without either obtaining the victory. The moon riſing at midnight, however, occaſioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at laſt victory declared for the Scots, Douglas was ſlain, and Piercy taken priſoner.

A. D. 1389. The king's authority ſeemed now totally annihilated: the combination of the princes of the blood and chief nobility had ſo far engroſſed the royal power, that a revolution was apparently inevitable. But the event proved otherwiſe. Richard, who was now in his twenty-third year, declared, in a full council held at Eaſter, his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and houſhold by his ſole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. No oppoſition being made to ſo reaſonable a deſign, Richard immediately demanded the great ſeal from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and gave it to William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter. He removed the duke of Glouceſter and the earl of Warwick from the council-board, and ſupplied their places with others whom he thought more worthy of his confidence. The biſhop of Hereford was deprived of his office of treaſurer, and the earl of Arundel of that of admiral. Theſe changes were made without the leaſt oppoſition; the dukes of Glouceſter and York affected to return to their duty; and Richard, by paſſing a general amneſty, and remitting ſome ſubſidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who eaſily paſs from one extreme to another. The kingdom from this period enjoyed tranquillity for a conſiderable time. A truce of twenty-five years was concluded with France, which was followed with the reſtitution of Breſt and Cherbourgh; and Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to the daughter of Charles VI. though ſhe was then only ſeven years of age. This alliance was thought neceſſary in order to ſupport the king againſt the enterprizes of his uncles, who envied the power of his miniſters.

A. D. 1397. But this confederacy with France gave offence to the Engliſh, who had contracted a violent antipathy againſt that nation; and the conduct of Richard was not calculated to procure the reſpect of his ſubjects. A ſlave to pleaſure, and incapable of applying himſelf to buſineſs; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profuſely laviſhed the revenues of the crown, and the grants of the people; and ſullying the dignity of his rank, by admitting perſons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was conſidered as totally unworthy of wearing the Engliſh crown.

Glouceſter took advantage of the king's weakneſs to renew his intrigues. He abſented himſelf from the court; hardly ever appeared in council but to oppoſe the meaſures of the adminiſtration; and exerted all his abilities to cultivate and increaſe his popularity with the nation. The invectives he employed againſt the government, againſt the long truce concluded with Charles, and againſt the marriage of Richard, joined to his addreſs in fomenting the hatred againſt France, and in reviving the deſire of ravaging again that hoſtile kingdom, made the deepeſt impreſſions on the minds of a people diſpoſed at all times to revolt, and ever impatient under imaginary diſtreſs.

The miniſtry ſaw their danger, and the king, whoſe precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation, ordered Glouceſter to be unexpectedly arreſted. The attempt ſucceeded; the duke was hurried on board a ſhip lying in the river ready to receive, and carry him over to Calais, where alone it was thought he could be ſafely detained in cuſtody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were ſeized at the ſame time: the malecontents were aſtoniſhed and over-awed by being ſo ſuddenly deprived of their leaders; and the dukes of Lancaſter and York, with the earls of Derby and Rutland, having joined the miniſtry, they were bereaved of all poſſibility of reſiſtance.

To put a final period to this oppoſition, a parliament was immediately ſummoned at Weſtminſter, and the members entered with violence into all the meaſures of the court. They annulled the act of amneſty which Richard had voluntarily confirmed: they proſecuted the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and other noblemen, ſeveral of whom were condemned and executed, for having been engaged in former attempts againſt the crown, notwithſtanding the pardon they had received. The proſecution againſt Glouceſter was juſt going to be commenced, when intelligence of his death arrived. It was pretended that he died ſuddenly of an apoplexy; but it was the general opinion that he had been murdered in conſequence of orders from his nephew; and in the ſucceeding reign, undoubted evidence was produced in parliament of his having been ſuffocated with pillows by thoſe who had the care of his perſon. Thus fell Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the victim of his enemies treachery, and of his own imprudent conduct. With many great and good qualities, he joined an inordinate thirſt after popularity, in the purſuit of which he too often loſt ſight of that reſpect which ſhould always be preſerved to majeſty; and whatever advantages he might intend to procure to his country, the meaſures he took for that purpoſe were ſuch as no court, that had the leaſt regard to its own honour or conſequence, could ſuffer implicitly.

The death of Glouceſter was no ſooner known, than his brothers, the dukes of Lancaſter and York, haſtened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the moſt ſevere revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himſelf. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions neceſſary to divert the force of the expected ſtorm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but alſo collected an army of twenty thouſand veterans, and ſtationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on the forces he had raiſed; he had recourſe alſo to the milder methods of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, liſtened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. But the party of the duke of Glouceſter was hardly ſuppreſſed before another aroſe which proved fatal to Richard. The principles of honour were at this time ſo little known among the nobility, that Henry duke of Hereford, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, accuſed, before the council, the duke of Norſolk, of having ſpoken in private many ſlanderous words againſt the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the diſpute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in preſence of the king and his whole court.

Both the noblemen appeared on the day appointed, the trumpets ſounded, and they were preparing to ruſh againſt each other, when the king interpoſed, to prevent the effuſion of noble blood, and commanded them to depart the kingdom; but their ſentences were unequal; the exile of Norfolk was for life; but Hereford only for ten years. Both, however, obeyed the royal mandate. Norfolk, who knew he had nothing to expect from Richard, retired into Germany, and afterwards to Venice, where he ſoon after paid the debt of nature: he did not live to ſee the revolution which ſoon happened in his country. The duke of Hereford was more reſigned to his fate; he waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this ſubmiſſive and reſpectful behaviour had ſuch an effect upon Richard, that he remitted four years of the time aſſigned for his baniſhment; and alſo empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion of any eſtates that might fall to him during his exile, and to poſtpone the homage till his return.

A. D. 1399. Hereford had left the kingdom only a few months, when his father, John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, paid the debt of nature; and his ſon, in conſequence of his rights, and the letters patent he had received, deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate and juriſdiction of his father. But Richard, to the eternal ſtain of his memory, denied this requeſt, revoked the letters patent he had given to Hereford, decreed his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his paternal eſtate.

Hereford was highly exaſperated at this ſcene of complicated iniquities. He was of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit: he had ſignalized his courage and intrepidity both at home and abroad: he was beloved by the people, and adored by the ſoldiers. He was always cool, ſedate, and prudent; and was conſidered as the only Engliſh prince that deſerved the public confidence and eſteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was ſecretly invited to return to England, and aſſured of being ſufficiently ſupported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance. Hereford, now duke of Lancaſter, determined to embrace the generous offer; and an event ſoon happened which gave him all the advantage he could deſire.

Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a ſmall party of the Iriſh; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to ſubjection, and revenge the death of the preſumptive heir to his crown, reſolved to paſs over into that iſland, and head his army in perſon. He accordingly embarked at Briſtol; and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed at Waterford, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, and ten thouſand archers. Struck with conſternation at ſeeing the king of England at the head of ſo powerful an army, the moſt conſiderable part of the rebels ſubmitted, and the reſt were ſoon reduced to obedience.

Lancaſter embraced this opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantz with a retinue of ſixty perſons, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, attended by a numerous body of vaſſals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increaſed by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his ſon Hotſpur Piercy, and his brother the earl of Weſtmoreland, at the head of ſuch a numerous body of forces, that Henry's ſmall retinue was increaſed to an army of ſixty thouſand men. Lancaſter now took a ſolemn oath, that his ſole deſign in this invaſion was that of recovering the dutchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him. At the ſame time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to ſecond him in this reaſonable and moderate pretenſion. The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm during the king's abſence, aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men, and marched at their head to St. Albans; but upon reviewing his forces, the ſoldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a ſword againſt Henry of Lancaſter. The guardian himſelf did not, indeed, ſeem to be well affected to the cauſe he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would ſecond his nephew in recovering his juſt rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he liſtened to a meſſage ſent him by Henry, who intreated him not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was ſo far from oppoſing, that he joined the party of Henry; and his ſoldiers followed the example of their leader with the utmoſt acclamations of joy.

Lancaſter was now maſter of the kingdom; and marched directly to Briſtol, where ſome of Richard's miniſters had ſhut themſelves up, in order to defend the fortreſs againſt the attempts of an enemy whoſe favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garriſon, however, made but a poor defence; they ſoon ſurrendered; and Henry, yielding to the requeſt of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſy, and Sir John Green, who were taken priſoners, to be executed immediately, without even the form of a trial. An act of barbarity which at once ſufficiently diſplays the ferocious manners of the times, and the injuſtice of Henry's proceedings.

Richard no ſooner received intelligence of this invaſion, than he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford-haven with a body of twenty thouſand men. But his ſoldiers, like the reſt of their brethren, were ſo ſtrongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaſter, that his army melted away like ſnow before the ſun; and Richard ſoon perceived that he was in no condition of meeting the enemy. Diſtracted with a variety of thoughts, he knew not what courſe to purſue. Wavering and irreſolute, he knew not whom to truſt, or whom to fear. At length he determined to deſert his forces, and take refuge in Wales. Accordingly he retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the biſhop of Carliſle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-caſtle; propoſing to take the firſt opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait for ſome favourable criſis of recovering his crown, which he was now incapable of defending.

Senſible of his danger, ſhould Richard find means to execute his deſign, Henry diſpatched the earl of Northumberland, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; and that nobleman, by the moſt infamous treachery and falſe oaths, made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and carried him to his enemy at Flint caſtle. Lancaſter loſt no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the moſt barbarous inſults, and committed to the Tower. But though Lancaſter had acquired poſſeſſion of the perſon of his ſovereign, he was very uneaſy with regard to the beſt method of diſpoſing of that unfortunate monarch, and ſeveral councils were held on that ſubject. At laſt it was reſolved to perſuade Richard to make a formal reſignation of his power, and to procure an authentic confirmation of the deed by the parliament. For ſome time Richard refuſed to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a circumſtance; but at laſt, finding himſelf abandoned by all his friends, and ſenſible of his incapacity to reſiſt the torrent of popular hatred, or, perhaps, deſirous of gaining time to ſave his life, and procure aſſiſtance from France, Richard ſubmitted; and, in the preſence of a great number of lords aſſembled on the occaſion, the king ſurrendered up the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty; and then taking the ſignet-ring from his finger, he preſented it to the duke of Lancaſter. At the ſame time, he deſired the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his reſignation of the crown; and to acquaint them, that he wiſhed his couſin, the duke of Lancaſter, might be choſen his ſucceſſor.

But Henry, well knowing that this reſignation would plainly appear the reſult of force, he propoſed, notwithſtanding the danger of the precedent to himſelf and his poſterity, to have the king ſolemnly depoſed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and miſconduct. Accordingly a charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up againſt him, and preſented to that aſſembly; who, without examining one of the articles, though many of them were falſe in fact, and though all of them turned chiefly on arbitrary acts, of which the late reign furniſhed many ſtronger examples; the barons, though guilty themſelves of ſo many illegal violences, unanimouſly, and with the conſent of the Commons, depoſed their ſovereign. Nor was there found more than one man who had courage and virtue ſufficient to ſtand up, and plead in defence of his unhappy maſter. This was the biſhop of Carliſle, who nobly ſuſtained the cauſe of fallen majeſty, amidſt this univerſal diſloyalty and violence. But his eloquence was exerted in vain; and Lancaſter, exaſperated at the bold truths he uttered, ſent him priſoner to the Tower.

The crown was now declared vacant: upon which the duke of Lancaſter aroſe from his ſeat; and after croſſing himſelf on his forehead and breaſt, and calling upon the name of Chriſt, he declared, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," that the vacant throne belonged to him, as the deſcendant of Henry III. and "through the right which God had ſent him, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to recover a kingdom which was on the point of being ruined by miſconduct and oppreſſion."

In order the better to conceive the meaning of theſe perplexed and obſcure expreſſions, it muſt be obſerved, that Henry of Lancaſter, ſuppoſing the throne really vacant, was not the immediate heir. The duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaſter, had left a grandſon, whoſe title was therefore preferable to that of Henry. He therefore went back as far as Henry III. in order to avail himſelf of an abſurd but popular tradition, which ſuppoſed that Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, ſon to Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that, by reaſon of ſome deformities in his perſon, he had been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion, and his younger brother impoſed upon the nation in his ſtead. This pretence was, however, deſtitute of the leaſt foundation; but the parliament made no inquiry; the moſt palpable abſurdities would have paſſed for truths; and Henry was placed on the throne of England.

The unfortunate Richard did not long ſurvive the loſs of his crown; he ſoon fell a victim to the lawleſs ambition of his enemies; but the manner of his death is uncertain. Fabian tells us, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the caſtle of Pontefract, where he was confined; and that Richard, wreſting a pole-axe out of the hand of one of the aſſaſſins, defended himſelf ſo nobly, that he put four of them to death before they could finiſh their bloody purpoſe. But it is more probable, that he was ſtarved to death in priſon; becauſe his body was expoſed in public, and no marks of violence were obſerved upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Richard was a very weak prince, and entirely incapable of holding the reins of government in theſe ferocious times, when the utmoſt diſorder and licentiouſneſs had ſpread themſelves through the whole kingdom. In more peaceable ages, he might have ſwayed the ſceptre without incurring the hatred, perhaps with the applauſe of his people. But every thing was hoſtile during this period; and the genius and abilities of his father were ſcarce ſufficient to curb the licentiouſneſs of his ferocious nobility. Richard ſunk in the unequal conteſt. But all the evils which have been imputed to his government, ſeem to have proceeded leſs from a ſettled deſign of eſtabliſhing arbitrary power, than from the inſolence of victory, and the neceſſities of the king's ſituation. Richard left no poſterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

# HENRY IV. ſurnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

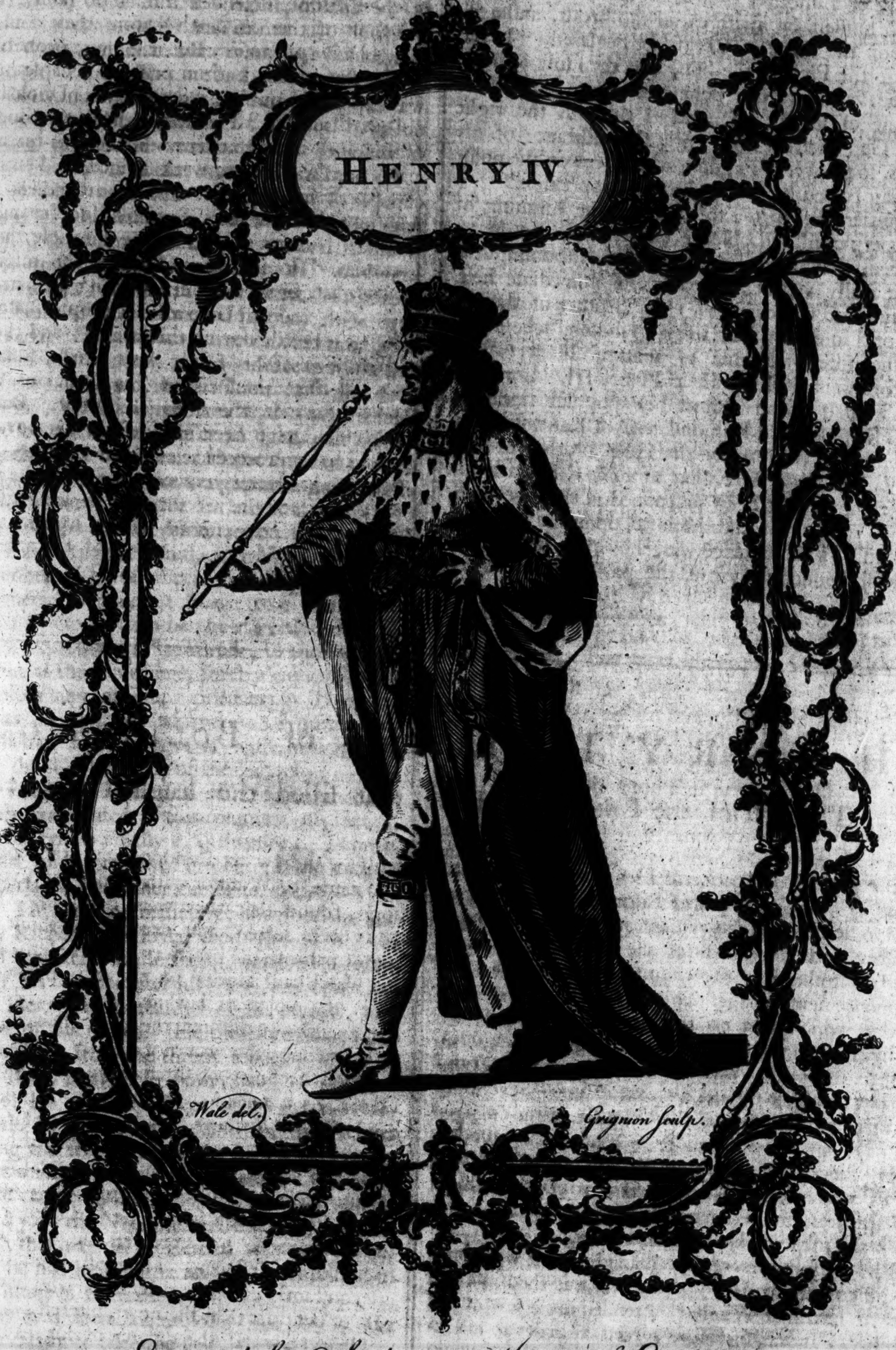
## The firſt of the LANCASTER LINE that filled the Engliſh throne.

A. D. 1399. THE uſurpation of Henry was ſo palpable, and the right of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſo clear and evident, that all the courage, capacity, and diſcernment of the new monarch, were neceſſary to prevent the diſorders that attended the commencement of his reign. The ſeſſion of parliament, which met on the ſixth of October, had hardly finiſhed the buſineſs of ſettling the kingdom, before a conſpiracy was formed to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim. Several of the principal nobility of the kingdom were engaged in this deſign; and in order to render their undertaking ſucceſsful, they prevailed on one Maudlin, a prieſt, who greatly reſembled Richard both in ſhape and features, to perſonate that unfortunate prince, when their ſcheme was ripe for execution.

The conſpirators were perſuaded, that it would not be difficult to ſurprize Henry, who was then in a bad ſtate of health at Windſor, attended by a few of his nobility. It was therefore agreed, in order to aſſemble a ſufficient number of perſons without ſuſpicion, to propoſe a tilting-match of twenty on a ſide, to be held at Oxford. Henry was to be invited to be a ſpectator of this manly exerciſe. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be very eaſy to ſeize his perſon: if he refuſed it, they were to march ſecretly to Windſor-caſtle, where they flattered themſelves with obtaining an eaſy admittance.

A. D. 1400. Every particular was conducted with the utmoſt precaution, and on the point of being carried into execution, when Henry diſcovered the whole deſign by the treachery of the earl of Rutland. The king perceived his danger, and ſuddenly withdrew to London; and the conſpirators, who came to Windſor with a body of five hundred horſe, found that they were betrayed. The inſurgents were ſeized, and executed without any trial, conformable to the practices of theſe ferocious times, and which will always be the cuſtom when violence ſtifles the voice of law and equity. The earl of Rutland now exhibited the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle to every one who was not totally deſtitute of the common feelings of humanity. He preſented to Henry, as a teſtimony of his return to loyalty, the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law. The infamous Rutland, who thus diſhonoured his birth by ſo baſe an action, had been inſtrumental in the death of his uncle, the duke of Glouceſter; and had deſerted Richard, by whom he had been truſted, and from whom he had received the greateſt marks of friendſhip and eſteem. The moſt deteſtable perfidies are conſtantly committed by thoſe who have no other rule of conduct than their own intereſt.

Henry ſaw all the danger of his ſituation, and well knew, that the late executions muſt give riſe to animoſities that are always dangerous to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if poſſible, to gain the clergy over to his party. It was ſuſpected that he had imbibed all the principles of his father in favour of the Lollards; but he now made no difficulty of ſacrificing his principles to his intereſt. He cauſed a law to be paſſed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, he ſhould be committed to the flames


HENRY IV
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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by the civil magiſtrate, before the whole people. This ſanguinary ſtatute was the ſource of additional diſtreſs to the people, who were already ſufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before ſo execrable a law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Oſithes, in London, having embraced the doctrines of Wickliff, was condemned by the ſynod of Canterbury, and the unhappy man periſhed in the flames for his opinions.

The unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government encouraged Glendour, a deſcendant of the ancient princes of Wales, to make incurſions into the Engliſh territories. A troubleſome and tedious war was kindled, which the Welſh prince long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength of that country, and the untamed ſpirit of the inhabitants. In one of theſe encounters, the earl of Marche, who had armed his followers in defence of Henry, was taken priſoner. But notwithſtanding his loyalty, Henry ſuffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland to ranſom him, though he owed his crown to the aſſiſtance of that powerful family.

A. D. 1401. The Scots alſo took advantage of the diſorders of England, and committed dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The largeſt diviſion of the enemy, conſiſting of twelve thouſand men, was headed by Archibald, earl of Douglas. Hotſpur Piercy attacked the invaders at Homeldon, or Halydown-hill; and after a furious engagement, obtained a complete victory. Above ſeven thouſand Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Fife, Angus, Athol, and Montieth, with a great number of other officers of diſtinction, were taken priſoners. Henry no ſooner received intelligence of this victory, than he wrote a letter, full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, to the earl and his ſon; but at the ſame time, ſtrictly enjoined them not to ranſom any of their priſoners. This was regarded as an arbitrary uſurpation of power; all priſoners being, by the laws of war, which then prevailed, the ſole property of the victors.

A. D. 1403. The family of Northumberland were highly exaſperated at this command of Henry, who owed his crown chiefly to their power. Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had other cauſes to excite his reſentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard: he loved the perſon of his old maſter and benefactor while living, retained a grateful ſenſe of his benefits after his death, and could not but deteſt Henry, as the author of his murder, and the uſurper of his crown. He therefore joined his brother, to drive from the throne a perſon who had no title to fill it, and whoſe power was founded on the blood of his maſter. Preparations were accordingly made by the powerful family of the Piercies for wreſting the ſceptre from the hands of Henry. An alliance was concluded with Glendour; and Hotſpur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ranſom, if he would join the Northumberland army; a propoſal which that martial nobleman very readily accepted, as he had long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

An army was ſoon aſſembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick, and the chief command devolved upon Hotſpur Piercy, who led his forces to Shrewſbury, in order to join the troops of Glendour. Piercy now ſent a manifeſto to Henry; in which he renounced his allegiance, and ſet that prince at defiance. He likewiſe enumerated all the grievances of which the nation ſo loudly complained, and which he was now determined to redreſs. He accuſed Henry of perjury: for ſoon after his landing at Ravenſpur, he had ſworn upon the goſpels, in preſence of the earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was that of recovering poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Lancaſter, and that he would ever remain a faithful ſubject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in firſt dethroning, and then murdering that prince; and in uſurping upon the title of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom the crown juſtly belonged, both by lineal deſcent, and the declaration of parliament. He complained loudly of the cruelty exerciſed againſt the earl of Marche, who was ſuffered to remain a captive in the hands of the enemy, nor were any of his friends permitted to treat for his ranſom. He charged him with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes; after having ſworn, that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he would never levy any impoſitions upon his people.

Henry anſwered this manifeſto, in order to exculpate himſelf from the crimes with which he was charged; and accuſed the Piercies, in his turn, of having excited an unnatural rebellion againſt the eſtabliſhed government; and againſt him, who had, on all occaſions, diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of his ſubjects by every act of munificence and friendſhip that a ſovereign could beſtow upon his moſt favourite counſellors. He offered to lay aſide every privilege of prerogative, to grant the Piercies a ſafe conduct, and ſuffer them to lay all their complaints before their peers, where they ſhould be candidly heard, and, if well founded, both theirs and the public grievances redreſſed.

But Henry was not to learn, that remonſtrances were of very little uſe among his ferocious nobility; and fortunately for him, he had, at that time, an army, which had been aſſembled againſt the Scots, ready to take the field. Piercy, who did not ſo ſoon expect to be oppoſed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the ſiege of Shrewſbury, which he had juſt inveſted, and prepare for an engagement. He encamped at Hartlefield, where he reſolved to hazard a battle, though he had not yet been joined by Glendour's forces. The great bravery of the two leaders promiſed an obſtinate conteſt for the palm of victory; and the equality of the two armies, each being about twelve thouſand men, a number which rendered them not unmanageable by the commanders, gave ſufficient reaſon to expect, that the field of battle would be deluged with the blood of the contending parties.

The ſhock was at once both dreadful and conſtant. Henry's infantry at firſt gave ground, and the whole army would have been thrown into confuſion, had not the impetuous valour of Piercy and Douglas given the royaliſts an opportunity of rallying. Theſe two chiefs fought ſide by ſide, and opened themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where the royal ſtandard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in perſon, both contending who ſhould have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Piercy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in ſo many bloody combats; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amidſt the horrors and confuſion of the battle. Their ardour, however, proved fatal to their cauſe: they charged with ſuch deſperate fury, and pierced with ſuch rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They were ſoon ſurrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and the royal ſtandard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the ſtorm of battle; he expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight. His gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements afterwards became ſo famous, and who here performed his apprenticeſhip in arms, followed the example of his father; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was preſent every where, had dreſſed ſeveral perſons in the royal garb; and the ſword of Douglas, who ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould fall by his arm, rendered that honour fatal to many. But while both armies were contending in this furious manner, Piercy fell by an unknown hand. This accident decided the victory in favour of the royaliſts. Above two thouſand five hundred gentlemen are ſaid to have periſhed in that ſanguinary conteſt; but the perſons of the moſt diſtinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Ganſel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Maſſey, and Sir John Caverly. About ſix thouſand private men periſhed, of whom two thirds belonged to Piercy's army. The earls of Worceſter and Douglas were taken priſoners; the former was beheaded at Shrewſbury, but the latter diſmiſſed without ranſom, on account of his valour.

During theſe tranſactions the earl of Northumberland, being recovered from his illneſs, was advancing at the head of a very conſiderable body of troops to reinforce his ſon's army; but hearing of the total defeat of Piercy's forces, and that the king was advancing againſt him at the head of his victorious troops, he ſhut himſelf up in Warkworth caſtle. He afterwards diſmiſſed his army, and came to the king at York. Northumberland pretended that his ſole intention of raiſing an army was to mediate a peace between the two parties, and Henry, unwilling to drive ſo powerful a nobleman to deſpair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon. At the ſame time he publiſhed a proclamation, requiring all his ſubjects to deſiſt from plundering the eſtates and houſes of the rebels, and even to reſtore what they had forcibly carried away.

A. D. 1405. Notwithſtanding the defeat of the army of the Piercies, and the death of the earl of Worceſter and Henry Hotſpur, that family were ſtill in great credit with the public, their ſufferings acquired them an additional eſteem. Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only duke of Hereford, had accuſed of high-treaſon, and by that means procured his perpetual baniſhment, and Richard Scroope, archbiſhop of York, ſtill continued to harbour an implacable rancour againſt Henry. The duke of Northumberland alſo, who well knew that he ſhould never be cordially forgiven, was ſtill determined to procure redreſs for the wrongs his family had received. Accordingly he joined theſe malecontents, and a plan was concerted for taking the field againſt Henry. The conſpiracy ſoon after received an additional ſtrength by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Haſtings, and Fauconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their reſpective counties. The earl of Northumberland viſited the courts of France and Scotland, in order to prevail upon thoſe powers to ſupport the confederates and wreſt from the hand of Henry the ſceptre of England. He was received with the utmoſt reſpect, and met with great encouragement in his negotiation. The hopes of foreign aſſiſtance gave new life to the conſpiracy, and a plan was formed for making an inſurrection in the north, while the French, not only made a deſcent in Wales, but alſo laid ſiege to the moſt important places belonging to the Engliſh on the continent. Glendour alſo joined the confederacy, which now became truly alarming.

Henry was not idle in endeavouring to break the force of the gathering ſtorm. He ſent an army into Wales, under the command of his ſon, who attacked one of Glendour's detachments, and obtained a complete victory. The conſpirators now perceived that Henry was no ſtranger to their intentions, and precipitately took the field, before the earl of Northumberland was ready to join their army. A manifeſto was alſo publiſhed by the archbiſhop of York againſt Henry, in which he reproached that prince with his uſurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king; requiring that the right line ſhould be reſtored, and all the public grievances redreſſed.

The earl of Weſtmoreland, aſſiſted by ſeveral noblemen of conſiderable power in the north, having been appointed to watch the Scottiſh marches, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to ſurpriſe the rebels before they were prepared for defence. He was deceived; for on his reaching Shipton-Moor, he perceived the inſurgents, amounting to ſeventeen thouſand men, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. Weſtmorland, not being able to give the enemy battle, had recourſe to negotiation, and prevailed upon the archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham to lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves to the government. The inſurgents, who had juſt received advice that Henry himſelf was within three days march, at the head of a powerful army, and that it would be impoſſible for the earl of Northumberland to join them before the royal body of forces arrived, agreed to the propoſals, and diſbanded their troops.

But Henry refuſed to confirm the terms offered by Weſtmorland; he determined to make thoſe mutinous leaders feel the weight of his reſentment. But knowing that the trial of the archbiſhop, if conducted in the uſual form, would prove both troubleſome and tedious, and that the celerity of the execution alone could render it ſafe and prudent, he determined to follow the ferocious cuſtoms of the age, and put the prelate to death, without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, to paſs the ſentence of high-treaſon on the archbiſhop. But Gaſcoigne refuſed to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was therefore appointed a judge on this occaſion; who, without any indictment, trial or defence, condemned the prelate to ſuffer death. Nor was the execution of the ſentence delayed; the archbiſhop immediately ſuffered in a very ignominious manner. This was the firſt inſtance in England of a capital ſentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham, Sir John Lamplugh, and Sir Robert Plumpton, ſuffered at the ſame time. The pope was ſo highly incenſed at this alarming attack on the privileges of the church, that he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all who were concerned in the death of the archbiſhop; and it was with great difficulty that Henry, by the prevailing eloquence of large ſums of money, procured abſolution.

The news of this defeat no ſooner reached the ears of the earl of Northumberland, than he fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf; and Henry ſoon reduced all the caſtles belonging to theſe noblemen. But the unfortunate earl did not long enjoy the benefit of this aſylum; an event ſoon after happened which obliged him to ſeek his ſafety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the ſceptre in theſe ferocious times. He was a prince of a ſlender capacity, but extremely innocent and inoffenſive; virtues which were then ſo far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boiſterous diſpoſition, aſſumed the reins of government; and deſirous of rendering his power perpetual, he threw David, the eldeſt ſon of Robert, into priſon, where he was inhumanly ſtarved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obſtacle that oppoſed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Senſible of his ſon's danger, Robert embarked him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him into France, not doubting but he would there find ſufficient protection from that friendly power. But Robert was deſtined to misfortunes: the ſhip was taken by the Engliſh, and Henry, notwithſtanding the truce which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, refuſed to reſtore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities Robert was unable to ſupport this laſt misfortune. He ſunk under the weight of his diſtreſs, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now ſaw all the importance of his acquiſition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the Engliſh monarchy; becauſe a ſingle attempt to prejudice the intereſt of Henry would be ſufficient to pull him from throne. James was about nine years of age when he was firſt brought to London; and if any thing could atone for this breach of faith; it was the excellent education which Henry beſtowed upon him, and which afterwards fitted him for filling the throne of his anceſtors with great applauſe. It is not natural to think, that the duke of Albany would, in theſe circumſtances, venture to protect a nobleman ſo obnoxious to Henry as the earl of Northumberland; and he accordingly retired to France.

A. D. 1407. But that nobleman, impatient of exile, landed in the north of England with lord Bardolf, hoping his preſence would be ſufficient to rouſe the Engliſh to arms. He was not wholly miſtaken; he was joined by a party of Scottiſh free-booters; and as he advanced his little army conſiderably increaſed. Pleaſed to find the inhabitants had not yet loſt their affections for his family, he continued his march; made himſelf maſter of ſeveral caſtles which had been reduced after the fatal battle of Shrewſbury; and appointed Thirſk in Yorkſhire, the general rendezvous of his army. The government was alarmed at the great ſucceſs which had attended the beginning of Northumberland's inſurrection; but there was now no royal army ready to march againſt the rebels. Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, thought it his duty to ſtop the progreſs of the inſurgents, and accordingly raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally deſirous of coming to an action with the ſheriff, perſuaded that if he could defeat Rokeſby's forces, he ſhould not only diſappoint Henry of ſo eſſential a reinforcement, but alſo, by this ſucceſs, engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. Accordingly he put his army in motion, and met Rokeſby on Beaham-Moor, where a bloody engagement enſued, in which the rebels, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were totally routed, and both the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf fell in the conteſt. This fortunate event, together with the death of Glendour, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow; he enjoyed the crown he had uſurped without any farther oppoſition from the friends of the late unfortunate Richard.

But though Henry had no domeſtic enemy to contend with, his days were embittered as a parent by the irregular courſes of the prince of Wales. He was now in the full vigour of youth, and of an active, ſprightly ſpirit. While he was employed in the field, no actions of an immoral tendency ſtained his character. But a life of indolence was not at all agreeable to his nature. The diſtruſt and jealouſy of his father having removed him from all ſhare in the public buſineſs, he plunged himſelf, with the utmoſt violence, into all the extravagances of debauchery, and bluſhed not for a conduct the moſt diſorderly and licentious. But his outrages proceeded leſs from a depraved diſpoſition, than the violence of his temper, which being not directed to uſeful objects, induced him to give full ſcope to his paſſions. But many gleams of ſpirit and magnanimity were obſerved to break through the cloud which a wild conduct had thrown over his character.

A. D. 1412. One of young Henry's favourites having been indicted for ſome miſdemeanor, was condemned, notwithſtanding all the intereſt the prince, who was preſent at the trial, could make in his favour. Young Henry was ſo incenſed at the iſſue, that he ſtruck Sir William Gaſcoigne, the judge, as he ſat upon the bench. But the magiſtrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a ſpirit ſuitable to his character, and inſtantly ordered the prince into cuſtody. This ſally of paſſion in the prince was immediately ſucceeded by a noble return of reaſon; he ſuffered himſelf, with the utmoſt reſignation, to be conducted to priſon by the officers of juſtice. When the king was informed of this tranſaction, he ſaid, "I thank God I have a judge poſſeſſed of ſo much courage to execute the laws, and of a ſon endowed with ſo much obedience, as to ſubmit to ſuch chaſtiſement."

During the reign of Henry the parliamentary proceedings deſerve more attention than thoſe relating either to military or foreign tranſactions. The commons had now attained a very conſiderable ſhare of importance, and it became an object of policy to direct their election. This circumſtance had been complained of during the preceding reign, and was made one of the articles of the charge againſt Richard; but it continued ſtill unredreſſed. Henry purſued the ſame meaſures he had ſo ſeverely cenſured in his predeceſſor. He was, however, obliged to court popularity, and this gave the commons an opportunity of aſſuming powers they had not hitherto ventured to exerciſe. They required the king to diſmiſs from his houſhold four officers who had diſpleaſed them, among whom was his own confeſſor. Henry complied with their requeſt, but declared he knew no crime theſe officers had committed. They appointed treaſurers to attend to the diſburſement of a ſubſidy which they had granted to the king, and ordered them to deliver in their accounts to the houſe. They propoſed regulations for the government; and obliged the judges, and all the officers of the council, to ſwear to the obſervance of them. But their attempts with regard to the church were ſtill more important. They adviſed the king to ſeize all the temporalities of the clergy, and apply the money to the exigences of the ſtate. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who attended the king when this addreſs was preſented, remonſtrated againſt it in the ſtrongeſt manner. He aſſerted that the clergy were the principal ſupport of the ſtate; that though they went not in perſon to the wars, they ſent their vaſſals and tenants in all caſes of neceſſity; while, at the ſame time, they themſelves who ſtaid at home, were employed night and day, in offering up their prayers for the happineſs and proſperity of the ſtate. The ſpeaker ſmiled, and replied without reſerve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a ſlender ſupply. The king, however, unwilling to offend ſo powerful a body of men as the clergy, refuſed the petition. According to a calculation made by the commons, the clergy poſſeſſed a third of the lands in England, and their yearly revenue amounted to no leſs than four hundred eighty-five thouſand marks a year. This addreſs, though refuſed, alarmed both the king and the clergy. It was ſufficiently evident that the doctrines of Wickliffe had ſpread prodigiouſly among the people, and it was therefore thought neceſſary to put the laws in execution againſt the Lollards. Accordingly ſeveral of them were ſent to priſon, and one committed to the flames even while the parliament were ſitting. But theſe rigorous meaſures anſwered not the intention of the clergy. Perſecution always tends to increaſe the numbers of any religious ſect; and the ſufferings of the Lollards augmented their diſciples: the aſhes of one victim, ſcattered by the breath of reformation, became the ſeeds of thouſands.

A. D. 1413. Henry had for ſome time employed himſelf in fomenting the diviſions which prevailed between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was then ſo much diſtracted. He even meditated important deſigns againſt that kingdom; but he lived not to carry his deſigns into execution. His health had, for ſome months, been viſibly declining: he was ſubject to fits, which for a time bereaved him of his ſenſes: and though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was viſibly approaching. He was naturally of a peeviſh and jealous diſpoſition, which was now greatly increaſed, and he too readily liſtened to the vile ſuggeſtions of his courtiers, who inſinuated that his eldeſt ſon had formed unnatural deſigns upon his life and crown. The breaſt of Henry was now filled with the moſt anxious fears and apprehenſions; he even removed the prince from his poſt of preſident of the council. Young Henry was greatly alarmed, and, fond as he was of pleaſure and diſſipation, he was ſtill very ſuſceptible of the nobler paſſions; and could not, without the moſt piercing anguiſh, reflect, that his own conduct had given too much reaſon for his enemies to aſperſe his character. But ſtill he knew himſelf innocent with regard to his having formed even a wiſh to the prejudice of his father's authority; and determined to purſue every method in his power to convince the king of his duty and loyalty.

He firſt received the euchariſt, dreſſed himſelf in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to requeſt a private audience of the king. He was immediately admitted; and falling at his father's feet, expreſſed himſelf in the following manner;

"Moſt dread ſovereign, and honoured father, it gives me the moſt ſincere concern to find that I am ſuſpected by your highneſs of an unnatural deſign againſt your crown and perſon; which I, more than any other ſubject of your majeſty, am bound to reverence and defend. I confeſs, indeed, with ſhame and contrition, that my irregularities and exceſſes have given ſufficient cauſe for your diſpleaſure. But I call the Almighty, who knows the inmoſt ſecrets of the heart, and never fails to puniſh thoſe who dare to invoke him to ſanctify a falſhood, to witneſs, that I never harboured a ſingle thought inconſiſtent with that duty I owe your majeſty as my ſovereign and my father. Thoſe who charge me with contrary intentions, ſeek only to diſturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your ſon and ſucceſſor. I would willingly remove theſe anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpoſe. Let me beſeech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmoſt rigour, with the ſame ſeverity as if I was the meaneſt of your ſubjects; and if I am found guilty, in any reſpect, of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever uſed an expreſſion that indicated diſloyalty or want of affection, let me be puniſhed as the vileſt miſcreant that ever diſgraced the name of ſon or ſubject. I will readily ſubmit to any puniſhment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beſeech you, with the utmoſt humility, both for the eaſe of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured ſon, to iſſue the neceſſary orders for making the rigorous ſcrutiny I now demand."

The king was greatly affected with this free, ingenuous, and pathetic addreſs. He took the prince in his arms, embraced him with tears, aſſured him, that all his ſuſpicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour. He even promiſed, that in order to remove every ſuſpicion from the minds of all ingenuous perſons, he would give him the names of his accuſers, that they might be brought to juſtice in the enſuing parliament. But the return of his diſorder put a final period to the enquiry.

The dreadful fits by which he was ſo often attacked, ſoon impaired his ſenſes; and he had been ſo frequently in danger of loſing his crown, that his imagination ſeems to have been ſtrongly impreſſed with that idea, which increaſed as his ſtrength and reaſoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of childiſh anxiety. He would not ſleep unleſs the royal diadem was laid on his pillow. One day he remained ſo long in a ſwoon, that his ſervants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from his pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. The king recovering the uſe of his ſenſes, and obſerving the diadem was removed, aſked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told that the prince had carried it away, he ordered him to be brought into his preſence. When young Henry appeared, the king, with an angry countenance, ſaid, "What! would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majeſty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now happily perceiving my miſtake, I return the diadem with far greater pleaſure than I took it." He accordingly re-placed the crown on the king's pillow; and having received his father's bleſſing, retired. A ſhort interval between the attacks of this dreadful diſeaſe inſpired Henry with the pleaſing hopes of recovery; and, agreeable to the cuſtom of that age of bigotry, he aſſumed the croſs, and made a ſolemn vow to heaven, to ſpend the remainder of his days in a war againſt the infidels, in order, if poſſible, to recover the Holy City from the enemies of the Chriſtian name. But he lived not to put his deſign in execution. He was ſeized with his laſt fit as he was paying his devotions before the ſhrine of St. Edward; and being carried into the Jeruſalem Chamber, belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter, he expired, on the twentieth of March, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The crimes committed by Henry, in order to uſurp the ſeat of power, muſt be conſidered as perpetual ſtains on his memory by every man who makes the leaſt pretenſions to follow the dictates of conſcience, or the eternal precepts of the moral law. It may, indeed, be ſaid, that the injuſtice with which he had been treated by Richard, gave occaſion to his crimes: for, in all probability, he never would have uſurped the crown, if that monarch had not deprived him of his patrimony. But one crime cannot juſtify another. The murder of a king, his near relation, and the excluſion of the true heir from the throne, will always render the name of Henry of Lancaſter obnoxious to the virtuous and the good. He ſeemed, indeed, himſelf, to be ſufficiently conſcious of the turpitude of his crimes; and the uneaſineſs with which he poſſeſſed his envied greatneſs, and the ſtings of conſcience which he perpetually felt, cannot fail of rendering him an object of our pity, even when ſeated upon the throne. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that he was endowed with many great and amiable qualities, which would have rendered him one of the greateſt monarchs that ever wore the diadem of England, had he not waded to the throne through the blood of his ſovereign. His prudence, his vigilance, and his foreſight, were admirable; his command of temper and preſence of mind remarkable; his courage, both military and political, free from fault. In a word, it was the flame of ambition that rendered Henry a tyrant, and the commiſſion of one crime made way for that of another.

Henry was twice married; firſt, while earl of Derby, to Mary, daughter of the earl of Hereford, by whom he had four ſons and two daughters.

1. Henry, ſurnamed of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, who ſucceeded his father in the throne.

2. Thomas, duke of Clarence.

3. John, duke of Bedford, afterwards regent of France.

4. Humphry, duke of Glouceſter, afterwards protector of England.

His daughters were,

1. Blanche, who married firſt the elector Palatine; ſecondly, the king of Arragon; and thirdly, the duke of Barr.

2. Philippa, married to Eric, king of Denmark and Norway.

Henry's ſecond wife was Joan, daughter to Charles I. king of Navarre, and widow of John Montfort, duke of Britany. By this princeſs he had no iſſue.

This period, like all the preceding, that of the great Alfred only excepted, furniſhes us with very few particulars relative to learning, and the arts adapted to excite either our curioſity or our admiration. It is, indeed, no wonder, that a proud, warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only thoſe arts which proclaimed their dignity, diſplayed their wealth, or contributed to their ſecurity. They were magnificent without luxury, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to the enamelling on gold, rich ſtuffs, and curious armour, were carried to exceſs; while their chairs were mere pedeſtals, their clothes

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

Wale del.
Walker Sculp.

**HENRY** *Prince of Wales taking the* **CROWN**
*from off the* **PILLOW** *of his Father* **HENRY IV.**

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

incumbrances; and they knew no uſe of ſteel, but as it ſerved for ſafety or deſtruction. Their houſes (for there was no medium between caſtles and houſes) implied the dangers, not the ſweets of ſociety; and whenever peace left them at leiſure to think of modes, they ſeemed to imagine, that faſhion conſiſted in diſfiguring the human body, inſtead of augmenting its graces. While the men wore ſhoes ſo long and pecked, that they were forced to ſupport the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected ſuch pyramids on their heads, that the face became the center of the body. It is, therefore, more amazing, that the arts exiſted at all in theſe times of Gothic barbarity, than that they attained no greater degree of perfection.

Some diſcoveries were, however, made during this period. We have, at the concluſion of the preceding book, mentioned the diſcovery of gunpowder by our learned countryman, friar Bacon. It was, however, applied to no farther uſe than that of exhibiting an uncommon natural phœnomenon, till about the year 1330, when Schwartz, a German monk of Cologne, either revived the invention of Bacon, or made this ſame diſcovery himſelf by accident; and imparted it immediately to the Venetians, who are ſaid to have firſt made uſe of it in a ſea-fight againſt the Genoeſe, in the year 1376. But if what many hiſtorians have aſſerted be true, namely, that Edward III. had a few pieces of cannon in his army at the battle of Crecy, in the year 1346, it will follow, that the Engliſh knew the uſe of gunpowder before the Genoeſe. But however that be, the making of gunpowder may be conſidered as one of the moſt ſingular diſcoveries that has ever been made in any age or country. It changed, by degrees, the whole art of war; and, in conſequence, many circumſtances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanic arts greatly impeded the progreſs of this new invention. The artillery firſt framed were ſo clumſy, and of ſuch difficult management, that men were not immediately ſenſible of their uſe and efficacy; and even to the preſent times improvements have been continually making on this furious engine; which, though it ſeemed contrived for the deſtruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has, in the iſſue, rendered war much leſs bloody, and, at the ſame time, given greater ſtability to civil ſocieties. Nations, by this means, have been brought more on a level; conqueſt has become leſs frequent and rapid; ſucceſs in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation overmatched by its enemy, either yields to their demands, or ſecures itſelf by alliances againſt their violence and invaſion.

The art of weaving received very conſiderable improvements during this period, by the great encouragement given to our woollen and linen manufactures by Edward III. and the two ſucceeding kings. The art of painting alſo began to be eſteemed; it was chiefly performed on board or glaſs.

In the year 1344, the firſt regular gold coins were ſtruck in England, and were of three different kinds; one of ſix ſhillings value; a ſecond of three ſhillings; and a third of eighteen pence. About the ſame time alſo, the art of gauging, or the method of finding the contents of all kinds of veſſels, was invented. The firſt mention of clocks in England was in the year 1368, though they had been invented in the ninth century by Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona.

Few perſons remarkable for their learning flouriſhed during this period. The moſt remarkable, beſides the few hiſtorians, were John Wickliffe and William of Wickham.

Wickliffe may be juſtly regarded as the father of the reformation, as he was the firſt in Europe who ventured to bring religion to the teſt of ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The auſterity of his life, and the ſanctity of his manners, added great weight to his doctrine. He was indefatigable in his labours, and generally went about bare-footed, in the habit of a pilgrim. He tranſlated the New Teſtament from the vulgate. Calmet ſays he tranſlated the whole Bible; and that there were ſeveral manuſcripts of this tranſlation, but that it was never printed. He died at his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leiceſterſhire, in 1385.

William of Wickham was conſidered as one of the moſt learned perſons of his age; and it appears, that his great and uſeful talents, eſpecially his ſkill in architecture, recommended him to the favour of Edward III. He perſuaded that prince to pull down a great part of Windſor-caſtle, and rebuild it from his plan, in that plain magnificence in which it appears at preſent. He alſo drew the plan, and ſuperintended the building of Queenborough caſtle. He was afterwards made ſecretary of ſtate, and lord privy-ſeal, and enjoyed other accumulated preferments before he was promoted to the ſee of Wincheſter. He died on the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1404.

The moſt noted hiſtorians of this period were,

Thomas Wikes. His hiſtory begins at the Conqueſt, and ends with the death of Edward I. He was a canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford; and the part of his work which relates to the barons wars is clear and explicit. His hiſtory was publiſhed by Dr. Gale, in his Hiſt. Angl. vol. 2.

John Brompton, abbot of Joreval, in Yorkſhire, wrote a chronicle of the principal tranſactions of England. It was publiſhed among the Decem Scriptores. It begins with the coming of Auguſtine the monk, and ends with the death of Richard I.

Matthew, a Benedictine monk of Weſtminſter, finiſhed his hiſtory with the year 1307, and died ſoon after. But the work has been continued by ſeveral hands, eſpecially by Adam Merimath, a canon regular of St. Paul's, who devoted the latter part of his life to the ſtudy of Engliſh hiſtory.

# BOOK IX.

## From the acceſſion of Henry V. to the death of Henry VII.

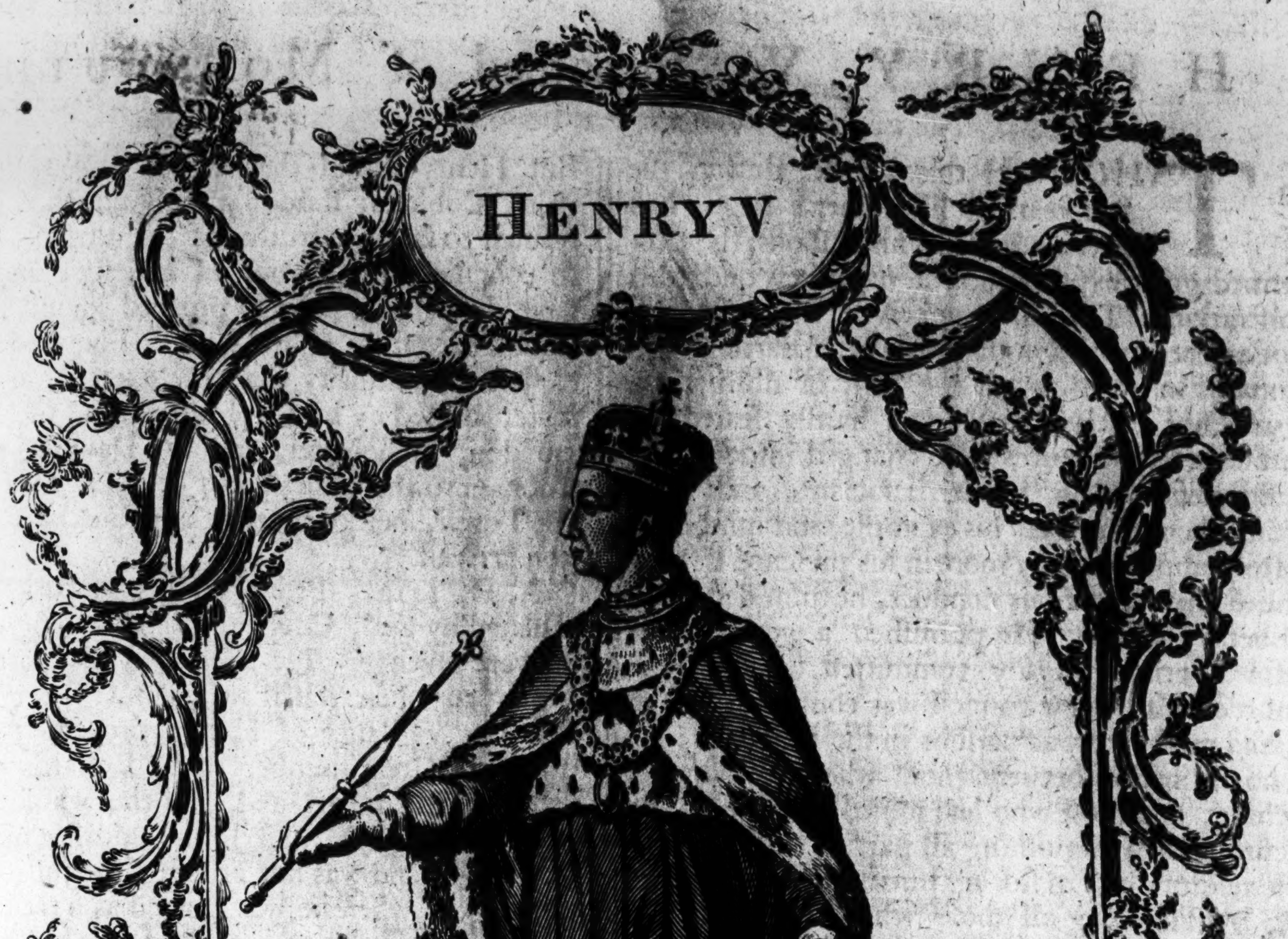
## HENRY V. ſurnamed of MONMOUTH.

A.D. 1413. THOUGH this prince, during the laſt years of his father's reign, had given a looſe to his paſſions, the people formed great expectations of happineſs under his adminiſtration. They had perceived many indications of a generous and noble ſpirit often darting with uncommon luſtre through the miſt of diſſipation. They were not deceived. He was hardly ſeated on the throne before his vices were changed into virtues. He called together his former aſſociates, and after exhorting them to imitate his example, and inhibiting them from appearing any more in his preſence if they continued their licentious conduct, he diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. He publiſhed a general amneſty for all crimes already committed, except rape and murder. His new council was compoſed of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous perſons in the kingdom: he made no diſtinction between thoſe who had adhered to Richard, and thoſe who had joined his father; he was deſirous of extinguiſhing all parties. He ſhewed a noble reſolution of reſtoring purity to the courts of juſtice, by diſplacing all thoſe who had not filled their poſts with integrity. Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, who trembled to approach the royal preſence, was received with the utmoſt marks of eſteem; his ſtrict and impartial execution of the laws was applauded, and inſtead of reproaches he was loaded with favours. "Perſevere," ſaid Henry, "in the ſame noble conduct, and ſupport the dignity of the laws of your country againſt all oppoſition." He treated the earl of Marche with ſo much attention and reſpect, that he forgot his right to the ſceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title. He reſtored the noble family of Piercy to their former honours and eſtates, and laboured ſincerely to bury all animoſities in the grave of oblivion.

But the party diſtinction with regard to religion continued to increaſe; all the abilities of Henry to reſtore the tranquillity of the church were exerted in vain. The ſect of the Lollards were every day increaſing in the kingdom, and ſeemed extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil power. Sir John Oldcaſtle, ſtiled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham, was conſidered as the head of the Lollards. He was a perſon of great parts, invincible courage, and eminently diſtinguiſhed for his experience in military affairs; virtues which had greatly recommended him to the favour of Henry. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was highly incenſed againſt the Lollards, was deſirous of indicting lord Cobham, perſuaded that the leader of the party was the moſt proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity. But Cobham was too great a favourite with the king for the archbiſhop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, and requeſted permiſſion to proceed againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle. The king, who was no friend to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, repreſented to the primate, that reaſon and perſuaſion were the beſt means of ſupporting truth, and correcting error; that every gentle method ſhould be uſed in order to bring back theſe deluded people to the boſom of the church; and that he himſelf would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith. But Henry found that all his arguments were in vain; Cobham, though greatly attached to Henry, refuſed to ſacrifice truths of the utmoſt importance to conciliate the favour of majeſty; and the king gave the primate leave to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt extremity of the laws. The violence of eccleſiaſtical authority was now exerted, and the primate, aſſiſted by his three ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St. David's, condemned Cobham to the flames; but he made his eſcape from the Tower, before the day appointed for his execution arrived.

A. D. 1414. Provoked by perſecution, and ſtimulated by zeal, Cobham formed a deſign for taking a ſevere revenge. He aſſembled his partizans, and began an open rebellion againſt the government. But the vigilance of Henry prevented the conſequences. Great numbers of the Lollards were ſeized, ſeveral of them executed, and the whole conſpiracy rendered abortive. Sir John Oldcaſtle himſelf made his eſcape, and was not brought to juſtice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt on the gibbet, conformable to the ſentence pronounced againſt him as a heretic. This revolt diſcredited the party, and checked their progreſs. The parliament increaſed the rigours of the penal laws; but, at the ſame time, petitioned the king to ſeize the revenues of the clergy for the uſe of the crown. So great an effect had the principles of Wickliffe made on the minds of perſons, who were far from being friends to the enthuſiaſm of the Lollards. The clergy were ſufficiently alarmed; they offered the king all the revenues of the alien priories; but this, in all probability, would not have been ſufficient to divert the ſtorm, if the primate had not fortunately directed the attention of Henry to a very different object. He perſuaded him to undertake a war againſt France, in order to recover the provinces that had been wreſted from his anceſtors.

That kingdom was indeed now reduced to the moſt deplorable condition. Charles VI. had been ſeized with a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his ſenſes were gradually but inſenſibly impaired; ſo that he was incapable of purſuing any ſettled plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his couſin-german, after ſuſtaining the moſt violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, agreed to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip, and ſwore at the altar to the ſincerity of their intentions. But notwithſtanding they had invoked heaven as a witneſs between them, very little regard was paid to the ſacredneſs of their promiſe; the duke of Orleans was ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had the inſolence to avow openly and defend the juſtice of the action, which he termed tyrannicide. The dreadful conſequences of ſo vile a tenet were ſoon diſplayed. A reconciliation between the two parties was now impoſſible; the whole kingdom in general, and the capital


HENRY V
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pital in particular, became a moſt dreaful ſcene of blood and violence. The Burgundians and the Armagnaes, adherents to the young duke of Orleans, ſacrificed the intereſt of the ſtate to their ſanguinary revenge.

A. D. 1415. Henry took advantage of theſe confuſions; the inſtigations of the primate determined him on hoſtilities. In order, however, to conceal his real intentions, he ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy to France with the offer of a perpetual peace and alliance between the two crowns, but demanded in return, the French king's daughter in marriage, with two millions of crowns for her portion; the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand, as the arrears of the late king John's ranſom; the immediate poſſeſſion, and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces, which Philip Auguſtus had wreſted from the crown of England, together with the ſuperiority of Britany and Flanders.

The exorbitant nature of theſe demands, ſufficiently indicates, that Henry, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs of the French monarchy, never expected they could be granted. And the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, abundantly demonſtrate the conſciouſneſs of their melancholy condition. They agreed to give him the princeſs in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns; to inveſt him with the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Rovergne, Xaintonge, Angoumois, and other territories.

Theſe terms, however advantageous, were rejected by Henry, and he determined to erect his ſtandards in the fields of France, and attempt a conqueſt from which the example of his predeceſſors ought to have deterred him. The ardour of the nation to follow their ſovereign, exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, and freed him from any apprehenſions of his finances being inſufficient for the payment of his forces. The earl of Northumberland levied forty men at arms, and one hundred and twenty archers; the earl of Weſtmorland the ſame number; the earl of Warwick twenty men at arms and forty archers; the earl of Suffolk, the lords Zouch, Berkley, d'Arcy, Seymour, Roſs, and Willoughby, contributed four ſhips, one hundred and forty men at arms, and two hundred and eighty archers; and the reſt of the nobility in the ſame proportion.

But while the neceſſary preparations were making for this expedition, the earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon to the late duke of York, conſpired to place the earl of Marche on the Engliſh throne; but the deſign was diſcovered, and Cambridge, together with the reſt of the conſpirators, condemned and executed. The earl of Marche, who was accuſed of having given encouragement to this enterprize, received a free pardon from the king, and was again admitted to his friendſhip.

The conſpiracy being thus terminated, Henry embarked his forces at Southampton, on board a fleet of fifteen hundred tranſports. His army conſiſted of ſix thouſand men at arms, with their followers, and twenty-four thouſand archers; the whole forming an army of about fifty thouſand men; among whom were the earls of Dorſet, Kent, Cornwall, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, and ſeveral others of the principal nobility. After a pleaſant paſſage, Henry landed at Caux in Normandy, a ſmall port in the mouth of the Seine, about three leagues from Harfleur, which he immediately beſieged. The place was commanded by the lord of Ercouteville, at the head of a numerous garriſon of veterans, who made a noble defence. But the artillery of the Engliſh forces made large breaches in the walls, and the governor agreed to ſurrender the place if not relieved by a certain time. The conditions were accepted, and all hoſtilities ceaſed; but the governor delaying, under various pretences, to open the gates, agreeable to the articles of capitulation, Henry ordered a general attack, and the place was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon, except a few gentlemen, whom the troops thought proper to ſpare, in order to profit by their ranſom, were put to the ſword.

The appearance of an Engliſh army, and the reduction of the ſtrong port of Harfleur, alarmed the whole French monarchy; private animoſities were for a time forgotten, and both parties joined in reſiſting an army whoſe progreſs threatened the deſtruction of the ſtate. The whole French nobility flew to arms, and a numerous army was immediately raiſed to check the progreſs of the invaders. The dauphin himſelf took the field in perſon, at the head of an army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and was ſoon joined by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Brabant, the conſtable d'Albret, the counts of Nevers, Vendome, and Richemont, the flower of the French nobility, and above forty thouſand men, eager to ſignalize their loyalty to their king, and their valour againſt the invaders of their country.

The ſituation of the Engliſh army was very different. They had ſuffered greatly during the ſiege of Harfleur, by ſickneſs; two thouſand common ſoldiers, beſides a great number of perſons of diſtinction, had been carried off by a bloody flux, and many had been obliged to return to England, in order to recover their health by the aſſiſtance of the air of their natural climate. The diſtreſs of his people afflicted the heart of Henry; his fleet had been diſperſed by ſtorms; proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, and the only reſource in his preſent condition, was to march his army by land to Calais, over a prodigious extent of land, in an enemy's country, and in the face of an army vaſtly ſuperior in numbers to his own. Henry ſaw all the dangers of his ſituation; but was determined to proceed. Accordingly he marched by ſlow and deliberate marches, that his own army might not be diſcouraged by the appearance of a precipitate flight, nor ſo frequently expoſed to the attacks of the light ſquadrons of the enemy. In this manner he continued his rout to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to paſs at the ford where Edward the third croſſed that ſtream, when reduced to a ſimilar ſituation by Philip de Valois. But he found the ford was now rendered impaſſable by a great number of ſharp ſtakes drove into the bed of the river, and the oppoſite bank ſtrongly guarded by numerous detachments of the enemy. He was therefore obliged to change his courſe, and was fortunate enough to ſeize by ſurprize a paſſage near St. Quintin, where his whole army paſſed with ſafety.

He, however, ſoon perceived that the paſſage of the Somme was not the only difficulty that oppoſed his intended march to Calais. He perceived, from the heights of Blangi, the whole French army, conſiſting of above an hundred thouſand men, drawn up on the plains of Agincourt, to oppoſe his paſſage. Henry's army was reduced to almoſt half the number that landed near Harfleur, and even theſe diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and debilitated by ſickneſs and continual duty. In this alarming ſituation, Henry offered to ſacrifice his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but the French generals were deaf to every propoſal for an accommodation; nothing leſs than the captivity of the whole Engliſh army would ſatisfy their ambition.

An engagement was now inevitable, and Henry employed every means that human prudence could ſuggeſt to inſpire the troops with courage for the approaching conteſt. He recalled to their remembrance the glorious actions of their predeceſſors in the fields of Crecy and Poictiers, againſt an amazing ſuperiority of the enemy. The ſoldiers caught the heroic ſentiments of their leader: the advantage of numbers was no longer regarded; they wiſhed only to be led againſt the French. Henry drew up his little army between two woods, which guarded each flank; and in that poſition waited for the attack of the enemy.

The French army was divided into three lines.

The firſt, beſides a great number of other troops, was compoſed of eight thouſand gentlemen, commanded by the conſtable d'Albret, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the famous marſhal Boucicaut, David Rambure, grand-maſter of the croſs-bow-men, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The ſecond line was led by the duke of Alençon, aſſiſted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenberg, and the ſieur de Lannoy.

Henry, while the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, detached four hundred lances, to take poſt in a wood on the right; and alſo a party of two hundred and fifty archers to lay in ambuſh on the left, in a low meadow covered with buſhes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, aſſiſted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The center was commanded by Henry in perſon, attended by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, the earl-marſhal, the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which conſiſted wholly of archers, and ſuch as were armed with ſpears, halberts, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorſet. The chief ſtrength of the Engliſh army conſiſted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horſe would break them by the fury of the firſt charge, ordered the archers to fix into the ground piles, or ſtakes, pointed at both ends with iron, and ſix or ſeven feet long, in their front, and alſo on their flanks, or intervals between the horſe and foot. Theſe formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were ſecure from the violent charge of the enemy's cavalry.

The two armies, ranged in order of battle, ſtood facing each other the greater part of the day; the Engliſh not caring to advance, leſt they ſhould loſe the advantage of the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded together than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main diviſion, the two wings moving at the ſame time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt; when the French horſe moved forwards to attack the Engliſh archers. Upon which the latter halted, pitched their ſtakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little towards the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows which nothing could reſiſt: the ranks were thinned, and the line thrown into great diſorder. The archers who lay in ambuſh among the buſhes of the meadow, charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. The Engliſh took advantage of the enemy's diſorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almoſt without reſiſtance. The conſtable perceiving the diſtreſs of his advanced party, haſtened to their aſſiſtance, but under terrible diſadvantages; for the ſoil being wet and miry, both horſe and foot moved with the greateſt difficulty; and continuing ſtill to preſs more cloſely upon one another, preſented a defenceleſs front to the Engliſh, who ſoon threw the whole line into irretrievable diſorder: their buſineſs was rather that of executioners than ſoldiers. The field was now covered with the diſmounted, the ſlain, and the wounded; men and horſes were blended in one dreadful confuſion. The conſtable himſelf, together with the principal commanders of the firſt line, were left dead on the field of battle. The whole body was totally defeated, and a general flight enſued.

The duke d'Alençon, at the head of the ſecond line, ſtood firm in an adjacent field; and, on perceiving the route of the firſt diviſion, advanced to repair the diſgrace of his countrymen. Henry met him at the head of his center, and a dreadful conteſt enſued, eſpecially round the king's perſon. D'Alençon, in order to ſnatch, if poſſible, the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valour to watch attentively the motions of the Engliſh monarch, and uſe their utmoſt efforts either to kill, or take him priſoner. But the genius of Henry ſaved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing ſucceſs of his archers, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by actions worthy of an Engliſh monarch, the king alighted from his horſe, and advanced, at the head of his diviſion, with a confidence which ſeemed to inſure the victory. He charged the enemy with ſuch fury as was almoſt irreſiſtible, and was met by d'Alençon with a ſpirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmneſs that deſerved a better fate. The French knights, who had never loſt ſight of Henry, cut themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where he fought in perſon; and ruſhing upon him with the utmoſt violence, would, probably, have made themſelves maſters of his perſon, had not David Gam, a Welſh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their ſovereign, flown to his aſſiſtance; and all the eighteen knights ſoon fell, breathleſs, on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were alſo mortally wounded. Henry, to ſhew his gratitude for their generous aſſiſtance, knighted them all as they lay on the field. Having paid this generous tribute of acknowledgment to merit and loyalty, Henry darted into the thickeſt part of the battle, to revenge the late attempt againſt his life; but his ardour and impetuoſity again involved him in the moſt imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who had fought by his ſide, was ſtruck to the ground, and the enemy preſſed in crowds to avail themſelves of the incident. Henry was again ſurrounded by a hoſt of foes, but he was a ſtranger to fear: he covered the body of his brother with his ſhield, and defended him with his ſword. In this ſituation he received ſo violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, poſſibly, have been ſeized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his aſſiſtance, at the head of the freſh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy; they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming ſituation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the French with ſuch fury, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock; they fell into diſorder, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued.

Driven to deſpair at ſeeing the defeat of his diviſion, d'Alençon made one furious effort, determined either to retrieve the battle, or ſpare himſelf the mortification of ſurviving the diſgrace of his country. He put himſelf at the head of a choſen band of volunteers; and cutting his way to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, ruſhed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his ſide, and, with a furious ſtroke of his ſword, cleft the crown on Henry's helmet. The monarch returned the ſalutation with ſuch violence, that he fell to the ground, and was immediately diſpatched by his followers. The death of D'Alençon completed the rout of his diviſion: they conſulted their ſafety in a precipitate and diſorderly flight.

All reſiſtance was now over. The third line of the French, indeed, ſtill ſtood firm, were more numerous than the whole Engliſh army, and might have renewed the battle with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs, had they not been ſeized with a general panic. But the deſtruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thoughts of reſiſtance, and they retired from the field of battle without having exchanged a ſingle blow with the Engliſh. But the firſt line had now rallied themſelves, and ſeemed to advance with a reſolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the ſame time, ſome gentlemen of Picardy having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen on the Engliſh baggage, and were deſtroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on ſeeing the enemy both in his front and rear, began to entertain apprehenſions leſt his priſoners ſhould alſo join in the attempt to

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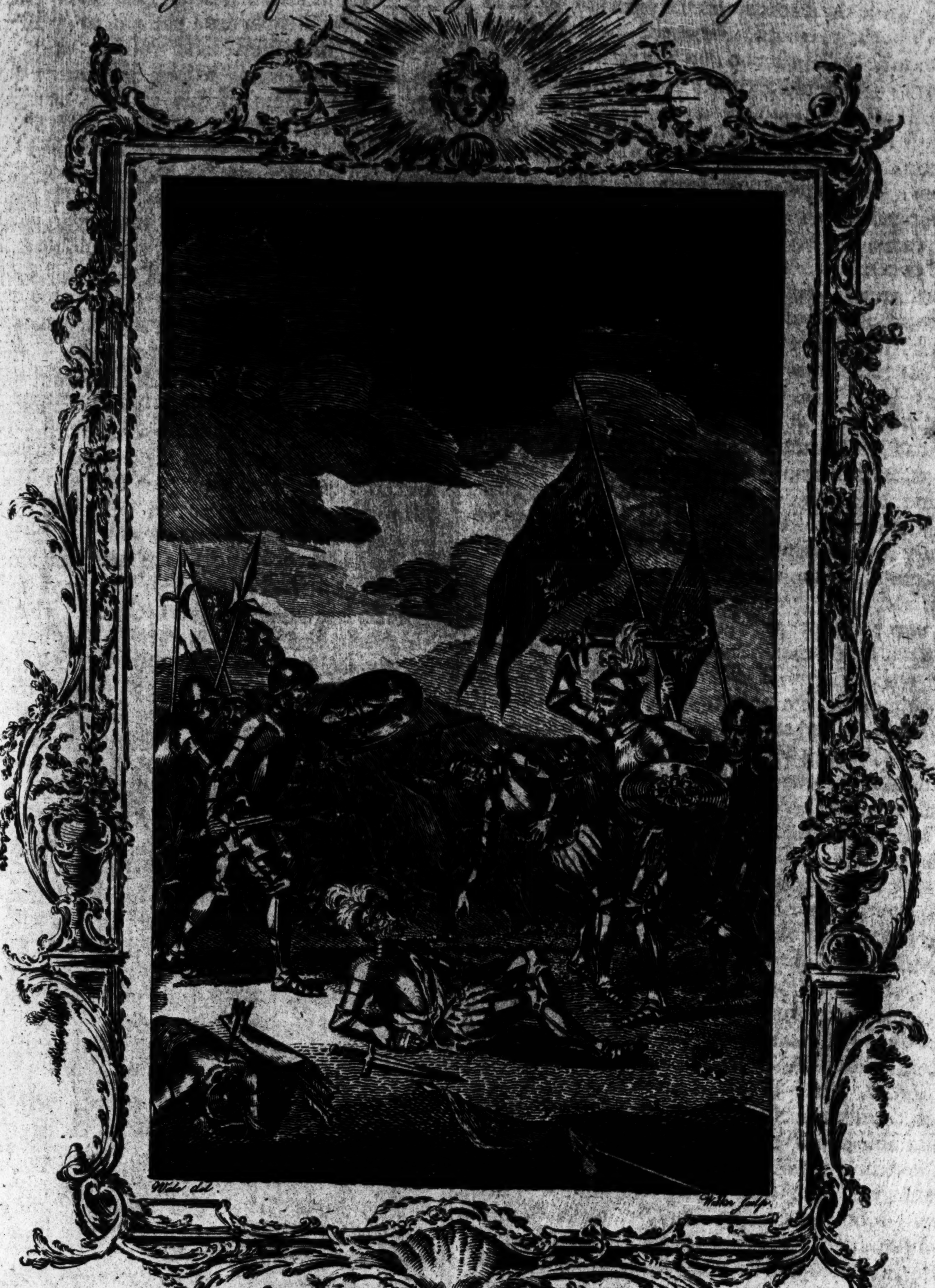
Wale del.
Walker ſculp.

The Battle of Agincourt.

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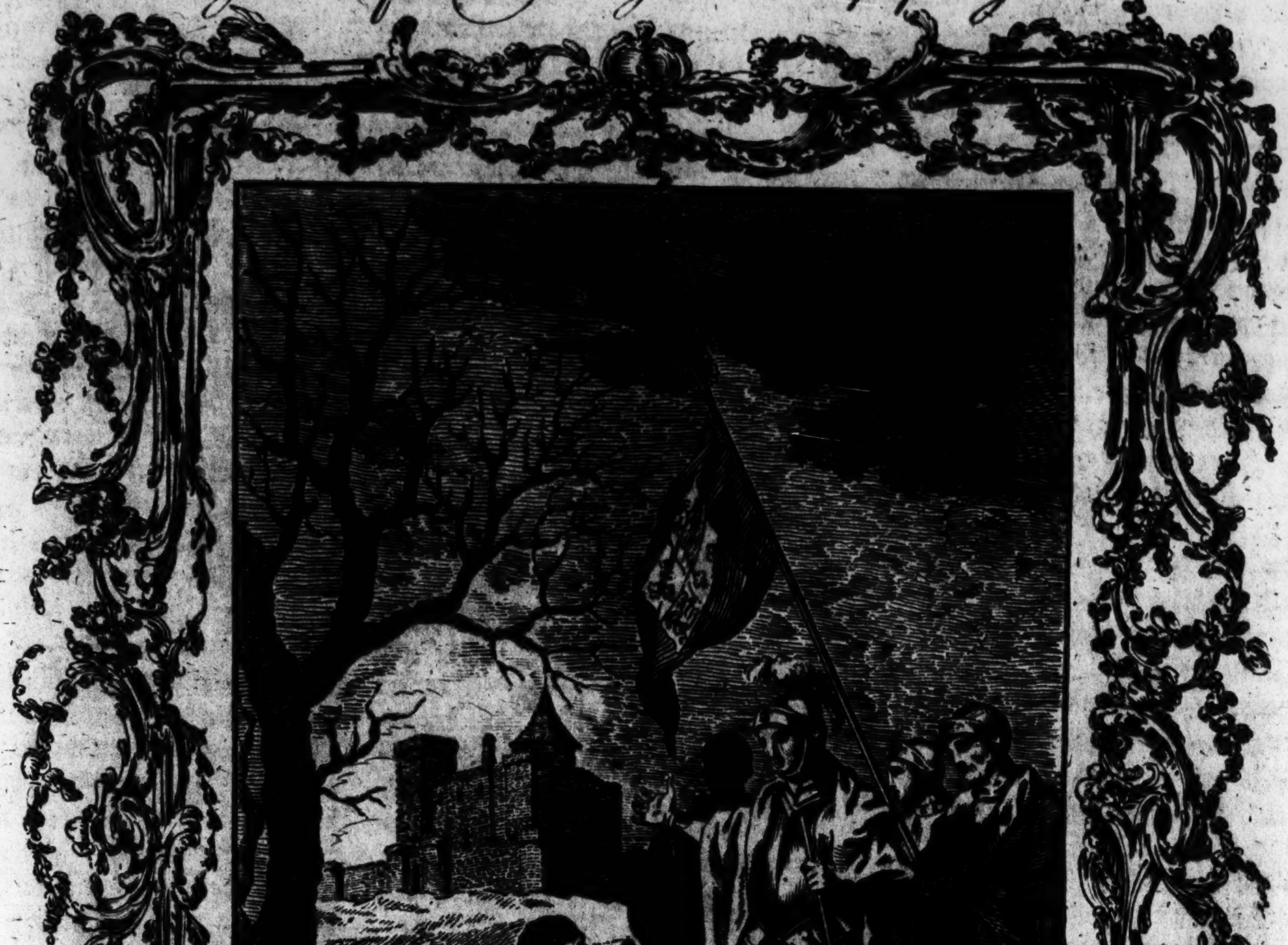

Wale del. Grignion Sculp.

*The Battle of Agincourt named by* HENRY V

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tear the wreath of laurel from his brow; and therefore thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death; but, on diſcovering the real cauſe, he put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, and the greater part of them were preſerved.

This battle was fatal to France, on account of the great number of princes and nobility either ſlain or taken priſoners. Among the former was the conſtable d'Albret, the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alençon, the count of Marle, and the archbiſhop of Sens. Among the priſoners, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the marſhal de Boucicaut, were the moſt remarkable. Henry was maſter of fourteen thouſand priſoners. Ten thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen in this battle; and as the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that eight thouſand of them were gentlemen. The Engliſh loſt only forty men; among whom the perſon of the greateſt note was the duke of York, whoſe death was more honourable than his life.

A public thankſgiving was now held in the Engliſh army for this ſignal and unexpected victory; and as ſoon as that decent tribute of gratitude was performed, Henry ſent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been diſpatched from the dauphin to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead, and aſked him to whom he thought the victory belonged; the herald replied, to the Engliſh. Henry then deſired to know the name of a village to which he pointed with his hand; and being told it was called the Caſtle of Agincourt, "Let this action" ſaid the king, "be hereafter known by the appellation of The Battle of Agincourt."

Had Henry known how to have made a proper advantage of his victory, and the dreadful conſternation of the enemy, every thing muſt, in all probability, have ſubmitted to his arms. But the poverty of the princes of Europe in theſe times, and the ſmall reſources of their kingdoms, rendered it impoſſible for them to maintain an army, for any length of time, in the field; and this, perhaps, was the true reaſon why Henry attempted not to profit any farther from his victory. He purſued his route, by eaſy marches, to Calais; and, after reſting his forces, embarked for Dover, where he landed on the ſixteenth of November.

But the diſtreſs occaſioned by the battle of Agincourt was ſo far from being ſufficient to put a period to the fury of factions in France, that they continued to rage with ſtill greater violence. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of intereſt, were ſacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to reinſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the government. Iſabella of Bavaria, the wife of the unfortunate Charles VI. deteſtable in her character, and capable of the greateſt crimes, having been baniſhed to Tours, entered into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt the dauphin, who was attached to the oppoſite party. The duke of Burgundy now entered France at the head of an army, reduced ſeveral ſtrong places, releaſed the queen from her confinement, and made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon. Paris was a ſecond time deluged with blood; and nothing but an invaſion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom.

A. D. 1418. Nor was that additional ſcourge of heaven long delayed. Henry landed at Beville, in Normandy, on the firſt of Auguſt, at the head of an army of twenty-eight thouſand men. Falaiſe, Cherbourgh, Evreux, and Caen, ſubmitted to him, and he inveſted the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garriſon, Henry was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade; and ſeveral negotiations for a peace were carried on between the king of England and the leaders of both factions, but without ſucceſs.

A. D. 1419. The garriſon of Rouen was now reduced to extremity by famine, and deſired to capitulate. Henry very readily liſtened to their propoſals; and it was agreed, that on paying a ſtipulated contribution, the city ſhould be preſerved from plunder. The ſurrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortreſſes in Upper Normandy. But a ſudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly contributed to diminiſh Henry's expectations of ſucceſs. This reconciliation was, however, blaſted, even in the bud. The duke and the dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montereau, the former was there aſſaſſinated by ſome noblemen in the train of the latter. They had ſeized this opportunity of revenging the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans. The moſt dreadful conſequences followed this deſperate act. The dauphin was accuſed of the crime, becauſe it was perpetrated in his preſence, and by his moſt intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with deſtruction, and conſpired the ruin of the kingdom. Every ſentiment of honour, of patriotiſm, and even of perſonal intereſt, gave way to the tranſports of revenge. During theſe tranſactions, Henry had made himſelf maſter of Pontoiſe and Giſors, advanced to the gates of Paris, and obliged the court to remove to Troye. His enemies, inſtead of combining againſt him, abandoned to him the kingdom.

A. D. 1420. Propoſals for a general peace were now made to Henry by the queen and duke of Burgundy; and the terms being agreed upon, Henry, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, repaired to Troye, in order to conclude that famous treaty, by which a weak monarch, a furious woman, and a prince of the blood, enraged againſt his country, gave the crown of France to a ſtranger.

This treaty conſiſted of a great number of articles; but the following are the principal: That Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catharine: That Charles, during his life, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: That Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government: That the crown of France ſhould deſcend to his heirs: That France and England ſhould be for ever united under one king; but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges: That all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, both that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and alſo pay him preſent obedience as regent: That Henry ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that thoſe princes ſhould make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common conſent and agreement.

This treaty was followed by the marriage of Henry with the princeſs Catharine, eſteemed the greateſt fortune and the fineſt woman of her time. The ſtates of the kingdom, and the parliament of Paris ſwore obedience to the king of England, who now aſſumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom. The dauphin, in the mean time, behaved with ſurpriſing ſpirit and intrepidity. He had diſpatched the count de Vendome to ſollicit a ſupply of men from the Scots, whoſe king ſtill remained a priſoner in England. The regent, however, reflecting, that if Henry became abſolute maſter of France, his country muſt be the next victim to his ambition, reſolved to aſſiſt the dauphin; and accordingly a ſupply of ſeven thouſand men was ſent him, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Aſſiſted by theſe forces, the dauphin made himſelf maſter of Pont de l'Eſprit and Niſmes, in Languedoc; and threw ſtrong garriſons into Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne.

Henry perceived that it was now neceſſary to take the field, in order to check the progreſs of the dauphin. He firſt marched againſt Sens, which ſubmitted, after a very faint oppoſition. Montereau opened its gates at the firſt ſummons, and ſeveral ſmall towns followed its example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with more difficulty. Great part of that city was encompaſſed with the river Seine, and the whole defended by a ſtrong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbaſon, one of the beſt officers in France, commanded the garriſon, and made a noble defence. The place was inveſted on the twelfth of July, and did not ſurrender till the eighteenth of November, when famine forced the garriſon to ſubmit; but not without capitulating for their lives; it being agreed that none of the garriſon or inhabitants ſhould be put to death, except ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. Barbaſon himſelf was ſuſpected of being one of the aſſaſſins; but by the interceſſion of Henry his puniſhment was changed into perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1421. The ſupplies granted by the ſtates of France not being ſufficient to anſwer the complicated exigencies of the ſtate, Henry found it neceſſary to paſs over into England in order to procure a ſubſidy from the parliament. The ſupply was granted; but the parliament preſented an addreſs, in which they obſerved, that the conqueſt of France might, in all probability, prove the ruin of England, which would be in the utmoſt danger of becoming a province of that kingdom: they already perceived that the intereſt of the monarch and that of the nation, were no longer the ſame.

During the abſence of Henry, the dauphin, aſſiſted by a body of ſeven thouſand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeated the duke of Clarence at Baugé in Anjou. The duke was ſlain in the action, and the earls of Somerſet, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken priſoners. Upwards of eleven hundred men fell in the action. The earl of Buchan, as a reward for his conduct and courage, was honoured with the office of conſtable of France.

Theſe advantages alarmed Henry, and he paſſed over to Calais at the head of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand archers. The dauphin, knowing it would be madneſs for him to meet the Engliſh monarch in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, and determined to act wholly on the defenſive. Henry ſoon recovered the places he had loſt, and made himſelf maſter of Dreux, Tiſliers, Nogent, Gallorden, and ſeveral other caſtles. The garriſon of Meaux had for ſome time greatly haraſſed the inhabitants of Paris, at whoſe particular requeſt Henry inveſted the place, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by the baſtard of Vaurus, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf both by his courage and cruelty againſt the Engliſh.

A. D. 1421. After a ſiege of ſeven months, the garriſon, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity deſired to capitulate; their requeſt was granted, and it was agreed that all the inhabitants and ſoldiers ſhould have their lives preſerved: but that all the Engliſh, Welſh, Iriſh, and Scotch, who carried arms in the place, ſhould be entirely at the king's mercy, together with the baſtard of Vaurus, and three other officers of the garriſon. Theſe terms were agreed to, and all the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, found among the garriſon, together with all thoſe who had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were immediately put to death. The governor Vaurus, underwent an exemplary fate; the bravery of that officer could be exceeded by nothing but his cruelty; he uſed to hang, without any diſtinction of age or quality, all the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into his hands: Henry, highly incenſed at ſuch a barbarous and ſhocking practice, cauſed him to be hanged on the ſame tree, which he had made the inſtrument of his inhuman executions.

The reduction of Meaux was followed by that of Compeigne, Gamaches, and St. Valery. By theſe acquiſitions Henry ſaw himſelf maſter of all France on this ſide the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the caſtles of Guiſe and Crotoy, in Picardy. And to crown all the other proſperities of Henry, his queen was delivered at Windſor of a ſon, who was called by his father's name, and whoſe birth was celebrated by rejoicings equally pompous and equally ſincere, at Paris and at London.

A. D. 1422. But the glory of Henry had now nearly reached its ſummit; his career of glory was arreſted by the king of terrors, and all his mighty projects vaniſhed like the miſt of the morning. He was ſeized with a fiſtula, which the ſurgeons at that time knew not how to cure, and was ſoon convinced that his diſeaſe was mortal. He ſent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the Engliſh nobility who happened to be near him, and delivered to them, with great tranquillity, his laſt inſtructions, which were to the following effect:

He began with obſerving that though his life had been ſhort, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happineſs of his people; that though his pretenſions to the crown of France had proved the deſtruction of many thouſands, yet theſe calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to thoſe whoſe obſtinacy and injuſtice had forced him to have recourſe to arms, by refuſing to accept of a reaſonable peace: that he ſhould have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his laſt moments been ſomewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finiſh a war he had ſo happily begun; but hoped they would continue towards his infant ſon the ſame fidelity and attachment which they had profeſſed during his life, and which had been cemented by ſo many mutual good offices. He added, as his laſt advice, that if they found themſelves unable to place his ſon on the throne of France, they would never at leaſt make peace with that kingdom, unleſs the dutchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England; and earneſtly requeſted that they would aſſiduouſly cultivate the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his ſon was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldeſt brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger the duke of Glouceſter, and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick.

All the noblemen promiſed to obſerve faithfully his dying inſtructions, and to pay the ſame obedience to his infant ſon as they had done to himſelf. Comforted with theſe aſſurances, Henry made preparations for his approaching diſſolution; and declared, in his laſt moments, that he ſeriouſly intended to have made a cruſade againſt the infidels, as ſoon as he had finiſhed the conqueſt of France; an enterprize which he vainly imagined would have expiated all the calamities occaſioned by his wars. He paid the debt of nature on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

Henry poſſeſſed many great and noble qualities. He was affable, polite, generous, and magnanimous; ſincere in his attachments, a friend to juſtice, a friend to merit, and a friend to his country. He excelled all his cotemporaries in perſonal courage, and military atchievements. His abilities were great, his judgment ſound, his genius extenſive; he was equally qualified to ſhine both in the cabinet and the field. He enjoyed the ſingular talent of attaching his friends by affability, and gaining his enemies by clemency and addreſs. In a word, he would have merited all the encomiums to which a great hero, and a great king are entitled, if he had not ſullied his glory by the injuſtice of uſurpation; though thoſe who are willing to give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, will not conſider this as a fault; perhaps they will rank it among his virtues.

Henry left only one ſon, who was not full nine months old at the death of his father. His widow, Catherine of France, married, ſoon after his death, a Welſh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country.

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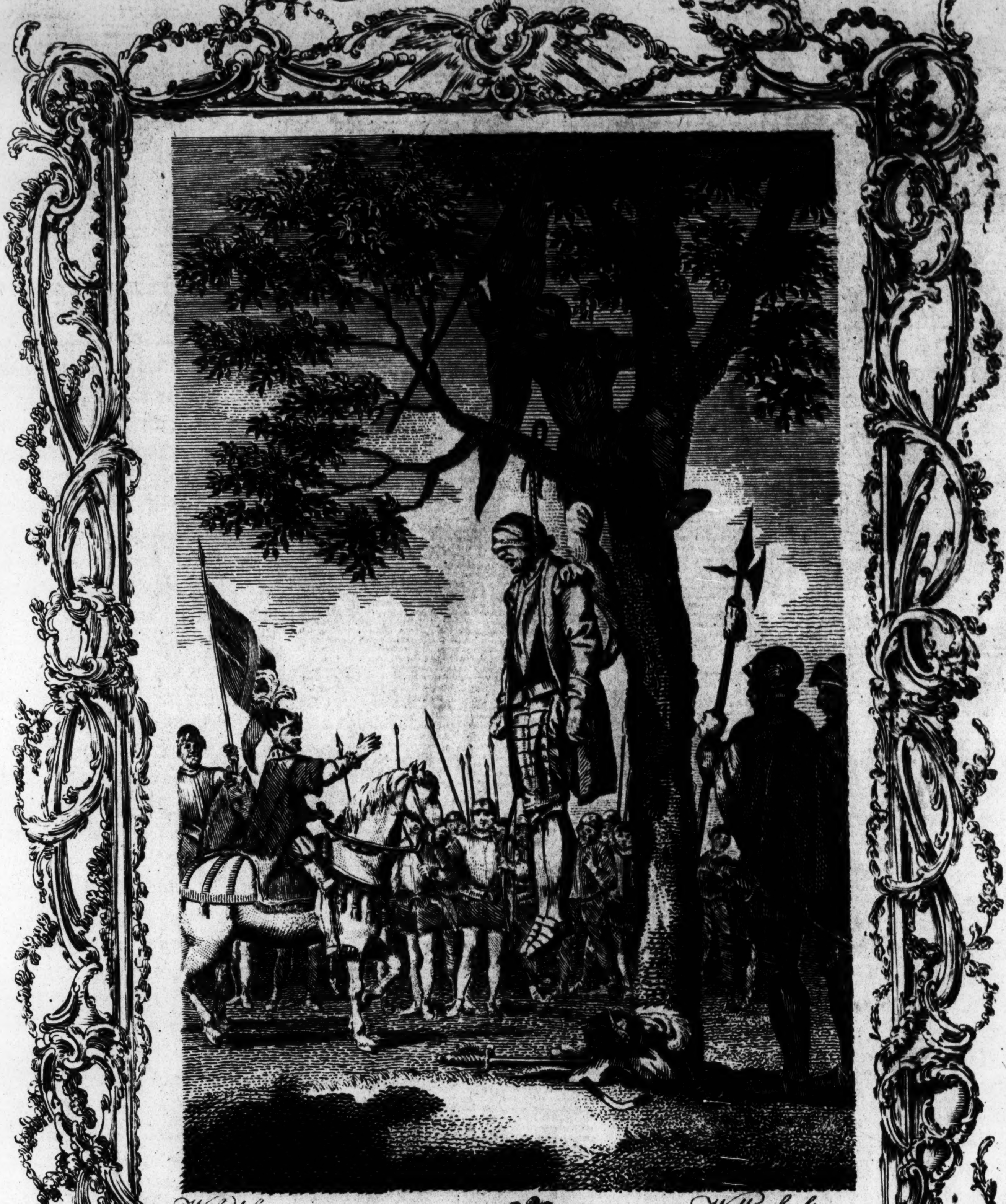
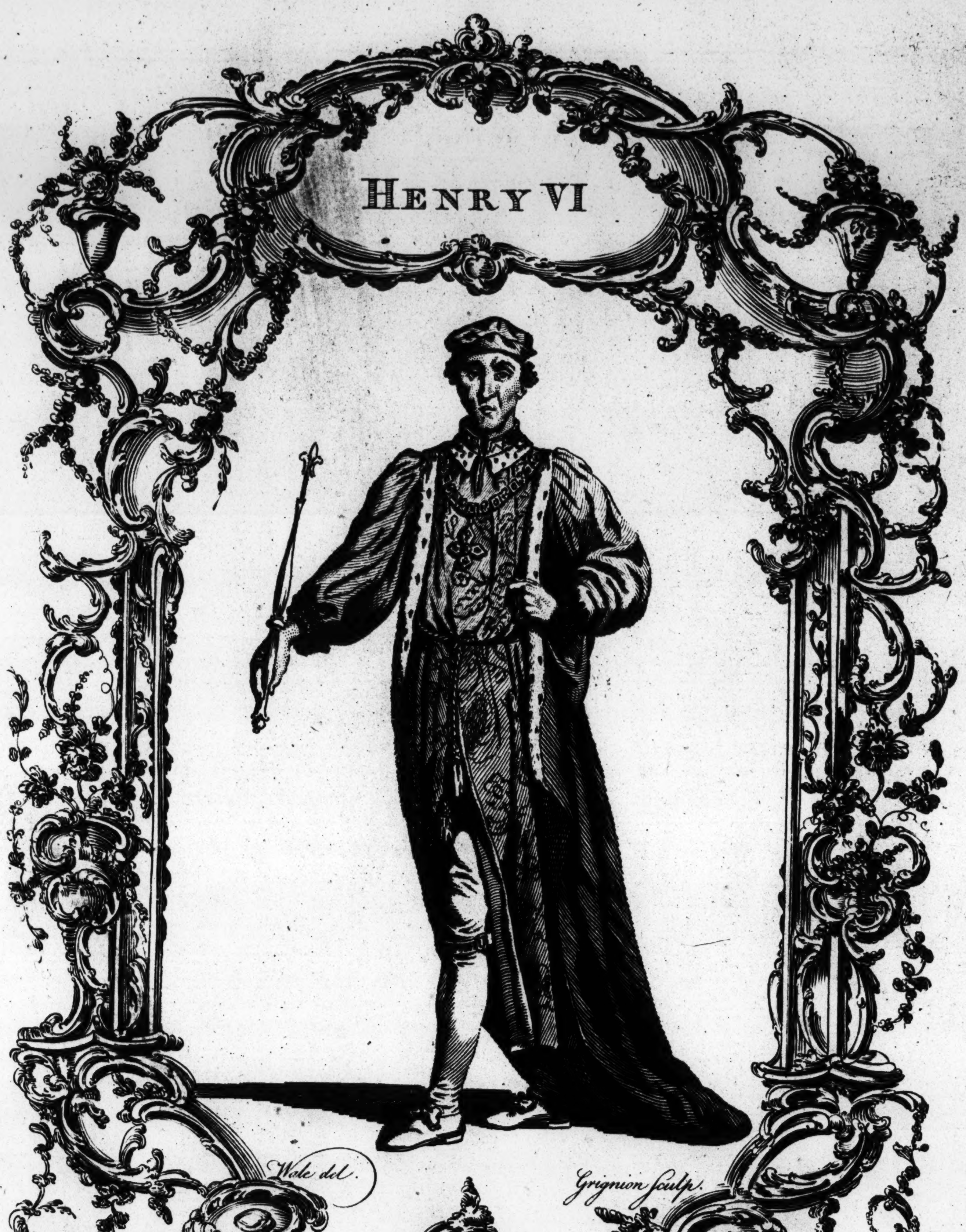

Wale del.
Walker sculp.

The GOVERNOR of MEAUX
Executed on the Tree whereon he used to hang his English Prisoners


HENRY VI
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

She bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper; the elder of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the younger earl of Pembroke. By this alliance the family of Tudor was firſt raiſed to diſtinction, and afterwards mounted the throne of England.

During this reign the dreadful ſchiſm which had ſo long divided the Latin church was terminated by the council of Conſtance, who depoſed John XXIII. for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place. The authority of a general council over the pope was eſtabliſhed in this aſſembly; and John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe, were burnt alive as heretics, notwithſtanding the ſafe conduct they had received from the emperor of Germany. This act of cruelty and treachery, occaſioned a bloody war in Germany, where Ziſca, general of the Huſſites, rendered his name immortal by his victories.

# HENRY VI. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

A.D. 1422. THE parliament of England had greatly increaſed their power during the two laſt reigns. The deficiency of the Lancaſter family in their title to the crown was of uſe in eſtabliſhing the freedom and importance of the commons. The princes of that houſe never ventured to impoſe taxes without the conſent of parliament, and the Engliſh conſtitution was by that means founded on a baſis, that could not be removed, even by the power of abſolute princes. Conſcious of their own authority, and determined to ſupport the power they had acquired, the parliament paid very little regard to the verbal will of their late monarch; they changed the name of regent into that of protector, from a perſuaſion that the latter implied leſs authority than the former. They advanced the duke of Bedford to that office, but permitted the duke of Glouceſter to diſcharge its duties during his abſence. Nor did they think it prudent to truſt this power wholly in the hands of either; they named a council, without whoſe advice and concurrence no meaſures of importance could be determined. They refuſed to confirm that part of Henry's will which appointed the earl of Warwick the guardian of his ſon's perſon: and entruſted the care of their infant king to the biſhop of Wincheſter. The two princes, Bedford and Glouceſter, made no oppoſition to this change in the plan of government: they were unwilling to raiſe the leaſt diſturbance in their country; they choſe to cultivate peace and harmony in the kingdom, and made no ſcruple of ſacrificing ſome part of their own power to make ſo valuable an acquiſition.

The unfortunate Charles VI. did not ſurvive Henry above two months. He had indeed for ſeveral years poſſeſſed only the appearance of royal authority; but even this ſhadow of ſuperior power was of great conſequence to the Engliſh; it divided the duty and affection of the French, between them and the dauphin. That prince, on the death of his father, was proclaimed and crowned king at Poictiers, under the name of Charles VII. the city of Rheims, where that ceremony was uſually performed, being then in the hands of the Engliſh. Charles VII. was a prince of a mild and generous diſpoſition, but indolent, irreſolute, and addicted to pleaſure. He, however, gave the pleaſing expectation of one day correcting the faults of his youth, and was able to gain over to his cauſe a great number of partiſans. The French renounced not wholly their attachment to their natural ſovereign; it was impoſſible for them not to ſee the diſadvantage of being governed by a foreign prince. This was ſoon perceived by the duke of Bedford, and every method that human prudence could ſuggeſt, taken to prevent the conſequence. He immediately proclaimed Henry VI. king of France, and aſſumed himſelf the title of regent of that kingdom. He aſſembled at Paris all the nobility attached to the Engliſh intereſt, and exhorted them to acknowledge young Henry for their ſovereign. They immediately complied with his requeſt; they ſwore allegiance to Henry as king of France, and did homage to him, in the perſon of the regent, for the lands they held from that crown.

Charles, though now reduced to a very low ebb of fortune, was ſtill maſter of the counties of Berry, Bourbon, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Forrez, Auvergne, a great part of Xaintonge, and Poictou, together with the earldoms of Comminges and Armagnac, bordering on the Pyranees. So that his power was ſtill reſpectable, eſpecially as both his officers and miniſters were men of great parts and integrity.

Henry was in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, the Iſle of France, and the city of Paris; beſides the provinces belonging to the duke of Burgundy, his vaſſal and ally. The duke of Bedford was one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in Europe, whether we conſider him as a ſoldier or a ſtateſman. He was aſſiſted by officers equally diſtinguiſhed for their perſonal courage and military talents; particularly the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Saliſbury, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir John Faſtolf, and Sir John Talbot. But Bedford well knew that every foreign aſſiſtance would be neceſſary, before an Engliſh regent could hope to complete the conqueſt of France. Accordingly he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to increaſe the number of his friends on the continent, and had the good fortune to form an alliance with the duke of Britany, and his brother the count of Richemont. He alſo prevailed upon the Engliſh council to releaſe James king of Scotland, who had continued a priſoner in England ever ſince his having been taken by Henry IV. It had been ſuppoſed, that the Scots would never attempt any thing to diſturb the peace of England, while their king was a priſoner in that court; but the late aſſiſtance ſent to Charles, ſufficiently proved that this opinion was founded on a chimerical baſis; and that a much greater advantage might be procured from releaſing James, who having contracted a natural friendſhip for the Engliſh, would ſtill continue their firm ally, eſpecially as his obligations would be ſo greatly increaſed by reſtoring to him at once his liberty and his crown.

But notwithſtanding theſe alliances, Bedford perceived that the utmoſt circumſpection would be neceſſary to render the advantages the Engliſh had gained in France permanent. He perceived, that the French in general were impatient under the new government; and that the ſufferings of a young prince expelled his native throne by the rebellion of his own ſubjects and the arms of ſtrangers, could not long fail of exciting the compaſſion of all his people, whoſe hearts were unbiaſſed by faction; eſpecially as the preſent ſituation of France naturally engaged the attention even of the meaneſt perſons, and was become the common topic of converſation.

A. D. 1424. The war had, ſince the death of Henry V. been carried on with various ſucceſs; ſometimes fortune was favourable to the French, and ſometimes to the Engliſh; places were taken and retaken ſucceſſively, without any remarkable advantage. The duke of Milan ſent Charles a reinforcement of a thouſand men at arms, and five hundred lances; but his chief reliance was upon the Scottiſh auxiliaries, whom he called his guardians, and of whom he had now no leſs than fifteen thouſand in his ſervice.

He had already created the earl of Buchan conſtable of France; and he now conferred the title of earl of Evreaux on general Stuart; and that of duke of Terouranne on the earl of Douglas, who was conſidered as one of the firſt generals of his time.

One of Charles's partiſans having reduced Yvri, on the frontiers of Picardy, a place of great importance, the regent determined to retake it; and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and inveſted the place. The governor perceiving that it would be impoſſible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. The propoſal was accepted; and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the beſiegers. Charles had not, however, neglected the neceſſary means for ſuccouring a place of ſo much importance. He had diſpatched the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, aſſiſted by the earl of Douglas and ſeveral French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of twenty thouſand men, being the flower of his whole army, to relieve Yvri; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been, for ſome days, expired, and the town was in poſſeſſion of the enemy.

As it was now impoſſible to retake the place, Buchan led his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in ſpite of the garriſon. The conſtable might now have retired in ſafety, with the glory of having made an acquiſition, equal, in point of utility, with that he was ſent to relieve; but that impetuoſity which had ſo often been deſtructive to France, proved fatal to Buchan. He called a council of war, in order to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in this dangerous criſis. The wiſer part of the council declared unanimouſly for a retreat; and uſed ſuch reaſons as nothing but a mind determined to liſten to no argument could oppoſe. It was urged, that all the miſfortunes of the French had proceeded from their raſhneſs in giving battle, when no neceſſity obliged them to riſque a deciſive action: that this army was the laſt reſource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces he ſtill poſſeſſed; and that every reaſon invited him to embrace cautious counſels, which allowed time for his ſubjects to return to their duty, and gave leiſure for diſcord to ariſe among his enemies, who not being united by any band of common intereſt, could not long preſerve the animoſity they now cheriſhed againſt the true heir of France. But a vain point of honour had more weight than all theſe prudential reaſons. It was thought derogatory to their reputation to turn their back to the enemy, as their forces were more numerous than thoſe of the Engliſh; and it was therefore determined to wait their arrival. The experience of former miſfortunes could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of the French.

During theſe debates, the duke of Bedford was advancing towards the French, at the head of fifteen thouſand men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy, under the walls of Vernueil, he took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground, flanked by a hill, on which he poſted a body of two thouſand archers, and furniſhed all his infantry with ſharp ſtakes, like thoſe uſed with ſo much ſucceſs at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry. The earl of Douglas having ſurveyed the poſition of the Engliſh camp, declared that, in his opinion, the French army ſhould ſtand upon the defence, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had choſen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great diſadvantage. This prudent advice, which was ſeconded by the conſtable, and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viſcount of Narbonne, a headſtrong, imprudent man, as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in expreſs terms, with puſillanimity, and of diſhonouring, by their meanneſs, the arms of France. No anſwer was, however, made to his invective; which ſo highly exaſperated him, that, ſnatching up one of the ſtandards of the diviſion, he exclaimed, "Let all who love their ſovereign follow me;" and ruſhing immediately out of the line, he advanced to the charge with the moſt irregular impetuoſity. Douglas and the conſtable ſeeing the confuſion that now prevailed in their army, and finding their authority deſpiſed, determined to periſh like ſoldiers in the inevitable deſtruction which they knew muſt be the conſequence of this headlong raſhneſs.

The regent had ordered all his cavalry to diſmount, and to place their horſes in the rear of the army, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack, though made in the utmoſt diſorder, was ſo furious, that a body of their horſe on the right wing broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced to the barricade which ſurrounded the horſes, and behind which a body of archers were placed. Theſe received them with ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, as obliged them to fall back. At the ſame time, thoſe who were poſted on the hill ſo galled the Italians, who were marching up in another line, that they fled with great precipitation. This gave the body of reſerve an opportunity of forming themſelves, and marching to the ſupport of the main body, where the fight had continued for three hours with great obſtinacy, without any perceivable advantage; but this ſeaſonable reinforcement turned the ſcale of victory in favour of the Engliſh. The French horſe were driven back upon their foot by the arrows of the Engliſh, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Douglas and the conſtable perceiving the total rout of their army inevitable, and determined not to ſurvive the diſgrace, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the battle, and fell among a heap of foes. Beſides theſe two great generals, the headſtrong Narbonne, the ſon of the earl of Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnerre, the lords Grandville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guitri, with many other perſons of diſtinction, periſhed in the action. The duke of Alençon, the marſhal de la Fayette, the lords of Goucour and Mortemar, were taken priſoners. About four thouſand French, and ſixteen hundred of the Engliſh, were ſlain on the field of battle. Vernueil ſurrendered the next day to the victors.

The ſituation of Charles was now truly deplorable. He had loſt the braveſt of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, in the late fatal engagement. His party was diſpirited; he had hardly money ſufficient to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, much leſs to pay an army; nor could he raiſe any among his ſubjects without exciting a general diſcontent, which, in his preſent circumſtances, it was neceſſary to avoid. But in the midſt of his diſtreſs, when ſcarce the leaſt ray of hope appeared, the intrigues of a woman ſowed the ſeeds of diſſention among his enemies. Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault, animated by a violent antipathy to her huſband, the duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to diſſolve her marriage, where nothing but the ceremony had probably as yet intervened. She was a princeſs of a maſculine ſpirit, and uncommon underſtanding; and her huſband of a ſickly conſtitution, and weak intellects. She, however, knew her huſband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from diſſolving the marriage; and therefore, in order to effect her purpoſe with more facility, ſhe made her eſcape to England, and put herſelf under the protection of the duke of Glouceſter, who being enamoured of her perſon and fortune, ventured to marry her without waiting for the papal diſpenſation. Glouceſter was endowed with many noble qualities, but at the ſame time of an impetuous temper, and violent paſſions. He conſidered not the conſequences of an action he was determined to perform. Soon after his marriage, he repaired into the Low Countries, to take poſſeſſion of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly againſt this conduct; and conſidering himſelf as inſulted by it, marched in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brabant. A ſharp war was now kindled in the Low Countries. The labours of the duke of Bedford to reſtrain the impetuous temper of his brother were in vain; nor was he able to ſoften the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. He now found it would be uſeleſs to puſh the conſequences of his victory at Vernueil, and took a journey to England, where the departure of his brother had excited troubles in the adminiſtration. This ceſſation of hoſtilities gave Charles leiſure to recover from his defeat. He laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the friendſhip of the princes of the blood, whoſe revolt had almoſt occaſioned the total ruin of the monarchy. The duke of Burgundy was diſguſted with the Engliſh, but he had not yet overcome his hatred to Charles; the murder of his father ſtill filled his breaſt with reſentment. The duke of Britany had received no ſuch injury, and therefore liſtened to the propoſals made by Charles for an accommodation; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of conſtable. That great general, who was an excellent ſubject, but a bad courtier, had been diſgraced for the violence he exerciſed againſt the miniſters and favourites of Charles; but he ſoon regained, by his ſervices, the favour and friendſhip of his maſter.

A. D. 1426. The defection of the duke of Britany alarmed the regent, and war was declared in form againſt the Bretons. The earl of Warwick immediately took the field; and laying ſiege to Pont Orſon, carried the town by aſſault. He afterwards took and fortified Beauvron, where he fixed his head-quarters, and thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes. The conſtable Richemont exerted all his power to raiſe a ſufficient number of troops to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, and was fortunate enough to ſucceed. He ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men, and marched immediately againſt the enemy. Warwick, whoſe whole corps did not amount to more than eight thouſand, ſhut himſelf up in Beauvron. The conſtable immediately inveſted the town, and propoſed to reduce it by famine. But Giac, prime miniſter to Charles, and who hated the conſtable, neglected to ſend him the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money, ſo that Richemont deſpaired of being able to effect his purpoſe; but exaſperated to find himſelf baffled in his firſt attempt, he raſhly reſolved to make a general aſſault. The garriſon behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity; the beſiegers were every where beaten off; and Warwick perceiving a great diſorder in the ranks of the enemy, ſallied out, and falling upon their rear, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and made himſelf maſter of all their baggage and artillery.

The defeat of the conſtable's army, the great deſertion of his troops, and the diſſentions which prevailed in Charles's councils, encouraged the earl of Warwick to undertake the ſiege of Montargis, as a place of the utmoſt importance for facilitating the regent's intention of carrying the war beyond the Loire. He accordingly inveſted the town, and ſoon reduced the garriſon to the laſt extremity. The baſtard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, reſolved to march to the relief of Montargis. He was then only twenty-three years of age, but had ſerved with great reputation in eight campaigns. He was natural ſon to that duke of Orleans who had been aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy, and had been educated for the church, but thought proper to exchange his eccleſiaſtical for a military habit. This gallant leader, at the head of no more than ſixteen hundred men, attacked the Engliſh camp with ſo much fury, that the earl of Warwick, who knew nothing of his approach, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. This advantage raiſed the hopes of Charles's party, and eſtabliſhed the military character of Dunois.

A. D. 1427. The duke of Bedford, having ſettled affairs in England, returned to France; and after forming a numerous army on the frontiers of Britany, fell ſo unexpectedly into that province, that nothing could reſiſt his progreſs. All the attempts of the duke of Britany were in vain; ſo that after ſeeing the greater part of his territories waſted with fire and ſword, he deſired an interview with Bedford; and a treaty was ſigned between them, by which the duke of Britany not only returned to his former engagements with the Engliſh, but alſo ſigned the treaty of Troye, acknowledging the duke of Bedford regent of France, and engaging to do homage for his dutchy of Britany to the king of England.

A. D. 1428. The regent having thus forced the duke of Britany to ſubmit, formed a project, the ſucceſs of which would have ſecured to England the conqueſt of France. This was the taking of Orleans, a city of the utmoſt importance, and which was now the only barrier that oppoſed his entrance into the ſouthern provinces. The conduct of this ſiege was committed to the earl of Saliſbury, one of the moſt conſummate generals of the age. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of ſixteen thouſand men, aſſiſted by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Faſtolf, and other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the county of Beauſſe, and made himſelf maſter of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans. He paſſed the Loire at Beaugenci, and inveſted the place on the ſide of Sologni, on the twelfth of October.

Every motion of the Engliſh ſufficiently indicated their intention of beſieging Orleans, and every precaution was accordingly taken for its defence. The command of this important city was given to the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. Many other officers of diſtinction threw themſelves into the place. The troops that formed the garriſon were all veterans, and long familiar with danger. The citizens themſelves had acquired the military turn, ſo common in that age, and were therefore extremely well qualified to aſſiſt the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raiſed, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the ſuburbs pulled down, that they might not be uſed by the Engliſh in carrying on the ſiege. The fate of this city engaged the attention of Europe; the fortune of the kingdom ſeemed to depend entirely upon it.

The firſt operation of this ſiege was againſt a bulwark erected to cover the caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The Engliſh artillery ſoon demoliſhed the parapets, and made a breach ſufficiently large for ſtorming it. Preparations were now made both by the French and Engliſh; the former for attacking, and the latter for defending the bulwark. The firſt attempt did not ſucceed; the Engliſh were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. This repulſe, however, ſerved only to increaſe the ardour of the beſiegers; they continued battering the work with ſuch fury, that it was ſoon abandoned by the French, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it without any farther oppoſition. Forts were now erected both above and below the bridge, for battering the city. But ſtill the place was inveſted only on the ſide of Sologni; that towards the Beauſſe was entirely open; and the baſtard of Orleans found means to throw himſelf into the city at the head of eight hundred men. It was eaſily perceived, that while the city could be ſupplied with troops and proviſions, it would be impoſſible to reduce it. The earl of Saliſbury therefore ordered ſixty ſmall forts or redoubts to be built at proper diſtances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper ſpots where they ſhould be erected, a ſtone diſcharged from a canon in the place put a period to his life. The loſs of this great general was univerſally lamented by the army: the ſoldiers conſidered themſelves as invincible while he was at their head.

The command of the Engliſh army now devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, aſſiſted by the famous Talbot,

Talbot, one of the greateſt captains of that age, puſhed the ſiege with unremitting vigour. Sallies were frequently made by the garriſon, and the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour were performed both by the beſiegers and the beſieged. On the twenty-firſt of December, a freſh reinforcement of Engliſh and Burgundian troops arrived; but ſtill the number was not ſufficient to inveſt the place; and the forts which had been erected in conſequence of the orders iſſued by the earl of Saliſbury, were at too great a diſtance from each other to prevent the enemy from throwing into the place large quantities of ammunition and proviſions.

A. D. 1429. Four months had already been ſpent in continual ſallies and engagements, when the regent ordered a convoy to ſet out from Paris with ſalt-fiſh, herrings, and other proviſions of a ſimilar kind, for the uſe of the beſiegers during the Lent. This convoy was eſcorted by a guard of ſeventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Faſtolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues diſtant from Orleans, receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, ſent the count de Clermont, at the head of three thouſand men, to attack the Engliſh in their route. The count came up with the convoy at Rouvrai St. Denis on the twelfth of February. Falſtolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himſelf too weak to ſuſtain the impetuous ſhock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricado of his waggons, and in this poſition received the firſt ſhock of the French, which was made with their uſual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the ſame time, they met with ſo warm a reception, that they were thrown into confuſion. Faſtolf perceived his advantage, ſallied from his barricado, and routed the enemy with prodigious ſlaughter. In this action, generally called The Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty French noblemen and perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers. The count de Dunois, having received notice of the count of Clermont's march, found means to eſcape from Orleans, and advanced to ſupport him at the head of a body of veterans; but he arrived too late. He, however, ſecured his retreat; and the convoy reached the Engliſh camp, without meeting with any farther oppoſition.

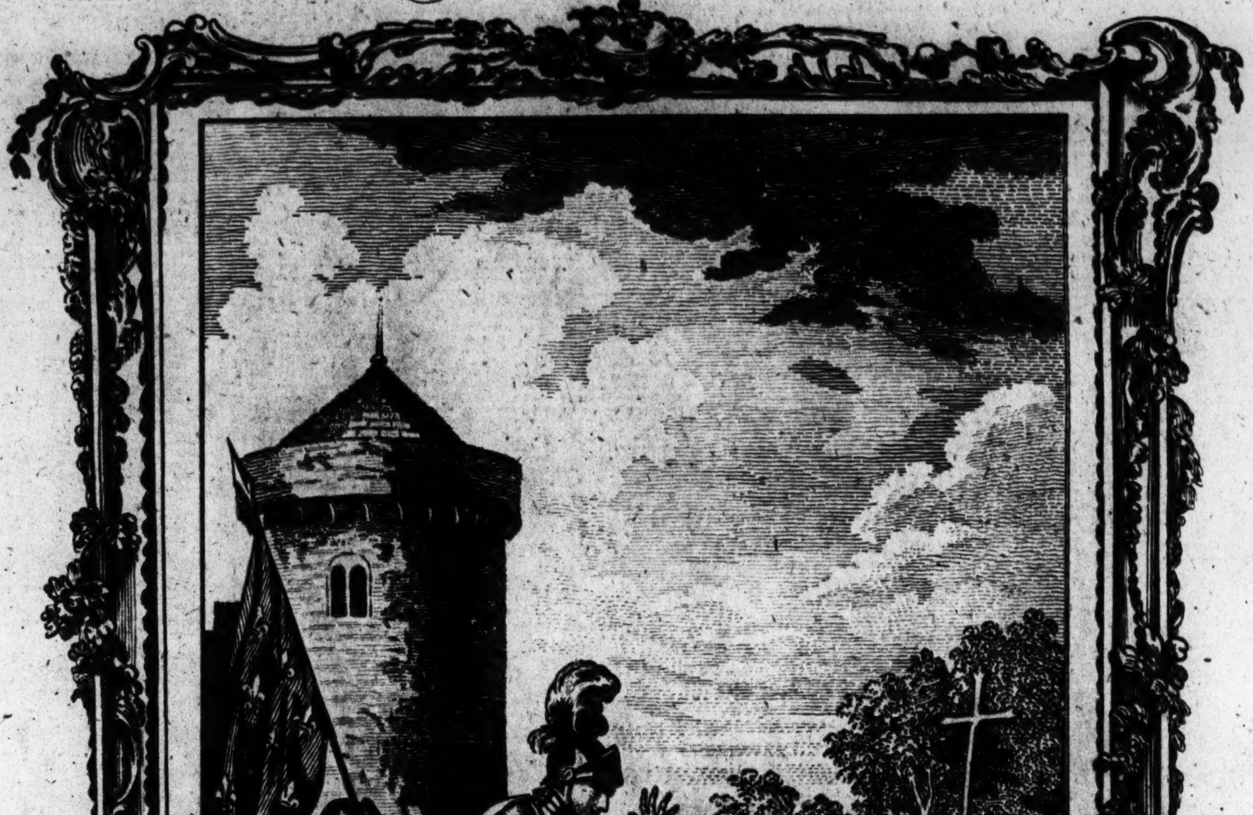
This defeat, together with the alarming aſpect of Charles's affairs in general, filled that monarch and his whole court with confuſion; and an offer was made, that Orleans ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But Bedford rejected the propoſal with indignation; and obſerved, "That he was not in a humour to beat the buſhes, while others ran away with the game." This ſarcaſm ſo diſguſted the duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all his troops from the ſervice of the Engliſh. But notwithſtanding this defection, the place was every day more and more cloſely inveſted by the enemy. The utmoſt ſcarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles meditated an inglorious retreat into Dauphine. Mary, of Anjou, his queen, and the fair Agnes Sorrel, his miſtreſs, found means, however, to inſpire him with more noble ſentiments. Love, which uſuelly ſoftens the heart, rouſed his courage; he determined to conquer or periſh. At this dangerous criſis a country girl delivered him from the danger with which he was threatened, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors.

The name of this heroine was Joan d'Arc, afterwards much better known by the name of The Maid of Orleans. She was born at the village of Dom. Remi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine. At this time ſhe was about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ſingularity. She, indeed, poſſeſſed a genius ſuperior to moſt in her claſs of life, but had been wholly employed in country buſineſs. A continual recital of the calamities of France had made ſo great an impreſſion on her imagination, that loſing ſight of every other object, and abandoning herſelf to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, ſhe fancied that ſhe heard heavenly voices, and doubted not but ſhe was called upon by the Deity to undertake the defence of the kingdom. She communicated her viſions to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who at firſt treated her with neglect; but her frequent returns prevailed upon him to ſend her to the king. She ſupported before the court the character of an inſpired perſon with an aſtoniſhing candour and firmneſs. An aſſembly of divines, and the parliament of Poictiers, who examined her on the ſubject of her miſſion, pronounced that there was ſomething ſupernatural in her. It was an object of policy to make her caſe be conſidered as miraculous; but in an age devoted to ſuperſtition, admiration and wonder, it was hardly neceſſary to employ art to effect this purpoſe. Her enthuſiaſm, therefore, joined to the extraordinary qualities ſhe poſſeſſed, could not fail of making lively impreſſions on the vulgar. She promiſed to deliver Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, in order to his coronation. She now wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford, commanding him, in the name of God, to raiſe the ſiege, and to evacuate France. Every method was taken to publiſh the predictions of the Maid of Orleans, and which were believed with the moſt implicit faith. It was pretended, that ſhe had demanded of the king, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword which was preſerved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen, ſhe deſcribed with ſo many particular circumſtances, as plainly proved her ſupernatural knowledge. The Engliſh affected to ſpeak of her with deriſion; but were ſtruck with the opinion which every where prevailed of her heavenly miſſion. The French troops gave credit to all her predictions, and were ready to attempt the moſt daring actions from an aſſurance of victory.

This extraordinary engine being thus prepared, it was reſolved to try its force upon the enemy. The Maid was armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horſe richly capariſoned. The ſword of St. Catherine was ſent for, and delivered to her with great formality. It was now determined to ſend this inſpired leader with a large convoy of proviſions and ammunition to the beſieged, who were by this time reduced to the laſt extremity. Joan accordingly marched at the head of twelve thouſand choſen men deſtined to eſcort the convoy, with a conſecrated banner in her hand. She was aſſiſted by the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral Crevant, and other excellent officers. The garriſon of Orleans were informed of the deſign, and a great number of boats were prepared to carry the convoy over the Loire. As ſoon as the Maid appeared on the ſide of Sologne, the count de Dunois made a vigorous ſally on the Engliſh on the ſide of Beauſſe, to prevent their ſending troops to the other ſide of the river, while the boats were loading with the proviſions and ammunition deſtined for the town. The Engliſh on that ſide were too weak to encounter ſo ſtrong an eſcort; and their inaction being conſidered by the French as the effect of terror imprinted on their minds by heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Maid of Orleans, fell upon them with ſuch enthuſiaſtic fury, that they were defeated, after a long reſiſtance, and the convoy paſſed into Orleans. A natural event ſerved alſo to increaſe the ſuperſtition of the French. During the time of the action, there happened a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightening, and hail. This, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, was conſidered as the voice of heaven declaring in their favour. Had the attempt miſcarried, it would have been interpreted in an oppoſite ſenſe. Joan was received into Orleans as a tutelar angel, and the whole ſucceſs attributed to her: her preſence diſpelled every thought of danger. The garriſon believed themſelves invincible under her ſacred influence; and the frequent and ſucceſsful ſallies which

they

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

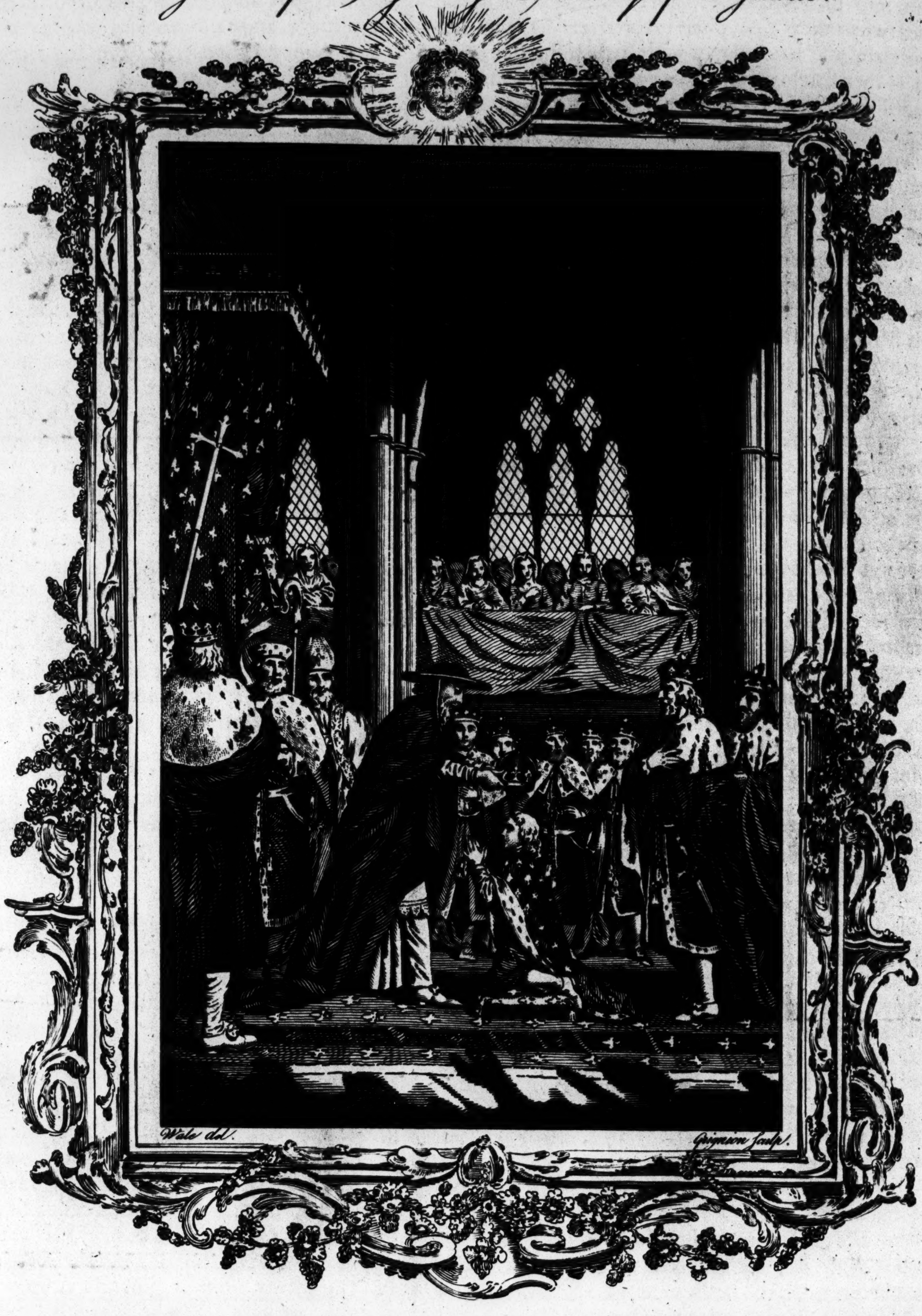


Wale del. Grignion sculp.

*The Maid of Orleans receiving the Sword of*

ST. CATHERINE.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Coronation of* **HENRY VIth.** *at Paris* they made, completed the conſternation of the enemy. The Engliſh aſcribed to the operation of the devil what the French conſidered as the work of the Deity. They raiſed the ſiege of Orleans on the twelfth of May; and retired before an army who had ſo long trembled at the name of the Engliſh.

Charles now ſuffered his army to take the field, in order to improve the ſucceſs that had ſo lately attended their efforts. At the ſame time, the Engliſh, by a ſtrange miſtake, after raiſing the ſiege of Orleans, inſtead of keeping their forces in a body to act powerfully againſt the enemy, diſtributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had ſubdued when they firſt paſſed that river. Being thus ſeparated, the French met with little reſiſtance in the places they attempted. The Maid of Orleans ſtill headed their troops; and wherever ſhe appeared, the Engliſh were ſtruck with a panic, while the French believed themſelves ſupported by an inviſible hand. Gargeau, a ſmall fortreſs, into which the earl of Suffolk had been ſo imprudent as to throw himſelf, with four hundred men only, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the earl himſelf was taken priſoner. Melun ſuffered the ſame fate, with many other towns and caſtles garriſoned by the Engliſh. Beaugenci only held out a regular ſiege, but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender.

Lord Talbot, who, on the impriſonment of the earl of Suffolk, took the command of the Engliſh army, found that his whole force amounted to no more than ſix thouſand men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid an engagement with the enemy, who were at leaſt double that number. But being overtaken at Patay, a battle became inevitable; and the event was what might be expected from a handful of men oppreſſed by the power of ſuperſtitious prepoſſeſſion. They were totally defeated: above two thouſand fell in the action, and about two hundred were taken priſoners; among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, Sir Thomas Rempſton, and ſeveral other officers of note.

The Maid of Orleans had now performed one part of her promiſe, the relief of that city; but the other, and more difficult taſk, remained ſtill to be executed, the crowning of Charles at Rheims. Before this could be done, it was neceſſary to paſs over a large tract of country occupied by the Engliſh; an enterprize which was raſh, and, perhaps, impracticable in any other conjuncture than the preſent. Charles, who had hitherto never expoſed his perſon, allowed himſelf to be carried away by the torrent of his ſucceſs, and the inſtigation of the Maid of Orleans. This interval of enthuſiaſm ſecured his victories. Without proviſions, without reſources, he marched ſecurely, at the head of twelve thouſand men, through the midſt of his enemies. Troye and Chalons opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims drove out the Engliſh garriſon, and ſent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in preſence of the Maid of Orleans, who attended with her conſecrated banner in her hand. Charles now appeared more venerable in the eyes of his ſubjects. Numbers immediately joined him; they returned from their prepoſſeſſions and errors, and conceived the utmoſt averſion to the ſhameful yoke of ſlavery they had ſo long endured. Loan, Soiſſons, Chateau-Thierri, and ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes, ſubmitted to their lawful ſovereign.

During this reverſe of fortune, the duke of Bedford acted with the moſt conſummate prudence. He retained Paris in ſubjection by his vigilance and ſeverity. He alſo renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and being joined by five thouſand men, which the biſhop of Wincheſter was conducting on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites, he was once more in a condition of taking the field againſt the French, and checking their rapid ſucceſs. The Maid of Orleans, after Charles was crowned at Rheims, conſidering her commiſſion as accompliſhed, was ſollicitous to return to the place of her nativity; but her influence was ſo great over the troops, that the count de Dunois prevailed upon her to continue in the army till the Engliſh were entirely driven out of France.

Bedford being advanced as far as Montereau, on the Yonne, ſent an herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he ſhould name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, who had learned wiſdom in the ſchool of adverſity, refuſed to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. The regent, therefore, returned into the Iſle of France, in order, by his preſence, to prevent the towns from revolting; and alſo to give the French nobility an opportunity of retiring from the army, where they ſerved at their own expence.

A. D. 1430. It having been determined in the Engliſh parliament to ſend young Henry into France, in order to his being crowned at Paris; he embarked at Dover with a ſplendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the nineteenth of May. But the army of Charles being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought prudent to carry the young king to Rouen, till the enemy was removed farther from the capital: and in order to effect that deſign, the regent laboured aſſiduouſly to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done ſince he recalled his troops from the ſiege of Orleans. Accordingly he ceded to him all the places the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Champagne and Brie; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He reduced Troye and Soiſſons; and being joined by the earls of Suffolk and Arundel, he inveſted Compeigne. The place was well provided with every thing neceſſary for making a noble defence; and the garriſon was commanded by Flavi, a brave and experienced officer.

But as Compeigne was conſidered as a city of the utmoſt importance, a detachment of about ſix hundred men, under the command of the Maid of Orleans, and Xaintrailles, a celebrated general, threw themſelves into the place, which gave freſh ſpirits to the garriſon. The next day the Maid of Orleans, at the head of a conſiderable party, made ſo deſperate a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his poſt. The fury of that enthuſiaſtic leader carried her too far. Her retreat was cut off; and, after making the moſt deſperate reſiſtance, ſhe was taken priſoner by the baſtard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her up to the Burgundian general. The captivity of the Maid of Orleans was thought equal to a deciſive victory. Te Deum was publicly ſung at Paris, and the regent obtained from the duke of Burgundy the cuſtody of that extraordinary woman. The garriſon of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, till the ſiege was raiſed by a large detachment from Charles's army.

During theſe tranſactions, young Henry continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a ſplendid train of the nobility of both nations. Sunday, the ſeventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, in the church of Notre Dame; where the cardinal of Wincheſter placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the nobility ſwore allegiance to him.

A. D. 1431. Though the conduct of the Maid of Orleans had been irreproachable, and ſhe certainly was entitled to be treated as a priſoner of war, it was determined to try her as a ſorcereſs and impoſtor. Religion was to be intereſted in this act of oppreſſion. The biſhop of Beauvais, in whoſe dioceſe Joan was taken priſoner, demanded that ſhe ſhould be tried before an eccleſiaſtical court, affirming her guilty of hereſy and magic. The univerſity of Paris, a body deſtined for the inſtruction of mankind, meanly ſupported the abſurd requeſt of the prelate; and ſeveral clergymen of rank, among whom was the cardinal of Wincheſter, were ſelected to paſs ſentence upon her. She appeared before the court in her military apparel, but loaded with irons. During four months they haraſſed her with captious queſtions, which ſhe anſwered with wonderful art and intrepidity: ſhe was not intimidated though before a tribunal of eccleſiaſtics, whoſe perſons ſhe had been always taught to revere. She boldly avowed the deſigns ſhe had formed againſt the Engliſh; ſhe told them, with an air of confidence, that it would not be long before they were driven out of France. Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of the church with regard to their being real? ſhe only anſwered, "That ſhe was certain they came from heaven, to whoſe judgment ſhe would leave the deciſion; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church ſhould declare them illuſions." When aſked, Why ſhe aſſiſted with a conſecrated banner in her hand, at the coronation of Charles, "It is but juſt," ſaid ſhe, "that the perſon who had ſhared in the danger of the enterprize, ſhould alſo partake of the glory." She, however, ſoon perceived ſhe had gone too far, in refuſing to ſubmit to the deciſion of the church; ſhe appealed to the pope; declared herſelf willing to recant; and acknowledged the illuſion of thoſe revelations which the church had rejected. In conſequence of this recantation, her puniſhment was mitigated to perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

But this ſentence was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of Joan's enemies. Enough had indeed been done to convince both the French and the Engliſh, that the opinion of divine influence, which had ſo much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was wholly without foundation. Had they ſtopped here, their proceedings might have been vindicated upon political reaſons; but her death was determined. Suſpecting that the female dreſs, which ſhe had ſince her ſentence conſented to wear, was not agreeable to her, they purpoſely placed in her apartment a ſuit of men's apparel, and watched the effect of that temptation. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. Joan, at the ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had acquired ſo much honour, and which ſhe once believed ſhe wore by the appointment of heaven, revived all her former enthuſiaſtic notions: ſhe ventured in her ſolitude to clothe herſelf again in the forbidden garment. Her inſiduous enemies caught her in that ſituation: her fault was interpreted to be nothing leſs than a relapſe into hereſy: no recantation would now ſuffice, and no pardon could now be granted her. She was delivered over to the civil magiſtrate, on pretence of hereſy and magic: this admirable heroine, the terror of the Engliſh, and the deliverer of France, was burnt alive in a ſlow fire, in the market-place of Rouen. Such was the end of the famous maid of Orleans, whoſe actions muſt excite ſurprize and admiration, whether they were owing to innate courage, or reſulted from the effects of enthuſiaſm.

A. D. 1432. But the death of the maid of Orleans was far from reſtoring to the Engliſh the advantages they had loſt. They were ſtill unfortunate; and their affairs went every day more and more to decay. In this alarming criſis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the Engliſh. The dutcheſs of Bedford, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the church of the Celeſtines at Paris. This unfortunate event diſſolved the cloſe connection that had hitherto ſubſiſted between her brother and the regent; and the marriage of the latter, about four months after her death, with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occaſioned a breach between them. The cardinal of Wincheſter mediated a reconciliation between theſe princes, and brought them both to St. Omers for that ſalutary purpoſe. But a point of honour rendered the whole abortive. The regent expected the firſt viſit, as he had condeſcended to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him. But Philip, proud of his great power, and independent dominions, refuſed to pay this compliment to the regent; and the two princes, unable to adjuſt the ceremonial, parted without ſeeing each other.

A. D. 1435. The duke of Burgundy had for ſome time ſeen his error, and began to repent of the wounds he had given to his country, and of the injury he had done to himſelf, by placing its crown upon the head of a foreigner. Time, reflection, and the public calamities, made an impreſſion upon his heart, which was naturally diſpoſed to generoſity, and weakened that ardent deſire of revenge, which had armed him againſt his ſovereign. Charles diſavowed the aſſaſſination of the duke's father; offered all the ſatisfaction and atonement that could be deſired of him, and baniſhed Tannegui du Chatel, the murderer of that prince, from his court. This proof of his deſire to remove every difficulty which might oppoſe a reconciliation had the deſired effect: a congreſs was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of the pope and the council of Baſle. The French offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to the Engliſh, but on condition of doing homage to Charles, conformable to the ancient cuſtom. This offer was rejected with diſdain, and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries departed immediately from the congreſs. Nothing now remained but to diſcuſs the pretenſions of Charles and Philip; and this was ſoon performed, becauſe the vaſſal was in a capacity of giving law to his ſovereign. It was ſtipulated that Philip ſhould receive reparations and acknowledgements for the murder of his father; that Charles ſhould cede to him all the towns of Picardy ſituated between the Somme and the Low Countries, and ſeveral other territories, which, as well as the other territories in poſſeſſion of Philip, ſhould be held, during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing any fealty to the preſent king. At the ſame time Charles releaſed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance if he ever infringed this treaty. So diſhonourable were the conditions, by which France purchaſed the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy.

Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the duke of Bedford paid the debt of nature at Rouen. He was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt perſons of the age; and it is difficult to ſay whether he ſhone moſt in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater general or politician, and whether he was moſt eſteemed for his valour, his equity, or his moderation. About the ſame time Iſabella, the widow of Charles VI. finiſhed the period of her mortal exiſtence. This monſter of nature, who viewed with horror the progreſs and ſucceſs of her own ſon, in recovering poſſeſſion of his kingdom, may be conſidered as having expiated her crimes, if they could, indeed, be expiated, by the hatred of the French and the contempt of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1436. Though the death of the duke of Bedford greatly increaſed the misfortunes of the Engliſh in France, and gave Charles every advantage he could wiſh for extending his conqueſts, yet ſuch parties were formed in the Engliſh council, that it was ſeven months before the commiſſion of the duke of York, who was appointed regent of France, paſſed the ſeals. The French monarch wiſely improved every moment, and made a rapid progreſs in eſtabliſhing his authority, which he had nearly effected when the duke of York arrived. The capital had been ſome time reduced, ſo that the territories of the Engliſh now chiefly conſiſted of Guienne and Normandy. But Charles was unable to meet the Engliſh in the field; ſeveral places were taken, but no action of importance enſued. The French, grown wiſer by experience, wiſely avoided a general engagement.

The duke of Burgundy attempted to reduce Calais with an army of fifty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings, who were then much more famous for manufacture than war, vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be ſufficient to intimidate the garriſon, and that the gates would be opened at their approach. They were deceived. The garriſon, inſtead of being intimidated, dreadfully haraſſed their camp, with ſucceſsful ſallies. In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, landed at Calais, and ſend a herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge; but his Flemings had ſo ſeverely felt the effects of the valour of the Engliſh, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garriſon of Calais might take advantage of this confuſion in his army, drew up his regular troops to ſecure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines; leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery, which fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

Glouceſter, determined to revenge the inſult of the duke of Burgundy, led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder. Nor was this all the loſs the duke of Burgundy ſuſtained; he was hardly returned to his own dominions before he had the mortification to ſee the maritime parts of his poſſeſſions in Flanders, ravaged by an Engliſh fleet; while he himſelf was in the utmoſt danger of loſing his life in a ſedition at Bruges, after ſeeing the French marſhal, Liſle-Adam, almoſt torn in pieces by the fury of the populace.

The hoſtilities in France were now carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. Deſtitute of reſources, of induſtry and of commerce, the two nations were drained by the expences of the war; and their troops were obliged to ſubſiſt by plundering and oppreſſing the country both of friends and enemies. Propoſals of peace were often propoſed, and as often rejected: both inſiſted on terms which could not be granted. At the ſame time both the Engliſh and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, continually oppoſed each other, and the intereſt of the nation was ſacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction againſt his father. He was of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, and found means to bring over to his intereſt, the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendome and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was very deſirous of procuring the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, who had continued a priſoner in England ever ſince the battle of Agincourt, as the only perſon whoſe merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Glouceſter, it was determined to ſet him at liberty on his paying a ranſom of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds of our preſent money, an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and nearly equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies granted by the parliament to ſupport the war, during an interval of ſeven years. The duke of Burgundy diſplayed a noble inſtance of generoſity on this occaſion; he renounced his ancient reſentments, and paid the ranſom of a prince who had been long his enemy.

A. D. 1441. But the releaſe of Orleans did not put a period to the diviſions in the Engliſh council: nothing leſs than the deſtruction of Glouceſter could ſatisfy the malice and ambition of the cardinal of Wincheſter. He was, however, unable to attack the duke in perſon, and therefore formed the moſt inhuman plot, infamous by its agents, and deteſtable by its motives. He cauſed his dutcheſs to be accuſed of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that a waxen image of the king was found in her poſſeſſion, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Margaret Jordan of Eye, melted before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age. The dutcheſs was accordingly brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of the crime, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeemed ſufficiently to exempt the witneſſes from obſerving common ſenſe in their evidence. But this was of no conſequence in a court, where it was determined to find the priſoners guilty. The dutcheſs was condemned to do public penance and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment in Cheſter caſtle. Theſe violent proceedings, however, produced not the intended effect. The people were perſuaded that they were wholly owing to the malice of Glouceſter's enemies, and acquitted the dutcheſs. They were even more attached to the duke than before.

A. D. 1444. The Engliſh council had for ſome time been engaged in a matter of very great importance, that of giving a queen to England. It was eaſily foreſeen that this circumſtance would be ſufficient to decide for ever the victory between the two contending parties; and therefore both exerted their utmoſt influence to procure for the princeſs they favoured the honour of ſharing the Engliſh throne. The duke of Glouceſter warmly recommended the daughter of the count d'Armagnac; but had not influence ſufficient to effectuate his purpoſe. The cardinal and his friends had caſt their eyes upon Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou and Lorraine. He was titular king of Sicily, Naples and Jeruſalem, and deſcended from the count of Anjou, brother to Charles V. who had left theſe magnificent titles, but without any real power or poſſeſſions to his poſterity. The princeſs herſelf was the moſt accompliſhed woman of her age, both in body and mind; and ſeemed to poſſeſs thoſe qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the aſcendant over Henry, and to ſupply all his defects and weakneſſes. She was of a lively and daring ſpirit, great penetration, and uncommon reſolution. Such was the princeſs deſigned as a conſort to Henry, by the cardinal and his friends, and the earl of Suffolk was diſpatched to the continent with propoſals of marriage, which were accepted. Henry himſelf was ſo charmed with the deſcription and merit of Margaret, ſent over by the earl of Suffolk, that he empowered that nobleman to promiſe a ceſſion of Anjou and Maine, at that time in the hands of the Engliſh, to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, then prime miniſter and favourite of the French king. Great oppoſition was, however, made in the Engliſh council to the ratification of this marriage treaty; the duke of Glouceſter and his friends exerted all their influence to ſet it aſide; but their efforts were in vain; the cardinal and his faction prevailed, and the contract was approved by the council. Suffolk was dignified with the title of marquis, and received thanks of the parliament for concluding the marriage.

A. D. 1445. The new queen had not been long in England, before ſhe ſufficiently indicated her intentions of being miſtreſs of her huſband's conduct as well as his affections. The oppoſition made by the duke of Glouceſter to her marriage, had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the cardinal and the marquis of Suffolk, who, ſtrengthened by her friendſhip, and animated by their common hatred againſt the duke of Glouceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly ſtripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council-board. But this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding raiſed ſuch commotions in the nation, that the authors of his diſgrace thought it abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſafety, to colour over their baſe proceeding with a ſhew of juſtice.

A. D. 1447. They accordingly declared that they intended to impeach him before the parliament; but the duke was too great a favourite with the citizens of London, for them to attempt the execution of their baſe deſigns in the capital. The members were ſummoned to meet at St. Edmundſbury, and the duke cited to appear. Conſcious of his own innocence, the duke determined to appear, and accordingly was preſent at the opening of the parliament on the tenth of February. But the very next day, he was arreſted, and put under a ſtrong guard. The people were highly exaſperated at this method of proceeding; but perſuaded that the duke, on his trial, would ſufficiently exculpate himſelf from every charge that could be exhibited againſt him, no tumult was excited in his favour.

His enemies, however, did not intend to bring him to a fair and open trial. The lords who were to ſit as his judges took no pains to conceal their ſentiments with regard to his innocence; they even threw out ſeveral intimations of their being determined to do ſtrict juſtice upon his accuſers, provided they were unable to prove the charge againſt him. This ſufficiently intimidated the faction, and the duke was ſoon after found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended, that his death was natural; and his body was accordingly expoſed to public view, without exhibiting any marks of external injury; but no one doubted of his having fallen a ſacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice formerly practiſed on Edward II. and on Richard II. could deceive nobody.

Thus fell, by the treacherous hand of malice, Humphrey of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the moſt learned perſon of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the firſt public libraries in England, and was a generous patron to men of ſcience, and able artiſts of every profeſſion. His hearſe was watered by the tears of the people. His enemies ſaw the grief of the people with terror, and thought it abſolutely neceſſary to give ſome colour to their proceedings. Several of the duke's domeſtics were accordingly tried, and received ſentence of death; but they were no ſooner ſuſpended, than they were cut down, and received their pardon.

The cardinal of Wincheſter did not, however, long triumph over the fall of Glouceſter. He died about ſix weeks after him, in all the horrors of a guilty conſcience. Happy would he now have thought himſelf, had he applied his mind more aſſiduouſly to provide for his paſſage into eternity, and not have embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent. By the death of the cardinal, the queen, and her favourite, Suffolk, were deprived of the great ſupport they derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left expoſed to all the effects of the unpopular meaſures they afterwards purſued. The miniſter did not, however, immediately feel the reſentment of an injured people. He, for ſome time, enjoyed his power; and the next ſeſſions of parliament he was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1448. During theſe domeſtic troubles in England, Charles was very aſſiduous in eſtabliſhing the happineſs of his people. The face of his kingdom was entirely changed. He reſtored the adminiſtration of public juſtice, regulated the finances, eſtabliſhed diſcipline among his troops, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and made his ſubjects forget their former misfortunes. The kingdom was now in a condition to act with vigour in recovering thoſe dominions which were ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; and an accident ſoon happened which gave Charles a pretence for re-commencing hoſtilities, which had been terminated by a truce.

The death of the duke of Glouceſter ſeemed to offer a fair opportunity for ceding the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, purſuant to the marriage contract. But the Engliſh miniſtry ſtill endeavoured to poſtpone the ceſſion, as they well knew it muſt be attended with a popular clamour, which might probably ſhake their authority. At length, however, orders were ſent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the county, to deliver that city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne, who was a native of Arragon, and had ſerved the Engliſh above twenty years, diſputed the authenticity of the order, and abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore ſent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at laſt obliged to capitulate; by which the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, were ſuffered to march out, with all their effects. They retired into Normandy; but being refuſed admittance into any of the fortified towns, and falling into great diſtreſs, Surienne led his troops into Britany, ſurpriſed the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orſon and Beuvron, and procured ſubſiſtence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

This breach of the truce, in which Britany had been included, induced the French monarch to demand ſatisfaction from the duke of Somerſet, governor of Normandy. Somerſet replied, that he was greatly concerned for theſe indefenſible actions; but that the whole had been executed without his privity and conſent; nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained. Application was now made to the court of England, who diſavowed the inſult, and redreſs was promiſed for the injuries received. But the court of France, deſirous of rendering an accommodation impracticable, eſtimated the damages at no leſs than one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns. Charles was determined to take advantage of his preſent ſuperiority over the Engliſh.

A. D. 1449. He accordingly declared war againſt Henry, and ſoon annexed Normandy to his dominions. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, indeed, ſupported his reputation and glory to the laſt. "He was" ſays father Orleans, "equal to an army." But the province was invaded in four different places, and Talbot had only an handful of forces under his command; ſo that nothing could be expected from that gallant officer, eſpecially as the greater part of the garriſons conſiſted of Normans, who opened their gates to the enemy almoſt at the firſt ſummons. Guienne ſuffered the ſame fate; and that province, which had for three centuries formed a part of the dominions of the crown of England, was now re-united to that of France.

But more fatal misfortunes than thoſe of loſing Normandy and Guienne now threatened the Engliſh. The ſword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York, firſt prince of the blood, was deſcended, by his mother, from the houſe of Mortimer, which enjoyed an inconteſtible title to the crown of England, after the demiſe of Richard II. when the rights of ſovereignty were uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. His perſonal merit was great, and he had contracted ſeveral powerful alliances. He had married the daughter of Nevil, earl of Weſtmorland, whoſe family was more potent than any other in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was one of that family, a nobleman extremely popular, and ſo amazingly rich, that thirty thouſand perſons were conſtantly ſubſiſted at his tables in his different manors and caſtles. His hoſpitality and munificence rendered his authority over his numerous partiſans almoſt abſolute. The duke of York, who had commanded with great applauſe in France, had lately been deprived of his commiſſion, without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſo imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England, ſome dark hints, with regard to the pretenſions of his family to the crown, were dropped by his partiſans, and had the deſired effect. The virtues of the duke of York, and the great ſervices he had performed for his country, were extolled to the ſkies.

The queen and Suffolk were alarmed at his increaſing popularity; and a commotion having lately happened

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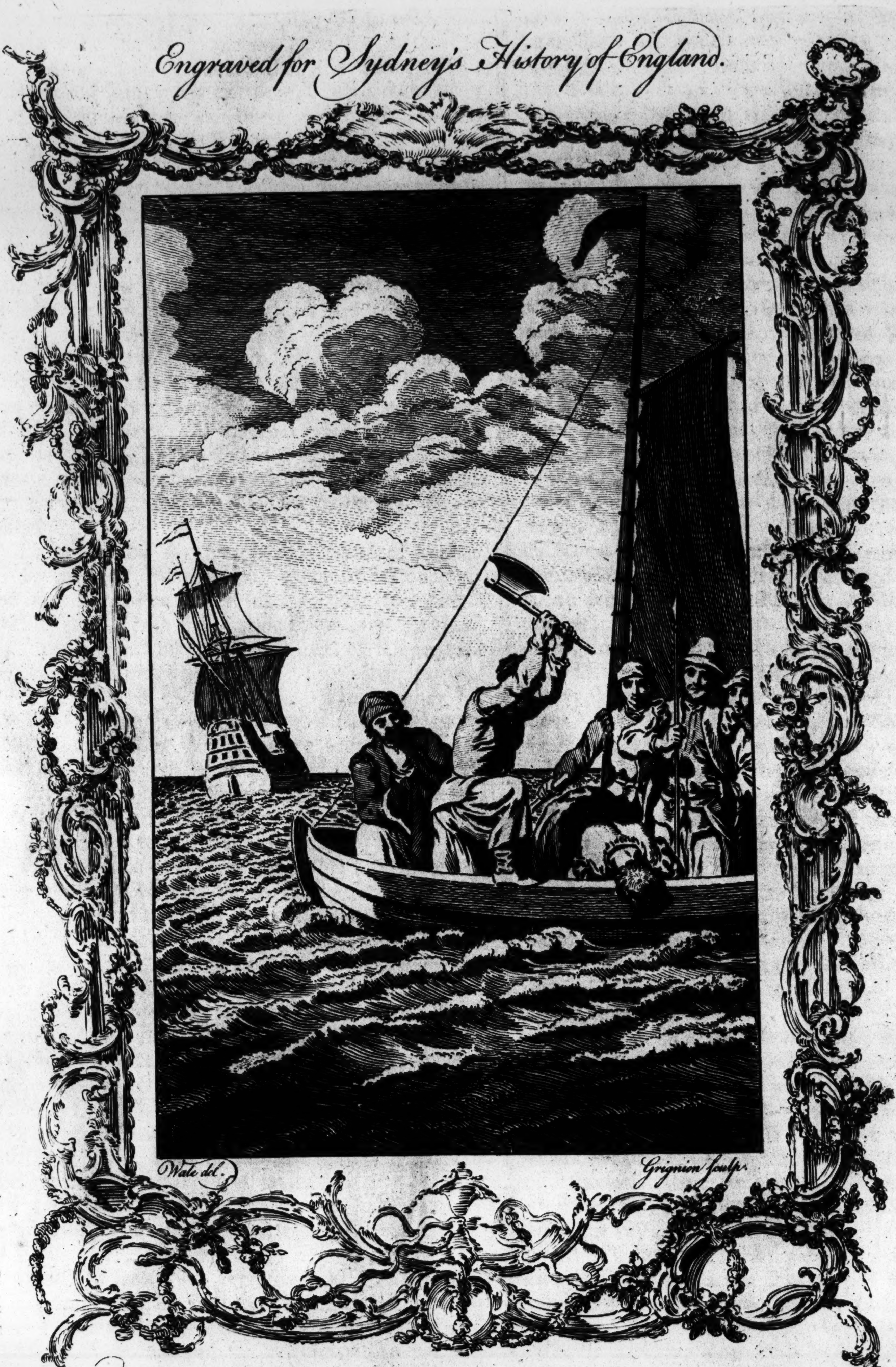

Wale del.

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The **Duke** of **Suffolk** beheaded in a long Boat near **Dover** happened in Ireland, it was thought proper to inveſt him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and ſend him into that iſland, as the only perſon capable of reſtoring tranquillity. York well knew the true reaſon for his being ſent out of the kingdom, but made no difficulty of accepting the commiſſion. His mild and gentle behaviour ſoon produced the deſired effect; the Iriſh returned to their duty, without being compelled by force. They even became ſo ſtrongly devoted to him and his family, that no miſfortunes were able to ſhake their conſtancy.

A. D. 1450. The people, ever ſince the death of Glouceſter, had deteſted Suffolk, as the aſſaſſin of that patriotic nobleman. He was hated by the great as prime miniſter, and the declared favourite of the queen; and as the poverty of the crown obliged him to have recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, it was impoſſible for him to eſcape the machinations and reſentment of ſo formidable a faction. The popular clamours aroſe to an amazing height; and Adam Moleyns, biſhop of Chicheſter, was murdered in a tumult excited by a patriotic leader of the multitude. In the agonies of death, the biſhop charged Suffolk with being a traitor to his country. This charge increaſed the public diſcontent, and the Houſe of Commons determined to impeach him.

Accordingly they accuſed the duke of high-treaſon. They aſcribed to him the loſs of the Engliſh dominions on the continent; and even inſiſted, that he had entered into a deſign to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far; their accuſation could not bear examination; it was ſupported by no evidence. A new charge of miſdemeanors was therefore drawn up againſt him, chiefly regarding the perverſions of authority, and, in all probability, founded entirely upon facts. Henry was now alarmed for his miniſter. He perceived that the Commons were determined to carry on the proſecution with the utmoſt vigour, and feared the upper houſe would declare him guilty. He therefore ſent for all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment, produced Suffolk before them, and aſked him what he could ſay in his own defence. He denied the charge, but ſubmitted himſelf to the pleaſure of the king, who baniſhed him from the kingdom during five years.

But this ſentence was far from ſatisfying the lords. They returned, in a very ill humour, to their houſe, and entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt theſe proceedings. They declared, “That the ſentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the reſult of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which ſhould not at all infringe their privileges; and that if Suffolk had inſiſted on his right, and not ſubmitted voluntarily to the king's pleaſure, he was entitled to a trial by his peers.”

The duke of Suffolk, who conſidered this temporary baniſhment as the only expedient that could ſave him from the fury of the people, prepared, with great alacrity, for his departure; flattering himſelf, that as he ſtill enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he ſhould be ſoon recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life ſhould pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ſhip to cruize off Dover, and intercept him in his paſſage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his duty with great exactneſs. The duke was ſeized near Dover, his head ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea. No enquiry was made after the authors of this atrocious act of violence, though the court threatened to ſend an army into Kent, and lay the whole county waſte, in revenge for the murder of Suffolk, perpetrated near that coaſt.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded the late miniſter in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were loſt, the public, who always judge by the event, ſoon made him the object of their animoſity and hatred. Somerſet was now in the ſame dangerous ſituation experienced by Suffolk; and the parliament was no ſooner broke up, than various commotions were excited in different parts of the kingdom. They were, indeed, ſoon quelled; but ſufficiently indicated the diſpoſition of the people, and proved a prelude to an inſurrection of a more alarming nature, and which, for ſome time, threatened the nation with very dangerous conſequences.

One John, or rather Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suſſex, had taken ſanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, ſoon after, returned into Kent, and obſerving the diſcontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himſelf the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was the ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the preſent reign, and conſequently a near relation of Richard duke of York, the perſon from whom the people hoped for redreſs of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was ſufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and Cade ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men. The arch rebel perceiving that vaſt numbers daily flocked to his ſtandard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out, that he was going to reform the government, and eaſe the people of that load of taxes, by which they had been ſo long oppreſſed.

The court, on receiving intelligence of this inſurrection, ſent a meſſage to the inſurgents, demanding the reaſon for their appearance in arms. Cade replied, that they had no deſign to offer the leaſt violence to the perſon of the king; they only deſired to preſent a petition to the parliament, that the miniſters who oppreſſed the people might be removed from the royal preſence. At the ſame time, he delivered to the deputies two papers, enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars, they prayed that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed, as the principal author of the loſs of Normandy; that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious perſons; and not with vicious and profligate men of bad principles and corrupt morals, from whom neither happineſs nor tranquillity could be expected.

Theſe remonſtrances were, however, ſo far from producing the intended effect, that the miniſtry, thinking themſelves highly inſulted, determined to have recourſe to violent methods for quelling the rebellion. An army of fifteen thouſand diſciplined forces, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was ſent againſt the inſurgents. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired, with the main body of the rebels, to Sevenoak, but left a ſtrong detachment in ambuſcade to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without obſerving the neceſſary cautions, and were ſo furiouſly attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The general himſelf fell in the action.

Animated by this ſucceſs, Cade returned to Blackheath, and again ſent a remonſtrance to the king and council, demanding, “That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, ſhould be recalled to court; that the murderers of the good duke of Glouceſter, together with all thoſe who had contributed to the loſs of the Engliſh territories on the continent, ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment.” The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the ſecret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themſelves, reſolved, if poſſible, to purchaſe their ſafety by ſacrificing ſome individuals to the fury of the populace. The lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themſelves very unpopular, were committed to the Tower; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the duke of Buckingham, ſent to treat with the inſurgents. Cade received them with the utmoſt complaiſance, but told them he was abſolutely determined not to lay down his arms, till the king came in perſon and granted their requeſts. The effect of this conference was reported to the council, and the king, perſuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the inſurgents, ſet out, with his whole court, for Kenelworth caſtle.

Their retreat was no ſooner known to Cade, than he marched directly towards the capital; where the citizens, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, opened their gates, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his forces. He had even the inſolence to ſtrike his ſword againſt London-ſtone, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London. He, however, maintained, for ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them out at the approach of night into the fields, where they continued till the morning, when they again returned into the city. But being reſolved, in order to gratify their malevolence againſt Say and Cromer, to put thoſe miniſters to death, he could no longer reſtrain their riotous diſpoſitions. They plundered the houſes of the more opulent citizens, and committed ſo many diſorders, that the inhabitants perceived, there was a neceſſity for joining the regular troops, in order to prevent the deſtruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly when Cade marched out of the city in the evening, they ſeized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death.

Cade and his followers, at their return in the morning, found the gate of the bridge ſhut and barricadoed againſt them. They attempted, however, to force a paſſage. A battle enſued, and the conteſt continued till night, without either party gaining any remarkable advantage. The rebels were greatly diſpirited at not being able to open themſelves a paſſage into the city; and the miniſtry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the inſurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. Theſe pardons were iſſued under the great ſeal, and prudently publiſhed during the night in the camp of the inſurgents. The effect was aſtoniſhing. The morning no ſooner appeared than Cade found himſelf deſerted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rocheſter, where the reſt diſperſed, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances and artful ſpeeches, by which he endeavoured to perſuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the ſanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the wolds of Suſſex, with a few of his friends, who were determined to ſhare his fate. A price was now ſet upon his head by the government, and he was ſlain by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex, who ſent his head to London. The duke of York was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having excited this inſurrection, in order to make a trial of the ſentiments of the people. He was ſtill in Ireland, where his ſucceſs had entitled him to the public eſteem and confidence; but he now haſtened to return to England, perſuaded that his perſonal ſecurity depended upon the vigour of his meaſures; and the whole kingdom was immediately filled with his pretenſions and rights.

A. D. 1451. Soon after his landing, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances of the nation, and offered his beſt ſervices to reform the abuſes that had crept into the government. The miniſtry perceived the duke's real intention; but their preſent ſituations obliged them to act cautiouſly; and it was reſolved to return a civil anſwer. Accordingly the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had for ſome time been ſenſible of the neceſſity of reforming the government, and intended to nominate a council for that purpoſe, and of conſtituting the duke of York as their preſident." Adding, "that till this could be effected, ſuch precautions ſhould be uſed that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be ready to take his trial whenever it was thought neceſſary." It was imagined by the miniſtry, that this remarkable condeſcenſion would deprive the duke of York of all pretenſions for taking up arms; but they were miſtaken; the offers were declared unſatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was reſolved to proceed in their ſcheme early in the enſuing ſpring.

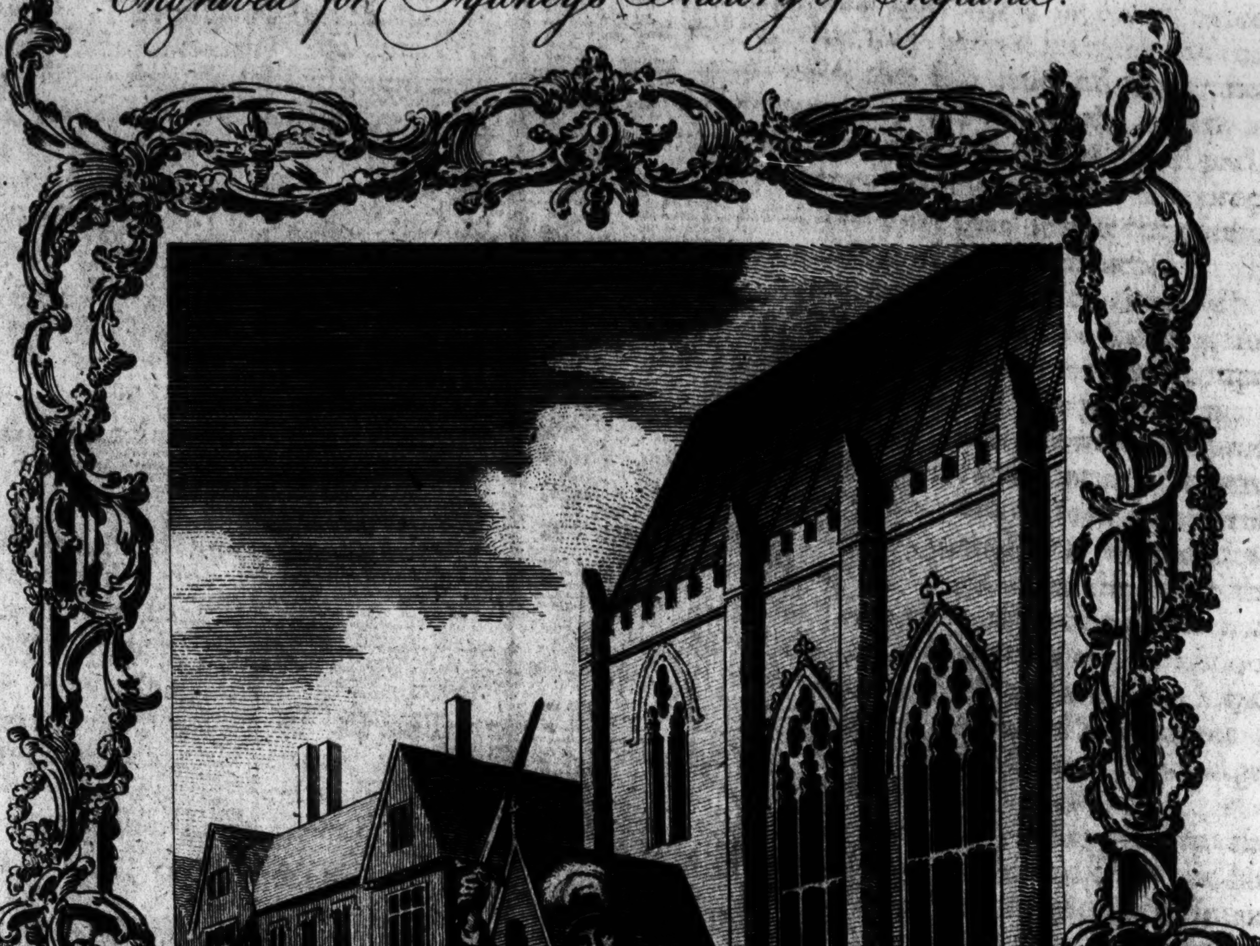
This intereſting conteſt engaged the attention of the whole kingdom. The people were divided in opinion with regard to the pretenſions of the houſes of Lancaſter and York. Many plauſible reaſons were urged by the partiſans of both parties. "Richard II. ſaid the friends of Lancaſter, was dethroned by an act of the nation; and Henry IV. was placed in the ſeat of power by the ſame authority. The right of ſucceſſion was a rule admitted only for the general good, and could not be pleaded to the deſtruction of the national tranquillity. Two glorious reigns had conſolidated the poſſeſſion and rights of the reigning family, and the people were bound to allegiance by the numerous oaths of fealty they had taken. Even the duke of York himſelf, had renounced claims to which he might have been entitled, by having done homage to Henry, as his lawful ſovereign. To what calamities, added they, would the nation be expoſed, if diſputes and revolutions, which muſt be attended with bloodſhed, and all the violences of civil contention, were encouraged." It was urged on the contrary, by the partizans of the duke of York, "That the maintenance of order in the ſucceſſion of princes, was the baſis of public tranquillity; that the injuſtice committed by the violation of it, could not be too ſoon repaired; that the lapſe of many ages was neceſſary to give avidity to a violent eſtabliſhment; that both the depoſition of Richard and the coronation of Henry IV. had been occaſioned by a popular inſurrection rather than by a deliberate act of the nation; that the lawful heirs of the crown had, indeed, ſubmitted to neceſſity and force, but had never renounced their rights; and that a revolution deſtined to eſtabliſh order, ſo far from proving ruinous to the ſtate, would prevent ſimilar diſputes for the future." Theſe arguments were continually repeated, and appeared weaker or ſtronger in proportion to the prejudice of the party. But they tended not to heal the animoſities of the people; arms alone were ſufficient to decide the important conteſt.

A. D. 1452. As ſoon as the ſpring was conſiderably advanced, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, had joined his friends, and entered England at the head of a formidable army. No acts of hoſtility were, however, committed; they marched peaceably forwards, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that their ſole intent was to promote the good of the nation; to releaſe the oppreſſed ſubject from a burden he was unable to bear: and to bring a corrupt adminiſtration to juſtice. Theſe plauſible reaſons produced the deſired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's ſtandards; he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and directed his march towards London, expecting to have met with no oppoſition from the royal army, but he was miſtaken; the queen and Somerſet had exerted all their power to raiſe a number of forces ſufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were ſucceſsful. The king marched from London againſt him; but before the two armies met, York was informed of his danger, changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. But the duke ſoon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promiſes of the Londoners; inſtead of receiving him with open arms, they ſhut their gates againſt him.

Henry no ſooner received advice that the duke had paſſed by his army, than he returned with the utmoſt expedition towards the capital, while the duke of

York

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



Wale del. Walker Sculp.

**JACK CADE** *Declaring himself* **LORD** *of the City of* **LONDON**

Engraved for [illegible]

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

York croſſed the Thames at Kingſton, and being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he encamped on Bremheath near Dartford. The king followed him cloſe, and, marching over London-bridge, encamped on Black-heath. The duke of Somerſet, who attended the king on this occaſion, and ſeems to have been an able politician, adviſed Henry to cruſh this rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered ſtrength, and become formidable. He obſerved, that this was the time to attack the inſurgents, who might be defeated with eaſe, and the nation freed from all future attempts of this kind, as the great ſuperiority of the royal army almoſt inſured a victory. But Henry was ſo impolitic as to neglect this prudent counſel. He liſtened to the advice of ſome timorous, perhaps treacherous noblemen, and had recourſe to negotiation. This counſel was indeed better adapted to the pacific genius of Henry, and to that averſion he always entertained to ſpilling the blood of his ſubjects. Certain prelates and noblemen were ſent to know the reaſons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to reſtore the tranquillity of the nation.

York, with the greateſt appearance of reſpect and moderation, told the meſſengers, that the proſperity of his country was his ſole intention; that he deſired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to juſtice the duke of Somerſet, and others of the council, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppreſſed the people. He added, that he was willing to diſband his forces, and throw himſelf at Henry's feet, if the perſons he had mentioned were taken into cuſtody, and brought to anſwer the charge he was ready to exhibit againſt them in parliament. Henry made no difficulty of complying; Somerſet was put under arreſt, and the duke of York by this condeſcenſion, deprived of all excuſes for keeping up a body of forces. He ſaw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly, he diſmiſſed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a paſſport. When he came into the royal preſence, he openly avowed the cauſe of his taking up arms, and inſiſted that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be immediately brought to trial; when to his great aſtoniſhment, that miniſter came from a private cloſet in the preſence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treaſonable practices. A virulent contention enſued, and a torrent of the moſt indecent invectives were poured out, without the leaſt regard to the preſence of the ſovereign.

Somerſet inſiſted on putting the duke of York to death immediately; but the more diſpaſſionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to ſuch extremities, would not permit that any violence ſhould be offered to his perſon. Any attempt of that kind would, indeed, in all probability, have been attended with very diſagreeable conſequences to the government. The duke was accordingly diſmiſſed, after making a formal ſubmiſſion to the king, and acknowledging, upon oath, his title to the crown.

A. D. 1453. But Somerſet did not long enjoy his triumph over the duke of York. The bad ſucceſs of an enterprize which had been taken againſt Guienne, and in which the brave Talbot, the glory of the Engliſh arms, periſhed; together with the birth of a ſon to Henry, which cut off all the duke's hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, without the effuſion of human blood, ſerved, once more, to kindle the flame of civil diſcord, and increaſe the activity and zeal of the partizans of the houſe of York. But it was thought neceſſary to conceal their intentions under the maſk of ſubmiſſion, as the candour of his late conduct in diſbanding his forces, and the oath he had taken to the king, had lulled the court into a perfect ſecurity. The king had for ſome time been afflicted with a dangerous diſeaſe, which had occaſioned the meeting of parliament to be poſtponed ſeveral times. The ſecret friends of the duke of York were determined not to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of procuring that nobleman his ſeat in the council, from which he had been unjuſtly excluded. They accordingly inſinuated to the queen and Somerſet, that when the preſent diſpoſitions of the people were conſidered, there was very little reaſon to expect that the parliament would be very ready to comply with their deſires; on the contrary, it was ſufficiently apparent, that, conformable to the wiſhes of the nation, that aſſembly would appoint a new miniſtry. They added, that the only ſure method of preventing that misfortune would be to admit into the council, the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, and ſome other popular noblemen, in order to convince the public, that they had no intention of making their own wills the ſole rule of government. This advice appeared ſo plauſible to the queen and her favourite, who dreaded the effects of a parliament cenſure, that they readily embraced the propoſal, and theſe noblemen took their ſeat at the council-board before the meeting of the parliament.

A. D. 1454. The miniſter ſoon felt the effects of his complaiſance. The Yorkiſts had no ſooner gained admittance into the council, than their credit ſuperſeded that of their adverſaries. The proceedings of government were changed; they renewed the proſecution againſt Somerſet, and even ventured to arreſt him in the queen's preſence, and to ſend him priſoner to the Tower. The council was now entirely governed by the duke of York, and the king ſtill continuing in a ſtate incapable of holding the reins of government, it was thought neceſſary to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom; with powers to hold the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament in the king's name. This title was ſoon after changed into that of protector, by the parliament.

A. D. 1454. But York did not long enjoy this plenitude of power. Henry recovered from his late indiſpoſition; and the duke's commiſſion was ſuperſeded; Somerſet was releaſed from his confinement, reſtored to his former power in the adminiſtration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government. The duke of York had now every thing to fear, and after concerting meaſures proper to be purſued in this alarming conjuncture, retired into Wales in order to raiſe a body of forces. He well knew that the proceedings of the council in releaſing Somerſet, without bringing him before the parliament, would be conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for renewing his pretences to reform the government. He was not deceived. The popular clamour againſt the miniſter was ſoon as loud as before; and the people flocked from all parts to his ſtandard, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of three thouſand men.

Thinking himſelf now ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt any force the king could bring into the field againſt him, he marched directly to London, hoping to ſurprize Henry in the capital. But he was deceived in his expectations. The king, at his approach, marched out to meet the inſurgents, though his army conſiſted of no more than two thouſand men. Richard, without advancing any pretenſions to the crown, demanded only a reformation of government. This requeſt was denied, and a battle was fought at St. Albans between the two parties, in which the Yorkiſts were victorious. The duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of eminence, and above eight hundred common ſoldiers were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with the greateſt reſpect and tenderneſs. This was the firſt blood ſpilt in that fatal quarrel which ſubſiſted thirty years, which was ſignalized by twelve pitched battles, and which gave occaſion to the moſt cruel and ſanguinary exceſſes. No leſs than eighty princes of the blood fell in theſe dreadful conteſts, and the ancient nobility of England were almoſt entirely annihilated.

A. D. 1455. Affairs did not, however, immediately proceed to the laſt extremities. Margaret of Anjou ſupported, in ſome meaſure, the tottering throne; and the nation was kept in ſuſpence by the irreſolute temper of the duke of York. The parliament, which met ſoon after the battle of St. Albans, granted to the Yorkiſts a general indemnity, reſtored the protectorſhip to the duke, but, at the ſame time, they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry. The queen did not behold the ſucceſs of the duke of York with idle reſignation. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, the ſon of him who fell at St. Albans, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father. Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was equally enflamed in a deſire of vengeance for the loſs of his ſon, who periſhed in the ſame conteſt; and all the princes and nobles, allied or attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, determined to exert all their endeavours to pluck the duke of York from the ſeat of power.

Richard, regardleſs of this oppoſition, lived in ſuch apparent ſecurity, as aſtoniſhed his enemies. Perſuaded that an attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from a family who had held it near ſixty years, would be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, and, perhaps, prove abortive, after deluging the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants; he reſolved to wait for ſome favourable opportunity for aſſerting his rights, and ſeizing the crown to which he had an indiſputable title. His great care was to acquire the love of the people, without which he knew all his efforts muſt be ineffectual. Deſirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced by paſſion or intereſt, he paid the utmoſt attention to the affairs of the royal family: he eſtabliſhed the houſhold of the prince of Wales, and ſettled on him a decent maintenance; and, at the ſame time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper. He was perſuaded it was not in their power to diveſt him of the dignity of protector, becauſe his patent could not be revoked without the conſent of parliament. But the queen was of too active and enterprizing a ſpirit to be diverted from her purpoſe by ſuch ſlender obſtacles.

A. D. 1456. On the meeting of the parliament, Henry, who had now, in ſome meaſure, recovered his former health, came to the houſe, and declared from the throne his reſolution to re-aſſume the reins of government; and deſired the duke of York's patent might be annulled. No oppoſition was made to the king's declaration: Henry was declared to be reinſtated in his ſovereign authority, and Richard's patent was revoked. Had Margaret been ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, ſhe might, perhaps, have enjoyed her authority for ſome time without diſturbance; but elated with this favourable turn of fortune, ſhe reſolved to ſecure her future tranquillity by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury, and Warwick.

A. D. 1457. In order to effect this dangerous undertaking with more ſecurity, the court removed to Coventry; and letters, under the privy-ſeal, were diſpatched to thoſe three noblemen, commanding them to attend the king on affairs of importance. They made no ſcruple to obey the order; but when they were within a few miles of Coventry, they received intelligence from their friends, that deſigns were formed againſt their liberties and lives. They immediately ſeparated themſelves. Richard withdrew to his caſtle of Wigmore, in Herefordſhire; Saliſbury to Middleham, in Yorkſhire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been conferred on him after the battle of St. Albans. This treacherous attempt deſtroyed all remains of confidence; and an unuſual degree of animoſity took place between the partiſans of the houſes of York and Lancaſter. But ſtill the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other perſons of peaceable diſpoſitions, hoped it was not yet too late to interpoſe their good offices for bringing about a reconciliation between the two parties, and prevent the dreadful conſequences of a civil war, which otherwiſe appeared inevitable. For ſome time, all offers were rejected; but at laſt their labours ſeemed to promiſe a happy termination to theſe alarming diſſentions; and it was agreed that all the great leaders of both parties ſhould meet at London, in order to effect a ſolemn reconciliation.

A. D. 1458. But their appearance reſembled the meeting of two numerous armies, rather than that of the chief nobility of the ſame kingdom. They ſeemed to be followed by the greater part of the inhabitants. The duke of York and his partiſans took up their quarters near each other for mutual ſecurity. The ſame precaution was obſerved by the chiefs of the other party; and the mayor of London, at the head of five thouſand men, patrolled the ſtreets, to keep the peace between them. At length an apparent reconciliation was effected; but the terms upon which it was founded took not away the ground of difference. This agreement was, however, notified to the public by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the oppoſite; exhibiting every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undiſguiſed confidence. But, unfortunately for the peace of the nation, there was very little ſincerity on either ſide. Inſtead of labouring ſincerely in the great ends of union; inſtead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederated lords ſuddenly retired to the places where their intereſt was moſt conſiderable; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Saliſbury to the north; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1459. The peace was, however, obſerved; but in ſuch a manner, that it was ſufficiently evident the leaſt accident would revive the flames of civil diſcord. This was too ſoon effected. The earl of Warwick having returned to London, to juſtify his conduct with regard to ſome ſhips he had taken in the channel, a fray happened between one of his ſervants and a domeſtic belonging to the queen; in which the latter, who was the aggreſſor, was deſperately wounded. The companions of each party took part in the quarrel; the ſtreets of London were filled with blood and confuſion; the attorney-general was killed in the commotion, and the earl himſelf narrowly eſcaped. Both parties, in every county in England, now openly made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

Armies were raiſed in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the reſpective forces of each party were joined, the diſpute would be determined by a general engagement. The earl of Saliſbury having raiſed a number of troops, was marching to join the duke of York; but was overtaken on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much ſuperior body of forces. The river Stow, a ſmall ſtream, but of conſiderable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Saliſbury well knew that his forces were not able to engage thoſe of the enemy in the open field, and had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered a detachment of his beſt archers to advance briſkly to the banks of the river, and pour a ſhower of arrows upon the royaliſts. This being effected, he ſounded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confuſion. This produced the deſired effect. The royaliſts were deceived; and thinking the Yorkiſts were flying before them, began to paſs the ſtream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them; and partly by ſurpriſe, and partly by the diviſion of the enemy's forces, totally routed them. The reſt of the army were ſeized with a panic, fled in the utmoſt diſorder, and Saliſbury obtained a complete victory. Lord Audley himſelf, and ſeveral of his principal officers, fell in the action.

Encouraged by his ſucceſs, York joined Saliſbury at Ludlow, and openly declared his pretenſions to the crown. He was ſoon after joined by the earl of Warwick, at the head of a body of veterans from Calais. The queen, and all the nobility in the intereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, were now convinced of the neceſſity of exerting their whole power to prevent the Yorkiſts from wreſting the ſceptre from Henry's hand; and an army, ſuperior in numbers to that of the inſurgents, was ſoon ready to take the field. The Yorkiſts were encamped near Ludlow; and the royaliſts advanced immediately to Worceſter, where they halted. Henry, in order to prevent the effuſion of human blood, ſent Richard Beauchamp, biſhop of Saliſbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms. But his propoſals were refuſed, and both parties prepared to decide their quarrel by the ſword.

But the night preceding the intended engagement, the Calais veterans, who had hitherto imagined they were going to reſcue the king from the hands of a wicked miniſtry, perceived their miſtake. They found that the conteſt was to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of Henry, whom they conſidered as their lawful ſovereign, and therefore deſerted to the royal army. This defection ſo intimidated the Yorkiſts, that they ſeparated the next day, without making the leaſt diſpoſition for a battle. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earls of Marche, Saliſbury, and Warwick, into Devonſhire, where Sir John Denham provided them with ſhips, which carried them over to Calais. The parliament meeting ſoon after at Coventry, an act of attainder was paſſed againſt the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, and their principal adherents; who were all declared traitors, their eſtates forfeited, and their heirs diſinherited.

A. D. 1460. There now remained no hopes of accommodation; every thing wore the aſpect of war and deſolation. Warwick, who was greatly beloved both by the ſoldiers and ſeamen, was very ſucceſsful in his cruiſes; and having received invitations from his partiſans, he landed in Kent, with the earls of Saliſbury and Marche, at the head of fifteen hundred men. He was ſoon joined by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the lord Cobham, and marched directly to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The city gates were immediately thrown open; and his troops continually increaſing, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition of facing the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him. The two armies met at Northampton, and a furious battle enſued. For ſome time, the victory continued doubtful; but the lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded the vanguard of the royal forces, deſerting to the enemy in the heat of the engagement, the whole army was filled with conſternation, and Warwick obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lucy, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were among the ſlain. Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again taken priſoner, but uſed with great tenderneſs and reſpect, the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners having procured him the higheſt regard of the people. He bore this change of condition with the utmoſt fortitude and reſignation. Perhaps his natural imbecillity rendered him equally inſenſible of good or bad fortune.

Henry was conducted to London; and ſoon after his arrival, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter the beginning of October. The duke of York arrived from Ireland three days after the opening of the ſeſſion. He repaired immediately to the Houſe of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was ſtopped by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him if he had yet paid his reſpects to the king? York was confounded at this queſtion, and for ſome time continued ſilent; but at laſt replied, That he knew of no perſon to whom he owed that title. This ſudden declaration alarmed the aſſembly; and Richard ſtanding near the throne, complained to the houſe of the various calamities his family had ſuffered ſince the depoſition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved their way to the ſeat of power; inſiſted on the miſeries which had attended the government of Henry, and exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor. This regard to law and liberty was very unuſual in times of violence and licentious tumult. The aſſembly were ſtruck with ſo uncommon a precedent, and examined, with the utmoſt calmneſs and tranquillity, the duke's pretenſions. At laſt they pronounced a deciſion, calculated, as far as poſſible, to pleaſe both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was indefeaſible; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown thirty-eight years without any oppoſition being made to his title, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs both the title and dignity during his life; but that the adminiſtration of the government ſhould, in the mean time, remain with Richard, who ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and ſucceed to the crown immediately on the deceaſe of Henry: that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion: that it ſhould be high-treaſon to attempt his life; and that all former acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, during the two laſt reigns, ſhould be repealed.

This act was paſſed by the unanimous conſent of the whole legiſlative body; and the accommodation celebrated by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, at which Henry, and both houſes of parliament, aſſiſted. The king himſelf appeared not to be the leaſt affected with this ſudden revolution in his affairs. Satisfied with the preſent tranquillity he was permitted to enjoy, he devoted his whole time to exerciſes of devotion, and committed entirely the care of the adminiſtration to thoſe who acted under the ſanction of his name and authority.

Very different were the ſentiments of queen Margaret. She was a woman ſuperior to her ſex, whom no dangers could intimidate, and who was capable of the utmoſt efforts of heroiſm. She had taken refuge in Scotland with the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and was now exerting all her talents to bring the northern counties of England over to her intereſt. The duke of York was ſoon appriſed of the impending ſtorm, and trembled for the conſequences. A ſummons was ſent her to repair immediately to London, in order to put a ſtop to her enterprizes, or of procuring a pretence for baniſhing her from the kingdom. No regard was paid to the mandate; but advice was ſoon received, that ſhe was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thouſand men. Richard had only five thouſand, but marched as the head of this little army to ſtop the progreſs of the queen; while his ſon, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, in order to raiſe a more conſiderable body of forces, and join his father. The queen determined not to loſe the opportunity of attacking Richard before his army was increaſed by the additional forces of his ſon. She therefore quickened her march; and the duke of York, conſcious of his being unable to meet, in the open field, an army ſo ſuperior in numbers, threw himſelf into Sandal-caſtle, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Wakefield.

Margaret advanced to the gates of the fortreſs, and uſed every method in her power to provoke the duke to a battle. For ſome time, all her arts were vain; but ſhe at laſt effected by ſtratagem what could not be done by any other method. She marched, at the head of the main body of her army, towards the capital, leaving only a ſmall detachment in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. But during the night, ſhe ſeparated her army into two diviſions, and placed them in ambuſh on the ſides of Wakefield-green. On the queen's departure, York drew out his forces, and determined to give the enemy battle; but he had hardly drawn them up in order of battle, before he was attacked, both in flank and rear, by the two bodies placed in ambuſh for that purpoſe. He now perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and reſolved to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. His courage was changed into deſpair. He attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury; and his followers catching the enthuſiaſtic valour of their leader, purſued his track of ſlaughter in a firm, compacted body. The conteſt did not laſt above half an hour, but that ſhort interval of time was crowded with deſtruction. Above two thouſand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces, and he himſelf fell in the action. His ſon, the duke of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, whoſe exterior figure, as well as other accompliſhments, are repreſented by hiſtorians as extremely amiable, was murdered in cold blood by lord Clifford. The earl of Saliſbury was wounded and taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. The body of the duke of York being found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and ſent to Margaret, who cauſed it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in deriſion of his title.

Thus periſhed, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who ſurely merited a better fate. He loſt his life by adhering to principles which render him an object of our eſteem. Had he followed the ferocious practice of the times, and founded his throne on the blood of his enemies, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed the Engliſh ſceptre, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the houſe of Lancaſter. He left behind him three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A. D. 1461. The queen was too much elated by her late victory. Inſtead of keeping her whole force together to act againſt the enemy, ſhe ſeparated her army into two diviſions; ſending one of them, under the command of Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, againſt Edward, now duke of York, who was raiſing forces on the borders of Wales; while ſhe herſelf marched with the other diviſion towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick was left to command the Yorkiſts. As ſoon as Edward had finiſhed his levies, he began his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, and retaliate on Margaret the cruelty his friends had ſuffered. He was met by the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Croſs, in Herefordſhire, where a battle enſued; but Pembroke's army being far inferior to that of Edward, they were ſoon routed, and above four thouſand men fell in the action. He himſelf eſcaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward Tudor, was taken priſoner, and, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, put to death with the utmoſt brutality. Theſe illegal and horrid executions were afterwards an hundred times repeated by the leaders of both parties; ſo atrocious and ſanguinary are civil commotions!

This defeat was ſoon after compenſated by Margaret, who was then leading her victorious forces towards London. Warwick, appriſed of her approach, advanced as far as St. Albans to meet her; and a battle enſued upon Barnard-heath. For ſome time, the Yorkiſts had the advantage; but lord Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable diviſion of the army, treacherouſly withdrawing from the combat, victory declared for Margaret. About two thouſand five hundred Yorkiſts were ſlain in the conteſt, and the perſon of the king himſelf fell again into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kiriel, to whoſe care the king had been intruſted, continued with him after the defeat of the army, relying on the royal promiſe of protection. But Margaret paid no regard to the aſſurances given by Henry: ſhe cauſed both their heads to be ſtruck off by the hand of the executioner.

The duke of York ſtill continued his march towards the capital, and was ſoon after joined by the earl of Warwick, at the head of the remainder of his forces. Margaret, who thought it imprudent to remain in the neighbourhood of London, retired into the north, where ſhe hoped to increaſe her army to ſo formidable a number, as would inſure ſucceſs againſt all oppoſition. Edward, therefore, continued his march, and was received by the citizens as their guardian angel. He was, indeed, formed to attract the love of the people. His external figure was beautiful beyond deſcription; his conſtitution active and hardy; his judgment quick and penetrating; and his abilities as a ſoldier ſurpaſſed by none of his age. But his failings unhappily obſcured the lovely dawn that uſhered in the morning of his youth. He was cruelly vindictive: the laurels he gained in the field were ſtained by the ſtreams of noble blood with which he deluged both the field and the ſcaffold. More reſolute than his father, and more certain of the attachment of the people, whom he had entirely gained over by his popular manners, he determined to aſſume the title and dignity of king; perſuaded that all the misfortunes of his family were owing to their timidity in not ſupporting their claim to the crown with the neceſſary firmneſs and intrepidity.

But notwithſtanding his plauſible title, it was neceſſary to obtain a national conſent, or at leaſt ſomething that had the appearance of it. Time would not permit the aſſembling of a parliament, which might alſo be attended with other inconveniencies; a leſs regular method therefore was choſen. The army was ordered to aſſemble in the fields near Clerkenwell, whither an infinite crowd of people reſorted. In the midſt of this multitude, an harangue was pronounced, diſplaying the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the Lancaſter family. After which, the people were aſked, whether they were ſtill deſirous that Henry of Lancaſter ſhould continue to hold the ſceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed againſt the propoſal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? The anſwer was a loud and general exclamation of applauſe. The experiment having thus far happily ſucceeded, a great council was called at Barnard's-caſtle, where the popular election was confirmed, and the new king was proclaimed on the fifth of March, in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter, by the name of Edward IV.

This tranſaction finiſhed the reign of Henry VI. a prince who had been long the ſport of fortune, though he enjoyed the crown even in his cradle. But he was not formed for governing a ferocious people. In leſs violent times, when the laws were more reſpected, he might, perhaps, have ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre with applauſe. His virtues rendered his perſon reſpectable, but they were not ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the powerful attacks of inſatiable ambition.

EDWARD

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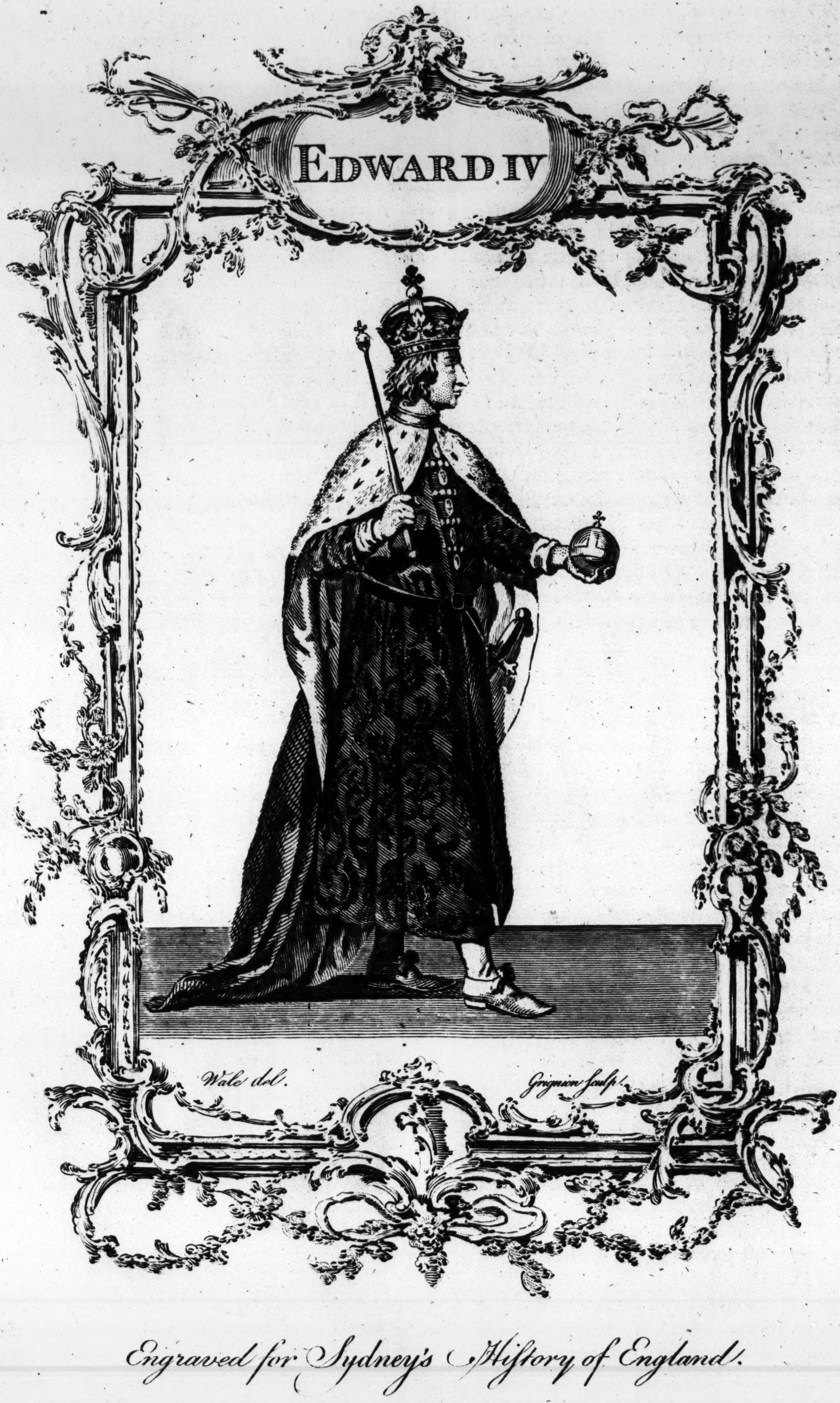

EDWARD IV
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's Hiſtory of England.

# EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461. THE very commencement of Edward's reign was marked with blood! A tradeſman in the city, whoſe ſhop was known by the ſign of the crown, having told his ſon, in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expreſſion was conſtrued as a ſarcaſm upon Edward's title, and the ſhopkeeper ſuffered death for his pleaſantry. But this was only the beginning of thoſe ſanguinary actions which almoſt deſtroyed the nobility of England, and laid great part of the country waſte. Every diſtrict of the kingdom was filled with the two implacable factions diſtinguiſhed by the white and red roſes; the former being the badge of the houſe of York, and the latter of that of Lancaſter; and Edward was too much diſpoſed to confirm his authority by cruel executions. Margaret, who was a ſtranger to fear, and who conſidered her repeated defeats as the moſt powerful motives for new attempts, exerted all her abilities to recruit her army, and engage the uſurper of her huſband's throne. She had already rendered herſelf extremely popular in the northern counties, and ſoon found herſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand diſciplined forces.

Edward was alarmed at her ſucceſs, and haſtened, with an army of forty thouſand men, to check her progreſs. He was accompanied by the earl of Warwick, and continued his march, with the utmoſt expedition, till he reached Pontefract, in Yorkſhire. Lord Fitzwalter was now detached with a body of troops, to take poſſeſſion of Ferrybridge, a paſs over the river Aire, and then of the utmoſt importance. Fitzwalter executed his commiſſion with ſucceſs, and took poſt on the north ſide of the ſtream. The royal army was commanded by the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford; all of them famous for their military abilities, and unſhaken friends to the Lancaſter family. The king and queen, with their young ſon the prince of Wales, retired to York, in expectation of an event which muſt finally decide the conteſt for the Engliſh throne.

The ſurpriſal of Ferrybridge was conſidered as an event of the utmoſt importance; and it was determined, if poſſible, to drive the enemy from that advantageous poſt. Accordingly lord Clifford was ſent, at the head of a party, during the night; and reaching the poſt before break of day, he fell ſo unexpectedly upon the enemy's detachment, that the greater part of them were cut to pieces, the paſs was recovered, and Fitzwalter himſelf ſlain in the action.

This loſs greatly affected the ſpirits of the Yorkiſts; an incident the more alarming, as a deciſive engagement was every hour expected. The earl of Warwick perceived the danger; and ordering his horſe to be brought, he ſtabbed him with his ſword in preſence of the whole army; and kiſſing the hilt of the weapon, he ſwore to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier, and either conquer or periſh. At the ſame time, a proclamation was iſſued, by which every perſon who pleaſed was at full liberty to retire; but the whole army declared, they would gain the victory, or fall with their leaders. Animated by this reſolution, lord Fauconbridge undertook to recover the paſs in poſſeſſion of lord Clifford. Accordingly he paſſed the Aire at Cailleford, three miles above the place; and marched with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that Clifford was ſurpriſed, his detachment routed, and he himſelf found among the ſlain.

Edward now led his troops againſt the enemy; and the two armies met at Touton, where a bloody battle enſued. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, there happened a heavy fall of ſnow, which being driven by a briſk wind in the faces of the Lancaſtrians, prevented them from knowing, with any degree of exactneſs, the diſtance of the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, improved this advantage. He ordered his men to advance as near as poſſible; and after diſcharging a flight of arrows on the enemy, to retire with the utmoſt expedition to their former poſt. This ſtratagem produced the deſired effect. The Lancaſtrians perceiving, by the force of the arrows, that the enemy was very near, emptied their quivers by repeated diſcharges, without producing any great effect; and then advanced, ſword in hand, to decide the dreadful conteſt. The Yorkiſts, who had kept their arrows, poured in ſo dreadful a diſcharge, that the advanced line fell back on the main body. The earl of Northumberland perceiving the diſadvantage of his forces, preſſed forward, and the battle ſoon became very obſtinate and bloody. The dreadful conteſt continued ten hours with unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either ſide. The field was covered with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horrors of the battle. Towards evening, the Lancaſtrians began to give ground, and retreat in good order towards Tadcaſter bridge. Animated with the appearance of the victory, the Yorkiſts redoubled their efforts, and attacked the enemy with ſo much fury, that they were unable to ſupport the charge. Their ranks, which they had hitherto maintained with ſurpriſing firmneſs, were broken, and a precipitate flight enſued. Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, ſo that the carnage was ſhocking to humanity. Above thirty-ſix thouſand perſons periſhed that day by the ſwords of their countrymen. Among theſe were the earl of Weſtmorland, and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonſhire, who had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, was taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded at York. Henry, his queen, and the young prince, eſcaped into Scotland; but the inteſtine diviſions which then prevailed in that kingdom prevented their receiving any effectual aſſiſtance.

Edward thought it unneceſſary to purſue the fugitive family. He returned to London, and ſummoned a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the fourth of November. No difficulty was made againſt acknowledging Edward's title to the crown; they even declared, that he was properly poſſeſſed of the throne from the moment he aſſumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They reverſed ſeveral acts paſſed in the late reigns, particularly the attainders of the earls of Cambridge, Saliſbury, and Glouceſter, and that of lord Lumley. They alſo paſſed an act of forfeiture and attainder againſt Henry, queen Margaret, their infant ſon prince Edward, and their principal partiſans. Such, in theſe ferocious times, was too often the fortune of princes!

A. D. 1462. But Edward was not contented with the dreadful ſacrifice that had been already made to his ſafety: he thought it neceſſary that others, tho' they had never appeared in arms againſt him, ſhould feel the weight of his power. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and venerable for his virtues, together with his ſon Aubrey de Vere, were tried by martial law, for a pretended correſpondence with Margaret, and beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Baldwin Fulford, and John Montgomery, ſuffered the ſame fate. Edward diſtributed the eſtates of theſe victims to his ambition, among his own adherents. Nor did he neglect the opportunity of cultivating the eſteem of the clergy. He confirmed their privileges, exempted them from being proſecuted in civil courts for felony, and other offences: indulgences which could not fail of engaging that powerful body of men in his intereſt.

While Edward was employed in eſtabliſhing his throne, Margaret was ſolliciting the court of France for aſſiſtance to replace Henry in the ſeat of power. Lewis XI. who had lately ſucceeded his father, was ſufficiently inclined to feed the flames of civil diſcord among ſuch dangerous neighbours, by giving aſſiſtance to the weaker party: but having formed the project of humbling his own nobility, he was not in a capacity of furniſhing Margaret with a ſufficient number of troops to effect the intended purpoſe. He, however, ſent a ſmall body of forces, under the command of Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and made himſelf maſter of Alnwick-caſtle.

A. D. 1463. As nothing could be expected from this handful of men, Margaret paſſed over to France, in order to ſollicit, in perſon, a more powerful aſſiſtance. She even offered to deliver up Calais, on condition of receiving an army ſufficient to drive Edward from the throne. The duke of Britany ſupplied her with twelve thouſand crowns, and Lewis with two thouſand men at arms. With this inconſiderable force Margaret landed at Bamburgh, in Yorkſhire, and found means to take poſſeſſion of that caſtle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing againſt her, at the head of a numerous army, ſhe retired into Scotland. Edward ſoon reduced the caſtles of Bamburgh and Alnwick; and ſeeing no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, he returned to London.

But Margaret was not idle. She exerted herſelf with ſo much ſucceſs in Scotland, that ſhe raiſed a numerous army, who followed her ſtandard chiefly for the ſake of plunder. She entered Northumberland about the latter end of April, and for ſome time was extremely fortunate. She ſurpriſed the caſtle of Bamburgh; and being joined by the duke of Somerſet and Sir Ralph Piercy, with their followers, ſhe took a conſiderable number of places in that part of the country. The firſt check ſhe met with was from lord Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgley Moor, where Sir Ralph Piercy, their leader, was ſlain. Elated with this ſucceſs, Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without ſtaying for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching to the northward at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced againſt the queen's forces, encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was received with equal intrepidity. But after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancaſtrians to flight. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Hungerford, Roſs, and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Huſſey, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Findcarn, were taken priſoners, and their heads ſtruck off by martial law. Edward's policy led him to exterminate his enemies. He ſought to eſtabliſh, by their blood, a throne he had procured by violence, and which was therefore unſteady and inſecure. Henry being well mounted, fled into Lancaſhire, where he continued concealed for a twelvemonth, but was at laſt diſcovered, and committed to the Tower. His imbecillity was ſo great, that no attempt was made againſt his life.

Margaret, with her infant ſon, fled into an adjacent foreſt, where the ſplendor of her attire ſoon betrayed her into the hands of robbers, who ſtripped her of her rings and jewels. Fortunately for her, the richneſs of the booty occaſioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged with one another, Margaret and her ſon made their eſcape into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, where they wandered for ſome time, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and oppreſſed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition, the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked ſword in his hand. There was now no poſſibility of effecting an eſcape, and ſhe trembled for the life of her ſon. But happily recollecting, that he might poſſibly be one of thoſe perſons who had been unfortunately proſcribed for adhering to the intereſt of her huſband, ſhe approached the robber with an air of majeſtic confidence, and preſenting to him the young prince, called out, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of the king's ſon." Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compaſſion at beholding perſons of the higheſt rank reduced to ſuch melancholy diſtreſs, the robber, who was not wholly loſt to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himſelf to her ſafety and protection. He accordingly conducted her out of the foreſt, to a village by the ſea-ſide, whence ſhe ſoon after eſcaped to Flanders.

Edward had now no enemy to fear. He had ſet his foot upon the neck of oppoſition. The parliament had confirmed his title, and he was in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne. He therefore applied himſelf to acquire a general popularity. He lived with his ſubjects in the moſt familiar manner. He attended leſs to the cares of royalty, than to the diſſipation of amuſements and the allurements of paſſion. He became the general patron among the men, and the general lover among the ladies. Even foreign princes courted his alliance; and ſeveral matches worthy of him were propoſed, particularly Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry IV. of Caſtile; and Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the queen of France. The laſt was choſen, and the earl of Warwick was ſent to demand the princeſs in marriage. But while the earl was labouring to promote at once the glory of his maſter and the advantage of his country, an event happened which rendered his negotiation abortive, and for ever alienated his affections from his ſovereign.

Edward being at a hunting-match in Wychwood-foreſt, took the opportunity of paying a viſit to the dutcheſs of Bedford, who then reſided at Grafton-manor, near Stony Stratford. The dutcheſs, ſoon after her huſband's death, had married Sir Richard Wideville, a private gentleman, to whom ſhe bore ſeveral children, particularly Elizabeth, remarkable at once for the grace and beauty of her perſon, and her mental accompliſhments. This amiable lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; but her huſband having embraced the Lancaſtrian party, and falling at the ſecond battle of St. Albans, his eſtate was forfeited to the crown; and his widow had returned to her father's ſeat, where ſhe lived in privacy and retirement. The preſence of the king was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain ſome grace from the young monarch, who was ſo greatly celebrated for his condeſcenſion and gallantry, eſpecially to thoſe of her ſex. She accordingly threw herſelf at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her diſtreſſed family.

Struck with the charms of the beautiful widow, love, under the guiſe of compaſſion, ſtole into the heart of the amorous monarch. He raiſed her from the ground with the aſſurance of favour. The elegant converſation of the amiable object every moment increaſed his paſſion; and Edward, in his turn, became a ſuppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. Her virtue, however, withſtood all the efforts of his addreſs. This behaviour augmented his paſſion, and he offered to ſhare his throne with the object of his affections. The marriage was ſecretly performed at Grafton-manor, and every precaution taken to prevent ſo important a ſecret from being known.

During theſe tranſactions, Warwick had laboured ſo aſſiduouſly in conducting his negotiation, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princeſs to England. Edward's marriage could not be long concealed; and the intelligence at laſt reached the ears of Warwick, who immediately broke off his negotiation, and returned to England glowing with reſentment and indignation at this inſult offered to his honour. The king's marriage was now publickly declared, and ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter-abbey on the twenty-ſixth of May. Edward took no pains to regain the friendſhip of Warwick, to whom he was indebted for his crown: on the contrary, he took methods which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He laviſhed a profuſion of honours and eſtates on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high conſtable of England. Her brother, John Wideville, was married to the daughter and heireſs of lord Scales, to whoſe honours and eſtates he ſucceeded; and all her friends and relations were raiſed and enobled by the royal favour. This partiality excited an uncommon degree of jealouſy among the nobility, eſpecially as Edward had obtained from parliament a general reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince his acceſſion to the throne.

A. D. 1465. Warwick ſaw the diſcontents of the nobles with a ſecret ſatisfaction, and plainly perceived that he ſhould be ſoon in a condition to make Edward feel the weight of his reſentment. In the mean time, he obtained permiſſion to retire to his caſtle of Warwick, where he practiſed by the arts of popular patriotiſm uſual with perſons diſcontented with the meaſures of the court. Edward knew the cauſe of his ſequeſtrating himſelf from the affairs of government, and took the moſt prudent methods for rendering any attempt, that might be made by that ambitious nobleman, abortive. He concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip, duke of Burgundy, a deſcendant of the houſe of Lancaſter, but who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing to his political ambition the intereſt of that unfortunate and oppreſſed family. The duke of Britany alſo entered into an alliance with him, and the king of Scotland prolonged the truce for forty years. He was equally ſucceſsful in obtaining ſupplies from his parliament; they granted him ſubſidies with a liberality unknown in any former reign. The Commons alſo paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the ſmall remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and by theſe forfeited eſtates the king was enabled to gratify his friends; but his favours were chiefly beſtowed on the queen's family. That princeſs now procured her ſiſter Catherine to be married to the young duke of Buckingham, a minor, and a ward of the crown. William Herbert having eſpouſed Mary, another of her ſiſters, was created lord Dunſter, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third ſiſter, married a ſon and heir of Gray, lord Ruthyn, who was now honoured with the title of earl of Kent.

Warwick and his friends ſaw this profuſion of favours laviſhed on the Wideville family with ſecret indignation; and were joined by a multitude of diſcontented nobles; among whom was the duke of Clarence, Edward's brother. Warwick, however, ſtill preſerved the external marks of ſubmiſſion to Edward, but redoubled his attention to increaſe his popularity. His houſe was always open, his tables always ſpread for every one who choſe to partake of his hoſpitality; and hence he became a greater favourite with the people than ever.

A. D. 1469. The duke of Clarence, already diſguſted by the meaſures of the court, now contracted an intimate connection with Warwick, by marrying his eldeſt daughter, Iſabella, by which he obtained a very noble ſettlement; and the earl retired to his government of Calais, under pretence of celebrating the nuptials. The ſpirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil diſcord; but the ſame ſpirit which threw the nation into confuſion, ſo biaſſed the pens of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, that it is impoſſible to trace the cauſes of the various inſurrections; ſome imputing the whole to the intrigues of Warwick; while others aſſert, that by his aſſiſtance they were ſuppreſſed. But however that be, the firſt inſurrection was excited in the north, headed by one Robert Hillyard, generally called Robin of Ryddeſdale; but the inſurgents were ſoon routed, and their leader executed. The malecontents were, however, rather animated than diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their firſt attempt. They again aſſembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz Hugh, and Henry Neville, ſon to the lord Latimer. But as both theſe noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their firſt intention was to make themſelves maſters of the city of York; but being diſappointed in procuring a ſufficient train of artillery, they reſolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful ſovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his anceſtors."

Alarmed at the progreſs of the rebels, and the continual augmentation of their numbers, Edward iſſued orders to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the earl of Rivers, to aſſemble an army in Norfolk, and the adjacent counties. He alſo wrote to his friend the earl of Pembroke, commanding him to aſſemble the Welſh, and croſs the country immediately, in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north.

Pembroke ſoon found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and marched with great expedition againſt the inſurgents, who were then in the neighbourhood of Northampton. In his route he was joined by the earl of Devonſhire, at the head of a conſiderable body of archers. As ſoon as the two armies came in ſight of each other, Pembroke detached all his cavalry, under the command of his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, with orders to obſerve the poſition of the enemy, and, if he thought it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard executed his orders; but perceived that ſuch wiſe precautions had been taken by the leader of the inſurgents, that an attack muſt be attended with the utmoſt diſadvantage. The fiery ſpirit of the Welſh could not, however, be reſtrained by prudential reaſons: they fell upon the rear of the enemy, and were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter.

During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Warwick arrived from Calais; and the rebels, flattering themſelves with being powerfully aſſiſted by that popular nobleman, changed their route. Inſtead of purſuing the road to London, they directed their march towards Warwick-caſtle. Pembroke, impatient of revenge, followed the rebels with ſuch expedition, that he came up with them near Banbury, and the two armies encamped near each other. During the night, a trivial difference about quarters ariſing between the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, the latter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. This deſertion filled the inſurgents with hopes of obtaining a complete victory; and Sir Henry Neville, one of their leaders, having charged the royaliſts at too great a diſtance from the main body, was ſurrounded, and taken priſoner. This misfortune checked the ardour of the rebels, and they returned to their camp. But Pembroke having, without any form of trial, put the noble priſoner to death, they were exaſperated to a degree bordering on madneſs. They attacked the Welſh army with a fury that was irreſiſtible, put them to the ſword without mercy; and having taken Pembroke and his brother priſoners, cauſed them both to be immediately beheaded. Elated with their late ſucceſs, they detached a party to Grafton-manor, ſeized the earl of Rivers and his ſon John, and ſtruck off their heads in the market-place of Northampton. But they committed no farther diſorders. Contented with having deſtroyed the moſt obnoxious of Edward's miniſters, they diſperſed, and returned quietly to their own habitations. Perſuaded all theſe miſfortunes were owing to the deſertion of the earl of Devonſhire, the king cauſed that nobleman to be executed in the like ſummary manner. All the laws of humanity were ſacrificed to paſſion and reſentment.

A. D. 1470. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick now engaged in open rebellion; but their meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that they were obliged to fly to the court of France for protection. Lewis XI. one of the moſt politic princes of his age, now undertook to reconcile Warwick with queen Margaret, who then reſided at Angers. Perhaps no two perſons ever entertained a greater animoſity againſt each other than Warwick and Margaret. His father had been executed by the orders of the queen. He himſelf had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had baniſhed Margaret, and put her moſt zealous friends and partiſans to death. He had been the ſcourge of the houſe of Lancaſter. But all theſe difficulties Lewis found means to remove. They were both highly exaſperated againſt Edward, and their common intereſt formed an union between them. It was determined to re-eſtabliſh Henry on the throne. At the ſame time, it was agreed, that Warwick and the duke of Clarence ſhould direct the adminiſtration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daughter of that nobleman; and that in caſe of failure of male iſſue in the prince, the crown ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire excluſion of king Edward and his poſterity.

Edward, intoxicated with the love of pleaſure, and too vain of his own power, neglected to take the neceſſary meaſures for breaking the force of the ſtorm that was gathering round him. He received authentic intelligence of this extraordinary treaty from the duke of Burgundy, who had fitted out a large fleet to intercept Warwick in his paſſage; but he availed himſelf not of the diſcovery. He was even ſo confident of rendering the attempt abortive, that he declared, the duke might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of guarding the ſeas, as he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwick landed in England. It was not long before that nobleman appeared. He landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry. The name of Warwick, ſo dear to the Engliſh, his immenſe credit, and the turbulent diſpoſition of the Engliſh, drew to his ſtandard, in a few days, an army of ſixty thouſand men.

So unexpected a defection of the Engliſh alarmed Edward. He ſaw his folly when it was too late to prevent the conſequences. He was then with his army in the north, and employed in quelling an inſurrection raiſed in Yorkſhire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married one of the ſiſters of the earl of Warwick. But on receiving advice of the ſucceſs of that popular nobleman, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London with great expedition. Warwick, determined, if poſſible, to engage Edward before he reached the capital, advanced acroſs the country, and came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montague, the brother of Warwick, had raiſed an army of ſix thouſand men, and was following Edward, in order, as it was imagined, to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no ſooner halted, on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell upon the rear of the royal army, during the night, with the utmoſt fury, and the air reſounded with the cry of "God ſave king Henry!" The king, alarmed at the noiſe, ſtarted from his bed, and was ſoon convinced that it was the cry of war, generally uſed by the Lancaſtrian party. Lord Haſtings haſtened into his apartment, and informed him of his danger; urging him to make his eſcape from an army where he appeared to have ſo many concealed enemies, and ſo few zealouſly attached to his ſervice. He had hardly time to get on horſeback, before the enemy attacked his quarters. A few minutes would have determined the fate of Edward. He fled with the utmoſt precipitation, attended with a ſmall retinue, to Lynn in Norfolk, where he fortunately found ſome Dutch ſhips ready for the ſea, and ſailed immediately. But his danger did not terminate with his embarkation. A fleet of ſhips belonging to the Eaſterlings, who were then at war both with France and England, were hovering on the Norfolk coaſt, and gave chace to the king's veſſels; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they eſcaped into the port of Alcmaer, in Holland.

Warwick had now no enemy to oppoſe him. In no longer a ſpace of time than eleven days from his landing, he was left entire maſter of the kingdom. He immediately directed his march towards London, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, re-placed him on the throne, and proclaimed him king with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The moſt conſiderable partiſans of the York family either ſought protection beyond the ſeas, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries where the eccleſiaſtical privileges afforded them ſhelter from the inſults of their enemies. It is computed, that in London alone, no leſs than two thouſand perſons ſaved themſelves in this manner; and among the reſt, Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Weſtminſter-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward. The earl of Worceſter, conſtable of England, fell into the hands of the Lancaſtrians, and was ſoon afterwards beheaded. He was the firſt nobleman in England who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his love for letters, and who laboured aſſiduouſly to propagate genuine learning among his unpoliſhed countrymen.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter; and as no exertions of liberty could be expected in this aſſembly, their proceedings were intirely directed by the ruling party. The treaty with Margaret was here fully ratified. Henry was acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was univerſally acknowledged, the regency was entruſted to Warwick and Clarence, till prince Edward reached the age of majority; and in default of that prince's iſſue, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the crown. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an uſurper of the throne. Even the paternal eſtate of the York family was declared to be forfeited. All his friends were attainted; particularly the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother. The attainders of the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Pembroke, Oxford, Richmond, and Ormond, were reverſed; and all who had ſuffered for adhering to Henry were reſtored to their honours and eſtates.

Clarence and Warwick now aſſumed the government in Henry's name, and diſpoſed of all poſts, both civil and military. The judges, ſheriffs, and coroners, were changed in every part of the kingdom. The archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Clarence lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the ſame time, the paternal eſtate of the York family was ſettled upon him. The marquis of Montague was reſtored to his favourite poſt of warden of the eaſt marches of Scotland, and a long truce was concluded with France.

Edward, when he landed at Alcmaer, was kindly received by De Bruges, governor of Holland, under the duke of Burgundy. But that prince was greatly perplexed with regard to the meaſures moſt proper for him to purſue in this unexpected revolution. He was fearful of plunging himſelf into a war with England, by giving the unfortunate exile an aſylum in his dominions; and he was already attacked by Lewis XI. who had made himſelf maſter of Amiens and St. Quintin. He therefore ſent his ſecretary, Philip de Comines, to Calais to diſcover the intentions of Vauclere the governor, with regard to his future conduct. He found the governor, the garriſon, and all the inhabitants of the town, dreſſed in Warwick's livery, which they had aſſumed on the firſt news of that nobleman's ſucceſs, and was aſſured that the earl was ſending over four thouſand men to begin hoſtilities in the duke's dominions, who, as the protector of Edward, had been declared the enemy of England. Philip, though alarmed at this intimation, told the governor that his maſter's treaty, which was made with the kingdom as well as the king of England, was ſtill in force: and that the duke of Burgundy conceived himſelf bound to obſerve the articles, the change of the king's name from Edward to Henry making no difference. Theſe arguments would, however, have had little weight with the Engliſh government, had they not been ſupported by the merchants of London and Calais, who had then great influence on the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of loſing the principal part of their commerce with the duke of Burgundy. At their inſtances therefore the earl of Warwick put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and it was agreed that the treaty ſhould continue in force; and the duke, on his part, promiſed to give no aſſiſtance to Edward. But this covenant was very ill obſerved; for though he refuſed to ſupply him openly, he equipped four large veſſels in the name of ſome private merchants, and cauſed fourteen ſhips to be ſecretly hired of the Eaſterlings. This ſmall ſquadron, together with a conſiderable ſum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately ſailed for England, with his ſmall retinue and a body of two thouſand men. On his departure the duke iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all his ſubjects to give him any aſſiſtance on pain of death.

A. D. 1771. Edward reached the coaſt of Norfolk on the twelfth of May, and ſent Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham on ſhore, to diſcover the ſentiments of the people with regard to his intereſt; but they ſoon perceived that the great vigilance of the earl of Oxford had rendered it very unſafe for them to land in that country. It was, therefore, reſolved to ſtand farther to the northward; but a ſtorm ariſing in the night, they were obliged to continue at ſea till the fourteenth, when they landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire. Edward was ſoon convinced that the policy of the earl of Warwick with regard to changing the magiſtrates was very detrimental to his intereſt, and that it would be neceſſary for him to have recourſe to art and diſſimulation to effect his purpoſe. He pretended, and even made an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal eſtates, which had been unjuſtly taken from him by the parliament.

This political diſſimulation produced the deſired effect upon the minds of the people. Compaſſion ſupplied the place of affection: numbers, deceived by his humble pretenſions, flocked to his ſtandard, and the nobility were very willing to receive him as a fellow-ſubject, though not as a king. He marched directly for the capital of the county where he landed, and found the inhabitants univerſally diſpoſed to aſſiſt him in recovering the eſtates he enjoyed from his anceſtors, though not in the recovery of his crown. It was, therefore, thought neceſſary to give them every ſatisfaction in his power with regard to his pretenſions; and he ſcrupled not to take a ſolemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown; to govern the city in a kind and courteous manner; and to be a true and faithful ſubject to king Henry.

But Edward never intended to obſerve his oath any longer than it tended to promote his own intereſt. His army was now conſiderably increaſed, and it was determined to march towards the capital where Edward had many powerful friends. Warwick had aſſembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leiceſter, and advanced to give his enemy battle; but Edward by following another road paſſed him unmoleſted, and preſented himſelf before the gates of London. The city ladies became powerful advocates in behalf of the gallant Edward; while his creditors, knowing that they had no other chance for the recovery of their debts, than by re-placing him in the ſeat of power, joined their inſtances in his favour, and Edward entered the city in triumph, while Henry, deſtined to be the ſport of fortune, was again committed to the Tower. He was now in a condition to oppoſe his enemies, and being informed that the earl of Warwick was marching to give him battle, he advanced to meet him, and the two armies came in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Margaret was every day expected with a conſiderable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themſelves in readineſs to join her ſtandard. But Warwick, who was determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory or periſh in the attempt, waited not for Margaret's arrival. The night before the engagement, the duke of Clarence, who had ſecretly entered into engagements with his brother, deſerted to the king, and carried with him twelve thouſand men.

Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat, and rejected with diſdain the terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence. He told them, "that he had rather be conſiſtent with himſelf, than to follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory or loſe his life." This defection of Clarence greatly affected the ſpirits of Warwick's ſoldiers; and had the earl not been ſo near the enemy he would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now ſeveral days march from a place of ſafety; and to have attempted a retreat in the face of an army ſuperior in numbers to his own, would have been certain ruin; nor would his intrepid ſoul, a ſtranger to fear, ſuffer him to turn his back upon the enemy.

Early in the morning of the fourteenth of April, both armies were drawn out in order of battle. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Glouceſter; the main body by himſelf; and the rear by lord Haſtings. The right wing of Warwick's army was commanded by the marquis of Montague and the earl of Oxford; the left by Warwick himſelf aſſiſted by the duke of Exeter; and a ſtrong body of archers poſted in the center by the duke of Somerſet.

Never was victory contended for with more obſtinacy; nor ever were leaders more determined to conquer or periſh. The battle began at four in the morning, and the troops of Warwick, though inferior to thoſe of Edward in number, charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the earl of Oxford's diviſion broke the main body of Edward's army; but purſuing the fugitives with too ſanguine an eagerneſs, left their main body defenceleſs. Edward ſaw the miſtake, and attacked the weakened part of Warwick's diviſion at the head of a body of reſerve. Oxford ſoon ſaw his error, and wheeled about to recover his former ſtation; but unfortunately his men, who wore ſtars for their badges, returning from the purſuit and paſſing near the duke of Exeter's diviſion, the latter miſtook their ſtars for ſuns, the badge which diſtinguiſhed Edward's ſoldiers, and charged them ſo furiouſly, that they drove them off the field before the miſtake was diſcovered. This gave the forces of Edward's routed wing an opportunity of rallying. The battle was now no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had occaſioned a ſuſpicion of treachery. They, however, defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, and, in all probability, would have put a final period to Edward's reign, could the unfortunate accident have been retrieved. But that was impoſſible. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to ſupport his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably loſt, and diſdaining life when victory was gone, he ruſhed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell covered with wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, followed his example, and periſhed by his ſide. Their deaths completed the route of their army; and as Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage enſued. About two thouſand fell on the ſide of the conquerors, and three thouſand on the ſide of the vanquiſhed. The duke of Somerſet and the earl of Oxford fled into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke, who was raiſing troops for Warwick's army.

The day after the fatal battle of Barnet, Margaret with her ſon the prince of Wales, landed at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, attended by the counteſs of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, the lord Wenlock, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, at the head of a conſiderable body of French troops. The queen had hardly time to repoſe herſelf after the fatigue of a very tempeſtuous paſſage, before ſhe received the fatal intelligence of the defeat and death of Warwick, and the captivity of her huſband. The ſoul of Margaret, hitherto a ſtranger to fear, could not ſupport the ſhock. Her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and deſpair. She retired to the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire, and regiſtered herſelf, her ſon, and her followers, as perſons claiming ſanctuary in that religious retirement. But her ſpirits were ſoon raiſed from the abyſs of terror into which the weight of her misfortunes had plunged them, by the appearance of the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, the viſcount Beaumont, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who, on the firſt news of her landing, ſet out at the head of their vaſſals and dependents to offer her all the aſſiſtance in their power, and to declare their reſolution of ſpending their lives and fortunes in her defence.

This inſtance of affection encouraged Margaret to make one final attempt for the recovery of her throne. She left her ſanctuary, and putting herſelf at the head of her foreign forces, began her march through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, where her army was every day conſiderably increaſed by the continual acquiſition of new partiſans. On the twenty-ninth of April the queen reached Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, where ſhe propoſed to halt and refreſh her wearied troops after their long and fatiguing march; and then proceed to the borders of Wales in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had raiſed a conſiderable body of archers. But the activity of Edward prevented this junction. He no ſooner received advice of the queen's landing, than he ſet out at the head of his army to give the Lancaſtrians battle, before their whole ſtrength was conſolidated: and after a very painful and fatiguing march, encamped, on the third of May, within three miles of the enemy. Aſtoniſhed at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, where it was reſolved to paſs the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces; but the city of Glouceſter refuſing to open her gates, it was conſidered as impracticable to croſs the river in their preſent ſituation without expoſing their rear to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined, to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkeſbury, where the troops would be flanked on both ſides ſides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear defended by the town and abbey; while a ſtrong entrenchment was to be thrown up in the front of the army. Could this reſolution have been completely executed, the queen's camp would have been impregnable; but the activity of Edward prevented them from effecting their deſign; he determined to attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed. The Lancaſtrians had, however, uſed ſuch expedition, that Edward owed his ſucceſs to ſtratagem.

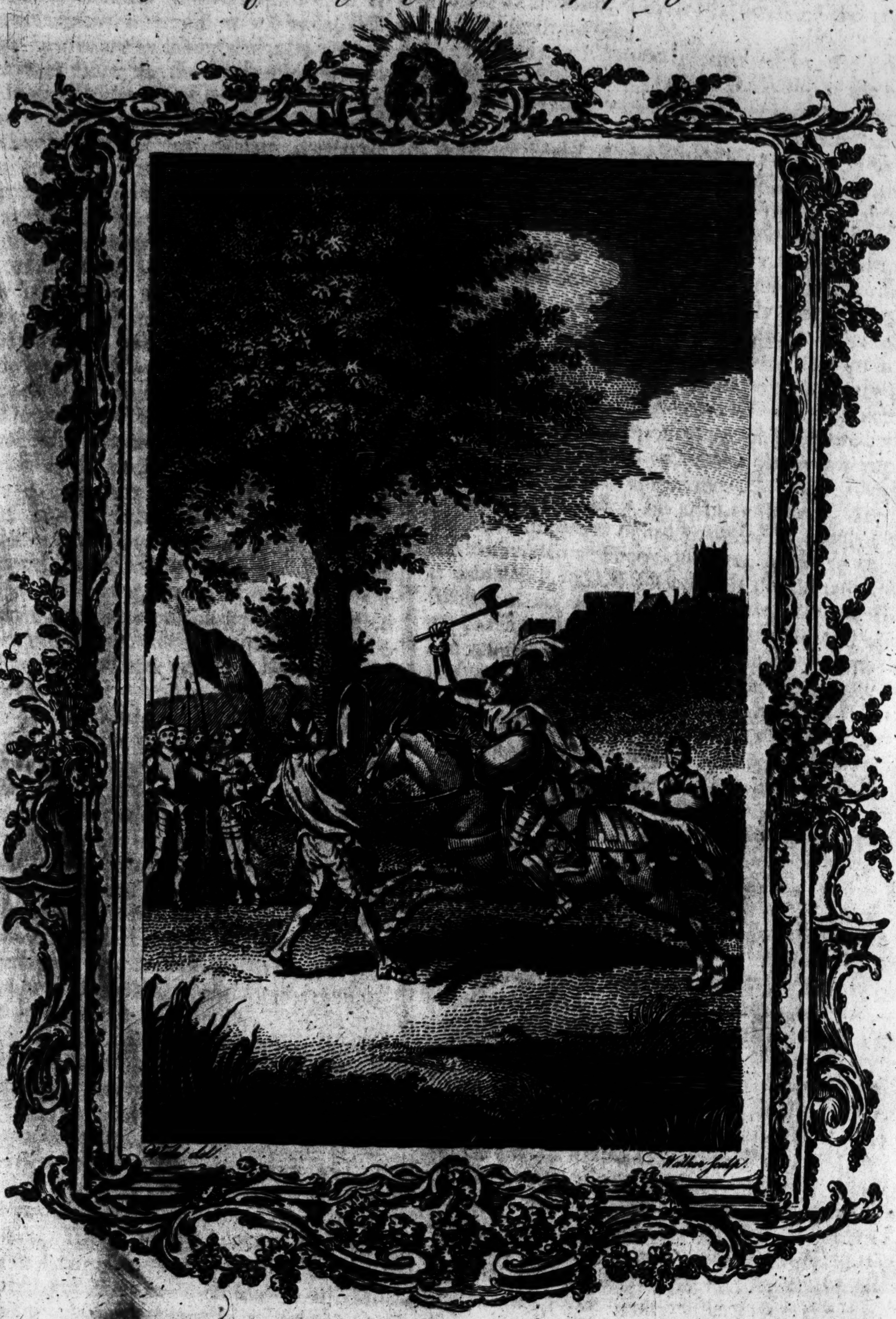
He drew up his army in two lines, the firſt of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, while he himſelf, aſſiſted by the duke of Clarence and lord Haſtings, led the other. The Lancaſtrian army was formed into three lines; the firſt was commanded by the duke of Somerſet and his brother lord Beaufort; the ſecond by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by lord Wenlock; and the third by the earl of Devonſhire. The duke of Glouceſter began the attack with the utmoſt fury; but Somerſet's diviſion, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with ſuch intrepidity, that they were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter; and had Somerſet been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. But Glouceſter, purſuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confuſion. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; Somerſet, whoſe diſpoſition was naturally impetuous, led his diviſion through the defiles of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the ſecond and third lines to ſupport him, and attacked the Yorkiſts in the open field with the utmoſt fury. A dreadful conteſt enſued, and continued without any perceptible advantage on either ſide, till a detachment of two hundred horſe from Edward's army, attacked the Lancaſtrians in flank, and threw them into diſorder. Somerſet was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former ſtation, which he ſhould not have quitted; but was followed ſo cloſely by Glouceſter's diviſion, that the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces. Amazed at not being ſupported, the duke threw his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock ſtanding cooly at the head of his diviſion. Somerſet conſtrued this into an act of treachery, and riding up to him with the utmoſt fury, clove the head of that nobleman with his battle-axe.

The duke of Glouceſter had purſued his advantage with ſo much prudence, that his whole diviſion was now within the intrenchments, and was ſoon followed by Edward, at the head of the ſecond line. Confuſion now reigned in every part of the queen's camp. The whole army betook themſelves to a precipitate flight after a faint reſiſtance, and Edward gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; ſcarce a perſon of any note in the queen's army eſcaping either death or captivity. Among the ſlain were the earl of Devonſhire, lord Beaufort, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hambden, Sir Edward Whittingham, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerſet, the grand prior of St. John, and about twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took ſanctuary in the abbey-church. But Edward paid no regard to eccleſiaſtical privileges: he ſent a detachment of his forces, who dragged them from their aſylum, and put them immediately to death, according to the barbarous policy of that relentleſs monarch. Margaret of Anjou and her ſon had alſo taken ſanctuary in another religious ſtructure, and were dragged from thence by Edward's ſoldiers. The queen was ſent to the Tower, where ſhe continued four years in cloſe confinement, when ſhe was releaſed by Lewis XI. who generouſly paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom. She retired to France, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days in privacy and retirement; after having aſtoniſhed the world by a courage and reſolution, which would have done more honour to her ſex, had ſhe alſo been endowed with its ſoftneſs and other amiable qualities.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her ſon. He was brought into the preſence of Edward, who aſked him, in an inſulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his preſent ſituation, replied,

with

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



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The **DUKE** *of* **SOMERSET** *Killing*
*Lord Wenlock.*

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with an unſeaſonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his juſt inheritance." Stung with this intrepid anſwer, the ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, and lord Haſtings, conſidering the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, where they diſpatched him with their daggers.

Henry himſelf ſurvived the battle of Tewkeſbury only a few days. That unfortunate prince, whoſe innocence and melancholy imbecillity might have defended him from the attempts of violence, fell a victim to the misfortune of being born to a crown. He is ſaid to have fallen by the unrelenting hand of the bloody duke of Glouceſter. His body was expoſed to public view, in order to perſuade the people that his death was natural. But this precaution produced a very contrary effect, by recalling many ſimilar inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, and ſuggeſting a compariſon not at all favourable to the government.

The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battle of Tewkeſbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancaſtrian family, fled into Britany, carrying with him his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only partiſan that now remained was the baſtard of Fauconbridge, who took the advantage of Edward's abſence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice-admiral's commiſſion by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been ſtripped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew with the ſhips under his command, and for ſome time ſubſiſted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to aſſiſt that princeſs in recovering the Engliſh ſceptre; and being joined by three hundred men from the garriſon of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magiſtrates. Vaſt numbers flocked to his ſtandard; and he marched immediately for London, at the head of ſeventeen thouſand men. He entered Southwark without oppoſition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkeſbury arrived in the critical moment, he had been maſter of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual aſſiſtance from their victorious monarch, ſhut their gates againſt the inſurgents. They made, however, a deſperate attempt to carry the bridge by ſtorm; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, they deſerted their leader, who was ſoon after taken priſoner, and executed, according to the ſummary manner of thoſe ferocious times.

Edward had now no competitor for the throne, nor any enemy to fear. A parliament was ſummoned, which, like the other aſſemblies of that kind during the civil wars, ratified all the acts of the victor, recognized his title, and again attainted the whole Lancaſtrian party. But proſperity was of more pernicious conſequence to Edward than adverſity. He had ſufficient firmneſs to ſupport all the evils of the latter, but he could not reſiſt the allurements of the former. He devoted himſelf to amuſements, and was far more attentive to fill his coffers than to remove the complaints and grievances of his ſubjects. His familiar manners, and pleaſing addreſs, rendered him, however, extremely popular, notwithſtanding the cruelties he had exerciſed on his enemies. The melancholy ideas of deſtruction were abſorbed in the gay ſcenes of pleaſure and diſſipation.

A. D. 1474. But the deſire of foreign conqueſts, which had ſo nobly emblazoned the reigns of his predeceſſors, at length rouſed Edward from the couch of voluptuouſneſs. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was ſtipulated, that Edward ſhould croſs the ſeas with an army of above ten thouſand men; and that Charles ſhould join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward ſhould challenge the crown of France; and that the ſword of war ſhould not be ſheathed till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy: That Champaigne, and ſeveral other territories, ſhould be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions ſhould be freed from the burden of homage to the crown of France. It was added, that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other. The Engliſh parliament, always ready to aſſiſt their ſovereign in any attempt to humble France, granted him a large ſubſidy; and every precaution was taken to render the ſucceſs of this expedition as brilliant as thoſe that attended the attempts of his predeceſſors.

A. D. 1475. Edward, attended by the principal nobility of England, landed at Calais, at the head of thirty thouſand archers, and prepared to carry his conqueſts into the very heart of France. But the ſanguine hopes of the Engliſh were greatly leſſened, when the duke of Burgundy joined them with only his common equipages. That prince, tranſported by the violence of his temper, had led his army to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed againſt the duke of Lorrain, and other princes of the Empire. Edward was greatly diſguſted at this breach of the treaty, and determined to take every advantage that offered for promoting his own intereſt. Lewis XI. a prince who diſdained all military glory, and who, dreading the events of war, regulated all his proceedings by a policy, which the more certainly anſwered his purpoſe, as he was not over ſcrupulous in adhering to his engagements. Money was the great hinge on which his politics turned. He made very advantageous offers to Edward; and a treaty was concluded at Pecquigni, near Amiens; by which it was ſtipulated, "That Lewis ſhould pay ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition; that he ſhould alſo pay him annually the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France ſhould marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and ſettle on her ſixty thouſand livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in the other's dominions, but, on the contrary, aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections of their ſubjects." At the ſame time, Lewis gained over the Engliſh miniſters to his intereſt, by ſettling penſions on them to the amount of ſixteen thouſand crowns a year. Lord Haſtings had two thouſand; lord Howard, and others, had nearly the ſame proportion: nor were theſe great miniſters aſhamed to receive wages from a foreign prince. The two monarchs had afterwards an interview on the bridge of Pecquigni, where mutual profeſſions of friendſhip paſſed between them; and the Engliſh had free acceſs into the city of Amiens, where Lewis reſided. But though the French king teſtified the utmoſt confidence in Edward, he, at the ſame time, artfully eluded the propoſal of his making a journey to Paris. "Edward," ſaid he privately to Comines, "is very handſome, and very amorous. Some lady at Paris may invite him to return in a leſs civil manner: it is better the ſea ſhould be between us." But notwithſtanding the profound diſſimulation of Lewis, he could not forbear throwing out ſome railleries on the eaſy ſimplicity of Edward, in allowing himſelf to be diſarmed by money; but perceiving he was overheard by a Gaſcon who had ſettled in England, he was immediately ſenſible of his blunder. He ſent a meſſage to the gentleman, and engaged him to remain in France. "It is but juſt" ſaid he, "that I pay the penalty of my talkativeneſs."

A. D. 1476. Edward being thus diſengaged from foreign wars, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the purſuit of ſuch meaſures as tended to fill his own coffers. The diſbanding of the army lately returned from France, had filled the whole country with robbers; no perſon could travel without the utmoſt danger of loſing his life or effects. Determined to remove this grievance, the king made a circuit, with his judges, through the kingdom, and exerted

exerted himſelf with ſuch vigour and impartiality in the diſtribution of juſtice, that he reſtored the public peace, and freed the roads from thoſe gangs of banditti, by whom they were ſo lately infeſted. But Edward knew that theſe proceedings, however popular and neceſſary, would not be ſufficient to procure him any ſubſidies from the parliament. The leading men of the nation were too highly offended by the miſcarriage of the late expedition, from which they had formed ſuch ſanguine expectations, to think of granting any farther ſupplies. Recourſe was therefore had by Edward to other methods for accumulating treaſure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on, with great advantage, as a private merchant. He ſold the profits of vacant biſhopricks. He demanded fines for the reſtitution of temporalities. He ranſacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large ſums for their confirmation; and he impoſed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. Theſe methods, aſſiduouſly purſued, brought very large ſums into his treaſury, and ſaved him the mortification of a refuſal from his parliament.

A. D. 1477. The duke of Clarence, who had ſo greatly contributed to the reſtoration of Edward by his deſertion from Warwick, could never regain the friendſhip of his brother; the levity and violence of his temper rendered him always ſuſpected. Richard, duke of Glouceſter, a cloſe, reſerved, and deliberate prince, was ſtill a greater enemy to Clarence than the king. Glouceſter had already formed the bloody deſign of ſeizing the crown on the death of Edward, whoſe health was daily declining by his exceſſive debauchery. He therefore became an enemy to Clarence from principle, becauſe he ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion. A combination between ſuch potent adverſaries could not fail of deſtroying Clarence; and it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, not doubting but his paſſion would betray him into meaſures which would give them ſufficient advantage over him. The king hunting one day in the park of Burdet of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of its owner; and Burdet, tranſported with rage, wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed Edward to commit that inſult upon him. This pardonable expreſſion of reſentment was conſidered as a capital crime in a friend to the duke of Clarence, and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence. The next that fell a ſacrifice to their reſentment againſt Clarence, was John Stacy, an eccleſiaſtic; who being better acquainted with mathematics and aſtronomy than moſt men of that age, was conſidered by the vulgar as a magician, and his friendſhip with Clarence rendered him obnoxious to the court. He was tried for that imaginary crime, and put to death for his learning. The ignorance of the age furniſhed the government with pretences for exerciſing their paſſions and reſentments.

Theſe inſtances of cruelty and injuſtice, which Clarence could not help perceiving were pointed at him, excited in his breaſt a thorough deteſtation for the authors. But inſtead of endeavouring to render their malice abortive by ſilence and reſerve, he loudly remonſtrated againſt the iniquity of his perſecutors, and defended, with unſhaken firmneſs, the innocence of his friends.

A. D. 1478. His enemies had now obtained what they thought ſufficient to convict him. He was arreſted, and committed to the Tower. A parliament was alſo ſummoned. The king appeared perſonally as his brother's accuſer, and pleaded the cauſe againſt him. The liberty of judgment was taken from the court by this ſtrange method of proceeding; ſo that, though only ſome raſh expreſſions were objected againſt him, he was condemned to ſuffer death. The Commons alſo meanly ſupported the injuſtice of the peers, by petitioning for his execution. It is aſtoniſhing that the parliament, which had long aſſumed the power of refuſing the moſt neceſſary ſubſidies, ſhould, in this inſtance, be ſo ſervilely ſubmiſſive to the court. Can it be ſuppoſed, that the lives, even of the princes of the blood, were, in theſe times, leſs regarded than the public money? And yet this is the only method of accounting for their proceedings.

Edward, who had taken ſo much pains to convict his brother, did not ſuffer him to languiſh long in priſon. The only favour he granted him, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his own death, and he deſired that he might be drowned in a butt of malmſey; a circumſtance which ſhews, that he was extremely fond of that liquor, or that he was governed by caprice in every circumſtance of his conduct. His behaviour to his laſt moments was expreſſive of his character. He left two children by the eldeſt daughter of the earl of Warwick; a ſon, created an earl by his grandfather's title; and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury.

A. D. 1481. Edward now devoted his time to pleaſure and amuſement. He ſlumbered on the couch of indolence, and all the glories of his reign were abſorbed in the whirlpool of effeminacy. Lewis ſaw his ſupine conduct with a ſecret pleaſure; and being deſirous of marrying the dauphin to the daughter of Maximilian of Auſtria, an infant only two years of age, the treaty was now concluded, though he had promiſed, by the treaty of Pecquigni, that the dauphin ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth. Aſtoniſhed and incenſed at this unpardonable affront, Edward awoke from his lethargy, and vowed to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his perfidy. But that politic monarch, whoſe prudence was equal to his falſhood, foreſaw the gathering ſtorm, and had taken meaſures to break its force. He ſent ambaſſadors to James III. of Scotland, offering him great advantages if he would break his truce with Edward, and carry his arms into the northern parts of England. James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently liſtened to the artful ſuggeſtions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a deſign, to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conſpiring againſt his favourites, put them to death with the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately diſperſed. Soon after, the duke of Glouceſter entered Scotland at the head of the Engliſh forces, made himſelf maſter of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortreſs was ceded to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1483. The war in Scotland being thus happily terminated, Edward devoted his whole attention to the war he meditated againſt France; but while he was employed in making the neceſſary preparations, he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, which put an end to his life on the ninth of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

The hiſtory of this prince ſufficiently diſplays his genuine character. In his youth he was active and intrepid, but cruel and vindictive. He was more remarkable for his vigour than for either prudence or virtue. The latter part of his reign was wholly ſpent in indolence and pleaſure; but the death of his brother ſufficiently indicates, that his paſſion for cruelty continued amidſt all the ſcenes of voluptuouſneſs; and he left a throne polluted with blood to his ſucceſſor.

Edward prince of Wales, and Richard duke of York, were the only ſons that ſurvived their father. The former was twelve, and the latter ſix years of age, when he paid the debt of nature. Four daughters ſurvived him.

1. Elizabeth, promiſed in marriage to the dauphin of France, but afterwards married to Henry VII.
2. Cicely, betrothed to the prince of Scotland, but afterwards married to the lord Weiles.
3. Anne of York, married to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal and lord treaſurer of England.
4. Catherine of York, married to William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire.

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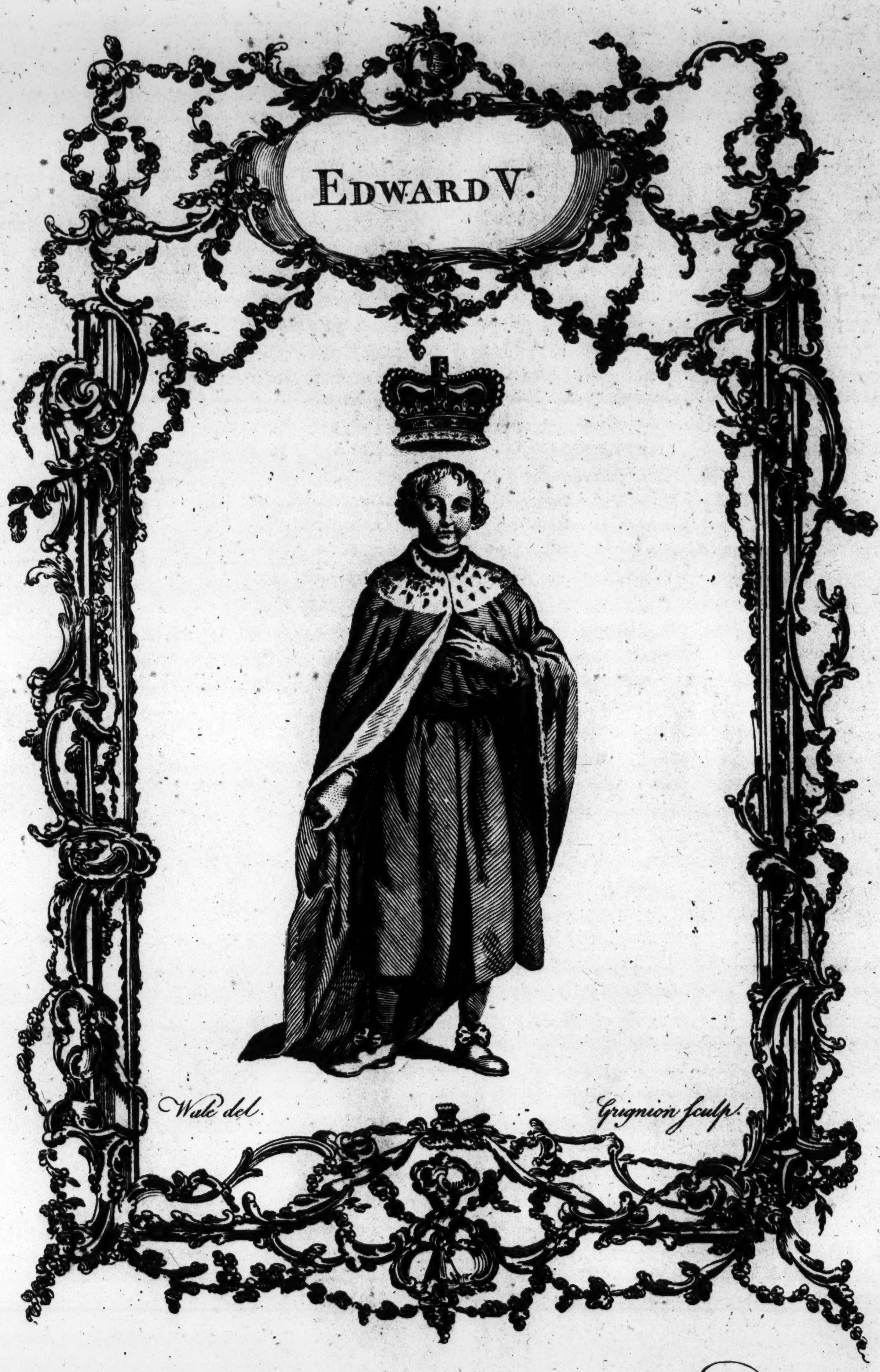
EDWARD V.
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

# EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483. THE young prince, who had, for ſome time, reſided at Ludlow-caſtle, in Shropſhire, under the care of his uncle, the earl of Rivers, was proclaimed the very day of his father's death, in the ſtreets of London, by the name of Edward V. But unhappily for him, two irreconcileable parties divided the court; that of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers, her brother, the moſt accompliſhed nobleman in England; and the marquis of Dorſet, her ſon by a former huſband; and that of the ancient nobility, who envied the ſudden exaltation and unlimited credit of the Wideville family. At the head of this party were the duke of Buckingham, lord Haſtings the chamberlain, and the lords Howard and Stanley. The late king ſaw with regret the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from theſe alarming diviſions, during the minority of his ſon, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties. He ſent for them as he lay on his death-bed, conjured them to lay aſide their animoſities, and labour to promote peace and unanimity in the kingdom during the tender years of his ſon; and prevailed upon them to embrace each other with all the marks of a cordial reconciliation. But his labours were in vain. His eyes were no ſooner cloſed by death, than all their former animoſities revived; they followed their ſeparate intereſts, and each endeavoured to gain the duke of Glouceſter, who had been appointed by his brother regent of the kingdom, over to their party. Glouceſter, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the moſt inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purpoſes under the maſk of profound diſſimulation and policy. He affected the greateſt zeal for the ſervice of the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct. The earl of Rivers had been intruſted by the deceaſed monarch with the care and education of his ſon; and the queen was now deſirous that he ſhould levy a body of troops, to conduct his young ſovereign to London, in order to his being crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Glouceſter perſuaded the queen, that an armed force on this occaſion might be dangerous, and was not at all neceſſary. An order was therefore ſent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was neceſſary to ſupport his ſtate and dignity.

The earl, who never ſuſpected the treachery of Glouceſter, readily obeyed. He was met at Northampton by that prince and the duke of Buckingham; and after paſſing a friendly evening with them, he was arreſted the next day by Glouceſter's orders; and, together with Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the king's houſhold, ſent priſoners to Pontefract caſtle. In vain did the young monarch, with all the eloquence of tears and intreaties, intercede with his inhuman uncle for the releaſe of perſons ſo dear to him. Glouceſter refuſed his requeſt, and conducted Edward to London, where he was received, by the loudeſt acclamations, of the people.

The account of theſe tyrannical proceedings no ſooner reached the ears of the queen, than ſhe conceived the whole deſign of the duke of Glouceſter; and conſidering her brother and two ſons as irretrievably loſt, ſhe fled to the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, with the duke of York, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of her family; reſolving there to await the returns of better fortune. Lord Haſtings was then at London; and though he hated the queen and her relations, had ſtill a ſincere affection for his late maſter, and was unalterably devoted to the king and his brother. He was well acquainted with the deſign of ſeizing Rivers, and pleaſed that the ſcheme had taken effect; but he was confident that nothing more was intended than to ſuppreſs the queen's party. He entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of Glouceſter's real deſign. Accordingly he wrote to Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, and then lord chancellor of England, deſiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and happineſs of the kingdom.

On Glouceſter's arrival, a council was ſummoned, to ſettle the adminiſtration, and he was declared protector of the realm, without waiting for the meeting of the parliament. The queen was the only perſon who yet ſuſpected the duke's intentions. He had carefully concealed his ſentiments from his intimate friends, under the artful veil of diſſimulation; but he well knew, that unleſs he could find means to get the duke of York into his power, all his ſchemes muſt prove abortive. He therefore complained to the council, that the queen's ill-grounded apprehenſions were an indignity to the government; and repreſented the neceſſity of the young prince's appearance at the coronation of his brother; propoſing, that if the queen refuſed to liſten to the voice of reaſon, he ſhould be taken from the aſylum by force. At the ſame time, he affirmed, that ſanctuaries were intended only for the protection of malefactors, and were therefore utterly uſeleſs to a perſon who, by reaſon of his tender age, could lie under the burden of no crime, and who, for the ſame reaſon, was abſolutely incapable of claiming ſecurity from any ſacred retreat. Cardinal Bourchier, the primate, and Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the protector's reaſons, and declared that ſanctuaries were inviolable; but as they penetrated not the duke's deſign, they offered to uſe every argument in their power to induce the queen to comply with the wiſhes of the council. Both theſe prelates were perſons of great integrity and honour: and the queen perceiving, that if ſhe refuſed to comply, the young prince would be taken by force, ſhe produced her ſon; and after bedewing him with her tears, and bidding him an eternal adieu, ſhe delivered him to the cardinal, who carried him immediately to his uncle.

The treacherous and ambitious Glouceſter ſeemed to be for ever excluded from the throne by unſurmountable obſtacles. The numerous iſſue of Edward, and the two children of Clarence, had preferable titles to him. But no reſtraints were ſufficient to with-hold his violence; his fierce and ſavage nature was ſtartled at no crimes; every thing gave way to his ambition. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other priſoners confined in Pontefract caſtle, was firſt determined; and the protector found no difficulty in obtaining the conſent of his party to that ſanguinary meaſure; but fearing that a trial might fill the people with apprehenſions, eſpecially as the crimes that could be alledged againſt them were far from being capital, it was reſolved to diſpatch them without any legal proceſs; and orders were immediately diſpatched to Sir Ralph Ratcliffe, a man capable of the moſt enormous actions, to behead his noble priſoners.

The very day theſe bloody orders were executed, the protector ſummoned a council to meet in the Tower; and having already diſcovered, by his agents, that Haſtings was unalterably attached to the children of his deceaſed maſter, he determined to ruin a man whoſe power and popularity were ſufficient to render all his deſigns abortive. Haſtings, not the leaſt ſuſpecting any deſign was formed againſt his life, repaired to the council, where he met the protector, whoſe behaviour was remarkably affable. After a ſhort ſtay, Richard retired from the board, deſiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his abſence. He ſoon returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the moſt violent indignation. "My lords," ſaid he, "what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who have plotted againſt my life?" Haſtings replied, that they deſerved the puniſhment of traitors. "Theſe traitors," replied the protector, "are the ſorcerers my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" On uttering theſe words, he uncovered his arm, which was ſhrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon one another with aſtoniſhment. After a conſiderable pauſe, Haſtings anſwered, "Certainly, my lord, *if* they are guilty of theſe crimes, they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment." "And do you reply to me," ſaid the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourſelf a traitor; and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" He ſtruck the table violently with his hand; a number of armed men ruſhed into the council-chamber, and ſeized the members. Haſtings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confeſſion to a prieſt, who happened accidentally to be on the ſpot, he was beheaded on a timber log lying on the green. The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who aſſiſted at the council, were ſent to different apartments in the Tower, and no perſon ſuffered to viſit them.

Two hours after, the protector, apprehenſive that the inhabitants of London, by whom Haſtings was greatly beloved, would raiſe a tumult in the city, cauſed a proclamation, well penned, and fairly written, to be read to the populace, enumerating the crimes of Haſtings, and apologizing for the precipitate manner of the execution, from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery. But the conduct of Richard could not deceive the people. It was obſerved, that the proclamation had certainly been drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy. Glouceſter was, however, yet deſirous of obſerving ſome conſiſtence in his proceedings; and he therefore ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. No proofs were, however, found againſt her, notwithſtanding the ignorance and abſurdity of the age, and ſhe was acquitted of the charge. But the protector was determined ſhe ſhould not eſcape his vengeance. He cauſed her to be indicted before the ſpiritual court for lewdneſs and adultery; and ſhe did penance, in a white ſheet, at St. Paul's, before all the people. She, however, ſurvived her misfortunes; and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though ſhe had greatly recommended herſelf by acts of beneficence and humanity; though ſhe had removed the ſtings of poverty from the breaſts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, ſhe found no friends in adverſity, and ſpent the evening of her life in miſery and want.

The death of the priſoners at Pontefract, and that of Haſtings, exciting no inſurrection among the people, Glouceſter became more confident: he threw off the maſk of diſſimulation, openly aſpired to the crown, and perpetrated other acts of injuſtice and violence. He propagated doubts with regard to the validity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Wideville; pretending that he had, previous to that tranſaction, been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewſbury. But this not gaining belief, he had recourſe to a ſtill more deteſtable calumny. He gave out, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were illegitimate; that the dutcheſs of York had received into her bed different lovers, who were the fathers of theſe children, and that Glouceſter alone was the lawful offspring of the duke of York. Human nature muſt be ſunk to the loweſt degree of brutality, when it ſcruples not to throw ſuch horrid calumnies on perſons whom even inſtinct teaches to reverence. The dutcheſs of York, his own mother, on whom ſo baſe an aſperſion was thrown, was ſtill alive, and a princeſs of irreproachable virtue. But no conſiderations could change the purpoſe of Glouceſter. He cauſed theſe impudent aſſertions to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Shaw, an eminent orator of thoſe times, was appointed preacher in St. Paul's; and having choſen for his text the following paſſage from the Wiſdom of Solomon, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive," he enlarged upon all the arguments that had any tendency to throw an odium on the births of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence. He afterwards extolled the virtues of the protector to the ſkies, repreſenting him as the legal heir of the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric, by crying aloud, "God ſave king Richard." The audience kept a profound ſilence, which greatly diſconcerted both the protector and the preacher. Shaw loſt all his popularity from this ſhameful proſtitution of his talent, and Richard himſelf was beheld with contempt.

But Glouceſter was not to be diverted from his purpoſe by one miſcarriage. He had, indeed, proceeded too far, to think of receding. It was neceſſary for him to perſevere: he muſt either gain the ſceptre or periſh. It was therefore agreed in the council, which now conſiſted wholly of Richard's creatures, that another attempt ſhould be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, were aſſembled at Guildhall; where the duke of Buckingham, in a ſtudied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Glouceſter; and concluded with aſking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound ſilence reigned through the whole aſſembly. The duke repeated the ſubſtance of his harangue, and aſked the ſame queſtion; but the ſame ſilence was continued. The mayor deſired the recorder might addreſs the aſſembly, he being always conſidered as the mouth of the city. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better ſucceſs; not a word eſcaped from the lips of the audience. "This is aſtoniſhing obſtinacy," cried the duke; "declare your ſentiments one way or other. But you ought to remember, that your conſent is not conſidered as neceſſary. The lords and commons have ſufficient authority to place whom they pleaſe on the throne; and when we aſk your conſent, it ſhould be conſidered as a favour. However, I now demand, in plain terms, whether you will, or will not, have the protector for your ſovereign?" This ſpeech, which was conſidered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occaſioned a general murmur through the whole audience. At length ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by bribes from the government, ſet up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was conſidered as a ſufficient declaration of the ſentiments of the nation; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham haſtened to acquaint the protector, that he was called upon to aſſume the reins of government. Richard pretended to be aſtoniſhed at the propoſal. He declared he would obſerve inviolably his loyalty to his preſent ſovereign, and exhorted them to imitate his example. He, however, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal poſſeſſor of the Engliſh throne.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

Wale del.
Walker sculp.

DEATH of LORD HASTINGS

BRITISH
26 DE 71
MUSEUM

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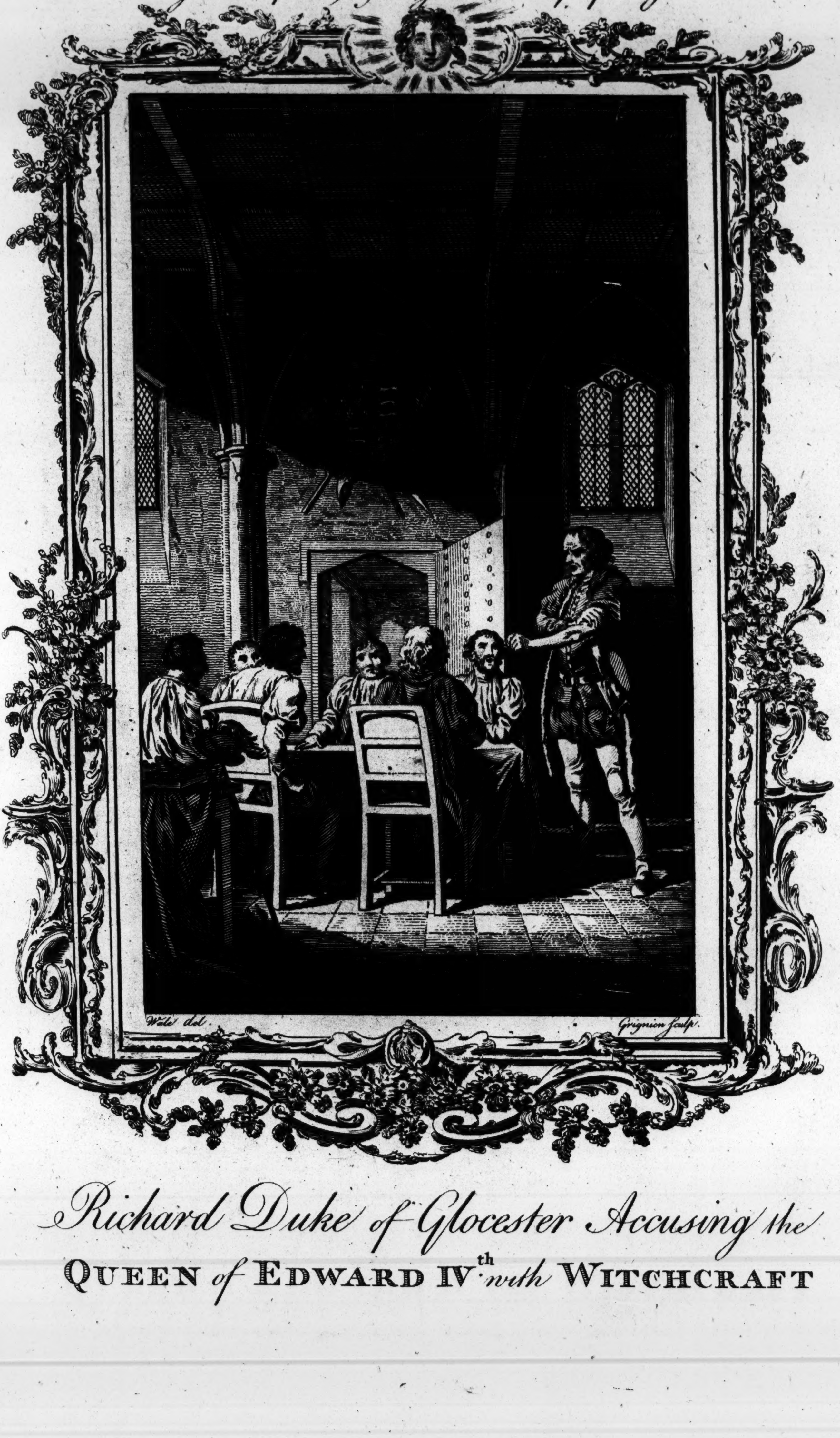
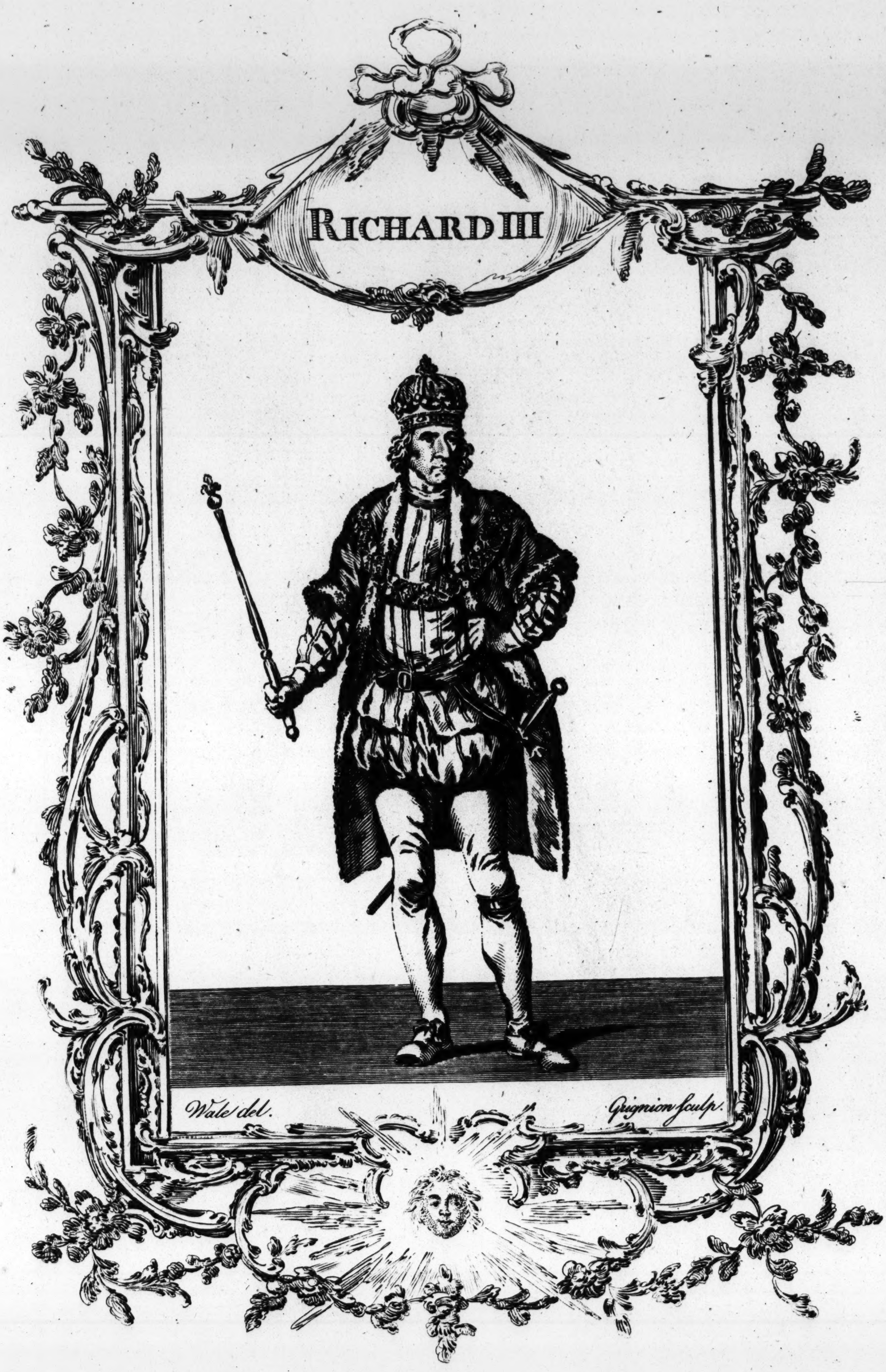

Wale del.
Grignion ſculp.

Richard Duke of Glocester Accusing the QUEEN of EDWARD IV.th with WITCHCRAFT


RICHARD III
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

Theſe proceedings ſufficiently indicated the fate of the two young princes. Their death was determined, and a commiſſion ſent to Sir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put a period to the lives of thoſe innocent children. But that gentleman poſſeſſed too much virtue to be concerned in an office ſo ſhocking to humanity. Sir Walter Tyrrel, a man practiſed in the ſcenes of blood, was next applied to. and he accepted the inhuman commiſſion. Tyrrel choſe three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, and having, by Richard's expreſs order, obtained the keys of the Tower, he led his companions in iniquity to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bidding them execute their orders. They found the unſuſpecting innocents in a ſound ſleep, and after ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they buried their bodies deep in the earth, at the ſtair-foot, under a heap of rubbiſh. Theſe particulars were afterwards confeſſed by the perpetrators, in the following reign; though they were never puniſhed for a crime that ſhocks human nature.

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# RICHARD III.

A. D. 1483. THE whole annals of hiſtory does not afford an inſtance of a more flagrant uſurpation than that of Richard, nor of one more repugnant to every principle of juſtice and public intereſt. But no perſon of diſtinction ſtood forth in defence of injured innocence, ſo that the tyrant was ſuffered to wear a crown he had polluted with the blood of his own relations. He was, indeed, deſirous of gaining over the nobility to his intereſt; but his actions had been too notorious and execrable to prevail on the more virtuous part of that powerful order. Buckingham, to whom he chiefly owed his crown, was loaded with preferments. But he either preſumed too far upon his favour, or Richard thought it dangerous to augment his authority any farther, for he denied a requeſt made by that powerful nobleman. Buckingham, haughty, violent and avaricious, was ſo highly offended, that he left the court and retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where the biſhop of Ely, who had been ſeized with lord Haſtings, was then confined. This prelate, who was an able politician, and a zealous friend to the houſe of Lancaſter, conſidered this diſguſt as a favourable incident to bring the duke over to his own party, eſpecially as the duke's family had been zealous Lancaſtrians. He was not miſtaken. Buckingham liſtened with great attention to the arguments of the prelate, and a ſcheme was formed for driving the tyrant from the ſeat of power, and placing on the throne the young earl of Richmond, who was to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, now the lawful ſucceſſor of Edward IV. This alliance they thought could not fail of engaging the two families of York and Lancaſter in their intereſt; and conſequently extinguiſh the flames of civil diſcord which had ſo long ſpread deſolation over the kingdom. It has been already obſerved, that the earl of Pembroke, ſoon after the battle of Tewkeſbury, had fled to the court of Britany, carrying with him his nephew, young Henry, earl of Richmond. That prince was now conſidered as the head of the Lancaſtrian party. He was heir, by the female line, to the houſe of Somerſet, and grandſon to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V.

This project being formed, application was made to the queen dowager, who willingly gave her conſent, hoping ſoon to be in a capacity of retaliating on the head of the uſurper all the injuries he had inflicted on her family. The young earl of Richmond alſo engaged to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth as ſoon as he arrived in England. Thus far every thing ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; but though the utmoſt care was taken to keep thoſe deſigns an impenetrable ſecret, yet they eſcaped not the vigilance of Richard, and he haſtened to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence. He collected his troops, and began his march towards the weſtern counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond propoſed to land, and where ſeveral of his friends were already in arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham, at the head of his forces.

That nobleman had collected a powerful army, and was now advancing, by long and haſty marches, into the foreſt of Deane, in order to croſs the Severn, and join his weſtern friends at Saliſbury. But on approaching the borders of that river, he found that the waters had overflowed their banks in a manner before unknown. The Welſh, alarmed with ſuperſtitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and, at the ſame time, diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham in a few days was left only with one ſervant, who was faithful enough to attend his maſter in diſtreſs. He had now no other reſource than that of concealing himſelf till the arrival of the earl of Richmond, or ſome other accident occaſioned a revolution in the government. He accordingly diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, and took ſhelter in the houſe of an old ſervant of his family. But being diſcovered in his retreat, he was carried to Shrewſbury, and inſtantly beheaded without any form of trial.

The earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part to join his friends on the day appointed. He embarked with five thouſand men at St. Maloes, on board forty veſſels, but being overtaken with a terrible ſtorm, his fleet was ſeparated, and he was obliged to return to the court of Britany, where he learned the unwelcome news of the death of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends. Nothing but the abhorrence in which Richard was held by the greater part of the Engliſh, could have animated the earl and his friends to perſevere in their deſign, and make another attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of the tyrant.

A. D. 1484. Richard flattered himſelf that he had cruſhed the rebellion in its bud, and therefore ventured to call a parliament, who had now no other choice than that of recognizing the uſurper's authority, and acknowledge his title to the crown. His only ſon Edward, then twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life; and Richard, in order, if poſſible, to reconcile the people to his government, paſſed ſeveral acts, which greatly tended to promote the happineſs of the ſubject.

But the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth, filled the breaſt of Richard with uneaſineſs. He ſaw the danger of ſuch a connection, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent it. In order to this, he paid his court to the queen dowager with ſuch art and addreſs, made ſo many profeſſions of a ſincere and unalterable friendſhip, that Elizabeth, tired with confinement, and thinking her former projects totally deſtroyed, liſtened to propoſals of the murderer of her children, and even promiſed him her daughter in marriage; Richard having made way for this ſtrange connection by carrying off his former wife by poiſon. The queen's conſent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a diſpenſation, for concluding an alliance, generally conſidered as inceſtuous. But before this papal inſtrument arrived, the face of affairs was ſuddenly changed, and Richard hurled from the ſeat of power.

A. D. 1485. The earl of Richmond, ſurrounded with many noble exiles from England, having received ſome troops from Charles VIII. who now filled the throne of France, ſailed from Harfleur on the firſt of Auguſt, with a retinue of two thouſand perſons; and after a paſſage of ſix days, arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without oppoſition. The next day he continued his march to Haverfordweſt, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. As he advanced, he was continually joined by the partiſans of both families, ſo that his camp ſoon wore a reſpectable aſpect.

Richard, on the firſt intelligence that Henry, earl of Richmond, was preparing for another invaſion, took poſt at Nottingham, as one of the moſt centrical towns of his kingdom, and propoſed to march on the firſt alarm to the place which was moſt expoſed to danger. But he ſhould have remembered that he had much more to fear from his ſecret, than from his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman ſincerely attached to his intereſt; the reſt were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to deſert his ſtandard. But the perſons that gave Richard the greateſt uneaſineſs, were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whoſe connections with the earl of Richmond were ſtrongly ſuſpected by the uſurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thouſand men, but inſiſted that he ſhould leave his ſon, the lord Strange, as a hoſtage for his fidelity. This obliged lord Stanley to uſe the greateſt precautions in his proceedings. He found means indeed of informing Henry of his friendly intentions; but his equivocal behaviour rendered his deſigns ſuſpicious to both armies.

The continual increaſe of Henry's army alarmed Richard, and he determined to give him battle as ſoon as poſſible, and decide, by a general action, their diſpute for the crown of England. Henry declined not the engagement, and the two armies came in ſight of each other at Boſworth, a place in Leiceſterſhire, rendered famous in hiſtory for the battle which terminated the quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The royal army, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand men, all veterans and well armed, were formed into two lines. The firſt was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the ſecond by Richard in perſon, who appeared that day with the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not conſiſt of more than five thouſand men, but was alſo divided into two lines; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the ſecond by himſelf in perſon: Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. While the two armies were preparing for battle, lord Stanley poſted himſelf, at the head of four thouſand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thouſand, ſtood facing him on the other ſide of the interval. Richard, ſuſpecting Stanley's deſign, ſent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal anſwer, he was ſo enraged at his treachery, that he would have ſtruck off the head of his ſon, had he not been diſſuaded from that reſolution by ſome of his chief officers, who repreſented to him, that ſuch an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at preſent might be to remain neuter, till near the concluſion of the battle, and then declare for the party that ſeemed to have gained the advantage. Richard ſubmitted to theſe reaſons, well knowing that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

Both armies now moved forward, and the battle was begun by a general diſcharge of arrows; after which the combat became cloſe and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to encloſe the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmoſt fury upon Norfolk's diviſion, but was in the utmoſt danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Stanley ſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to extricate himſelf from his preſent ſituation without aſſiſtance, and therefore advanced at the head of his forces, and joining Oxford's line ſecured his flank, and ſtood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in perſon. At the ſame time Sir William Stanley fell upon the flank of Richard's line, and drove them back upon the main body. Norfolk, however, advanced to the charge with more fury than ever, and a dreadful carnage enſued. But the battle was no longer equal; the royal forces were intimidated by the deſertion of Stanley and his brother; while it inſpired Henry's with unuſual courage. Senſible of his deſperate ſituation, the furious tyrant threw his eyes around the field, and diſcovering his rival at no great diſtance, he ſoon opened himſelf a paſſage to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, killed Sir Henry Brandon, his ſtandard-bearer, unhorſed Sir John Cheyney, and advanced againſt Henry with all the fury of deſpair. He called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treaſon, and rebellious invaſion of his kingdom. Henry declined not the combat; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, after performing the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds. The loſs of the king put an end to the conteſt; the royaliſts, deprived of their leader, ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

The loſs of the vanquiſhed amounted to four thouſand men, among whom were the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, Sir Robert Brakenbury, Sir William Conyers, and Sir Richard Clendon. The earl of Richmond's loſs did not exceed an hundred men. The body of Richard being found in a heap of ſlain, was thrown careleſly acroſs a horſe, and in that ignominious manner it was conveyed to Leiceſter, amid the ſhouts of the inſulting populace, and buried without any ceremony, in the church of the Grey Friars.

Henry, by a policy that tended greatly to augment his power, pardoned all who ſubmitted to him. Sir William Cateſby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only perſon that ſuffered. He was diſcovered after the battle, and conveyed to Leiceſter, where he was beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, who had incurred the univerſal odium of the people for their attachment to the tyrant, would, in all probability, have ſuffered the ſame fate, had they fallen into the hands of the victor; but they fortunately made their eſcape.

Richard was the laſt of the Plantagenet family that poſſeſſed the crown of England; but not the laſt male heir; for the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, was ſtill alive, and the only branch of the numerous poſterity of Edward the third, the reſt having periſhed in the civil wars, which, after raging thirty years, was finally terminated by the battle of Boſworth. It would be ſuperfluous to add any thing farther with regard to the character of Richard, the hiſtory of his reign being abundantly ſufficient to diſplay it; for whatever abilities he might poſſeſs as a general, a warrior, or a legiſlator, they were rendered deteſtable by his vices.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

Wale del.

Walker sculp.

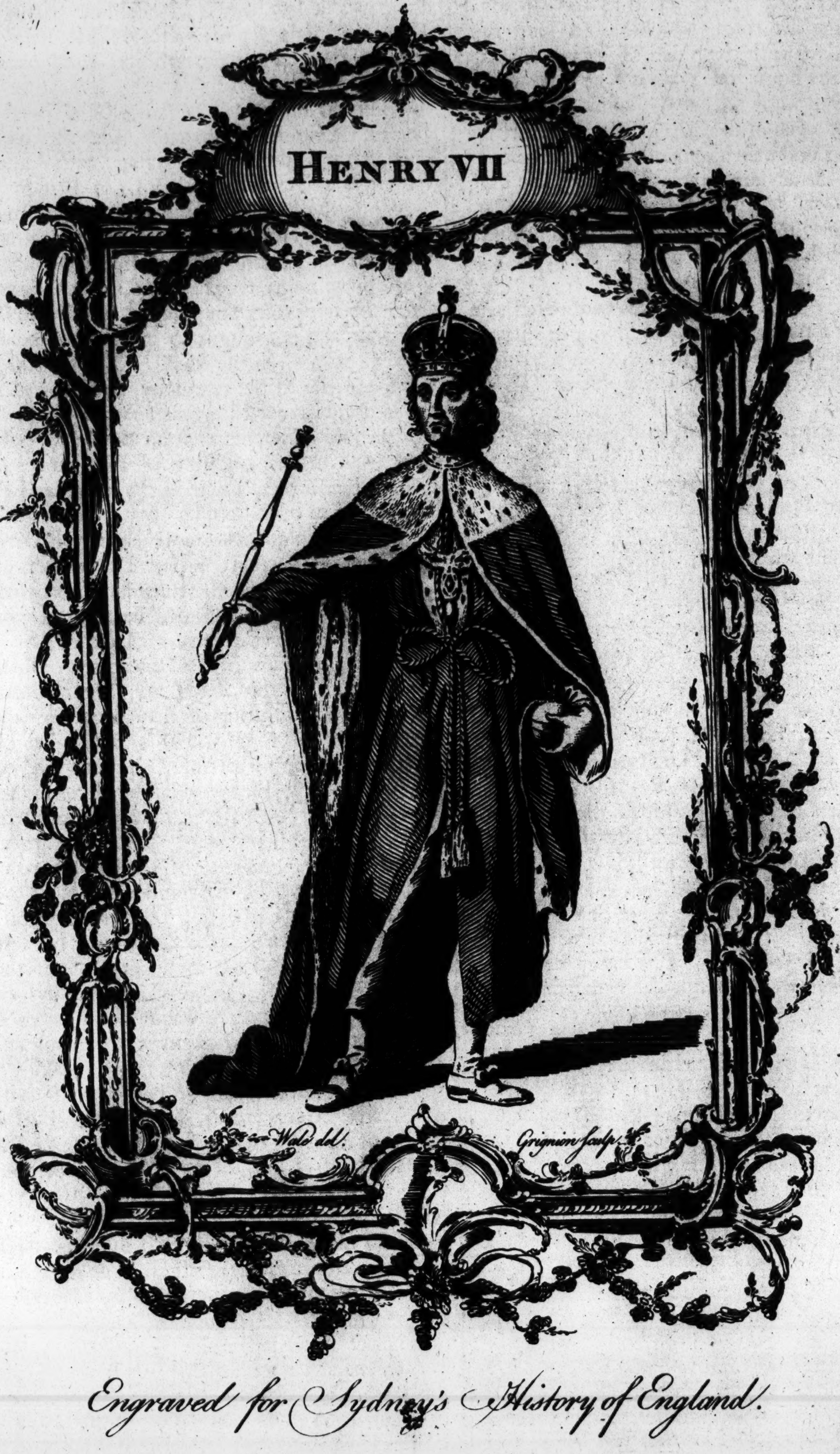
Tyrrel and his Accomplices Smothering Edward 5th and the Duke of York in the TOWER by Order of Richard 3d.

BRITISH
26DE71
MUSEUM

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

Wale del.
Walker sculp.

RICHARD III *Killed in* BOSWORTH-FIELD


HENRY VII
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This general voice of the army was conſidered as a circumſtance of great importance in favour of Henry, whoſe title to the crown was by no means unexceptionable. The root of his family was John of Ghent, earl of Lancaſter, fourth ſon to Edward III. That prince was thrice married; firſt, to Blanche of Lancaſter, by whom he had two daughters; Philippa, married to John, king of Portugal; and Elizabeth, eſpouſed to John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a ſon, who afterwards aſcended the throne by the name of Henry IV. and whoſe male deſcendants became extinct in the perſon of Henry VI. ſecondly, to Conſtance, princeſs of Caſtile and Leon, who bore him one daughter, married to the king of Caſtile; and thirdly, to Catherine, widow of Sir Otter Swinford. This lady had for ſome years before her marriage, lived with John of Ghent as his miſtreſs, and, during that interval, bore him four children, John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Wincheſter; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter; and Joan Beaufort, counteſs of Weſtmorland. Theſe children were indeed afterwards legitimated by the parliament; but the ſame act which freed them from the opprobious name of baſtards, excluded them from the crown. John Beaufort, the eldeſt, left a ſon called by his own name, and enjoyed his title of duke of Somerſet. The latter had only one daughter, named Margaret, who married Edmund Tudor, duke of Richmond, whoſe eldeſt ſon was Henry VII.

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Henry entered London on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and was received with all thoſe demonſtrations of joy, which the hopes of being delivered from the miſeries of civil wars could inſpire. He repaired directly to St. Paul's, where he offered the ſtandards he had taken in the late battle, and Te Deum was ſung for his victory. He ſoon after aſſembled the chief of the nobility, and ſolemnly ſwore to marry the princeſs Elizabeth; a meaſure the more neceſſary as the people began to be alarmed at a report induſtriouſly propagated, that he had already engaged in a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter and heireſs of Francis, duke of Britany.

While the neceſſary preparations were making for the coronation of Henry, an epidemical diſtemper broke out in London. This dreadful diſeaſe, which ſwept away many thouſands of the inhabitants, was, from the ſymptoms attending it, termed the ſweating ſickneſs, and is thought to have been the firſt time it ever appeared in the world. The confuſion it occaſioned delayed the ceremony, and Henry employed the interval in rewarding the ſervices of his faithful friends and adherents. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made conſtable of the Tower; Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and the tutor and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford; the lord Stanley, earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtney, earl of Devonſhire.

As ſoon as the late alarming diſtemper was entirely ceaſed, Henry was crowned with great pomp and ſolemnity on the thirtieth of October, by cardinal Bouchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury. To augment the ſplendor of this ceremony, Henry inſtituted a body guard, conſiſting of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be always in attendance on his perſon: a precaution, which, in all probability, Henry conſidered as indiſpenſably neceſſary to his own ſafety, though he prudently concealed his real ſentiments, under the pretence of augmenting the grandeur of the Engliſh court.

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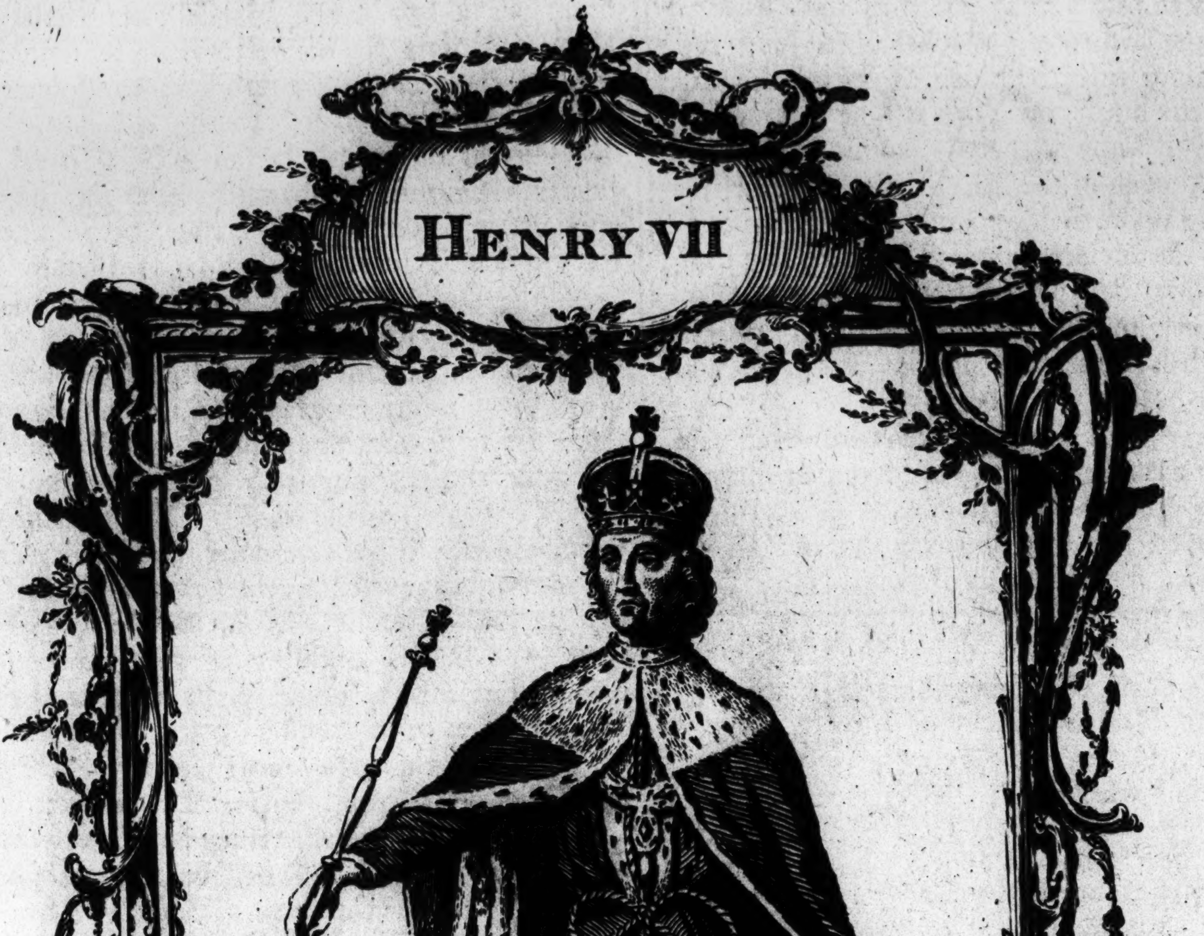
HENRY VII
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Though Henry requeſted no ſupplies from the parliament, that aſſembly thought proper to ſettle on him for life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the ſame manner by ſome of his immediate predeceſſors. But when they preſented the bill for the royal aſſent, they petitioned his majeſty to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth: they indeed thought proper to cover their real reaſon under the dutiful pretence of their having heirs of his body. The king promiſed to comply with their deſires; and after having reſtored Edward Stafford, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Buckingham, who had forfeited in the late reign, to all the honours and eſtates of his family, he diſſolved the parliament.

Though many of the partiſans of the houſe of York had been attainted by the late ſtatute, Henry thought proper to publiſh a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all that had carried arms againſt him, provided they ſubmitted within a limited time. The offer was gladly embraced by many of that party, who immediately left their ſanctuaries, and ſubmitted to Henry's government. This act of clemency tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people, and introduce peace and harmony among all ranks and orders of men.

A. D. 1486. Henry did not long delay fulfilling the promiſe he had made to the parliament. He married the princeſs Elizabeth on the eighteenth of January. A prodigious concourſe of people were aſſembled on this occaſion, and exhibited a greater appearance of ſincere joy than either at his firſt entry or coronation. Henry remarked this general favour ſhewn to the houſe of York with diſpleaſure. It revived in his ſullen mind the animoſity he had ſo long entertained againſt that party, and deſtroyed all his domeſtic peace. Even the princeſs herſelf, tho' of a diſpoſition truly amiable, and truly virtuous, felt the effect of the prejudices he had conceived againſt her family.

But though he entertained no cordial affection for the immediate deſcendants of the houſe of York, he was very deſirous of conciliating the affections of the people to his government. He knew that the northern counties were particularly attached to that family, and therefore determined to make a progreſs into thoſe parts, in order to remove their prejudices by his preſence and converſation. But he had hardly reached Lincoln, before he was informed that lord Lovel, and his two brothers, the Staffords, had left their ſanctuary of Colcheſter-abbey, and were once more in arms againſt the government; that the latter were marching to beſiege the city of Worceſter; and the former, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was advancing to attack him in York. This intelligence did not intimidate Henry: he aſſembled a ſmall body of troops, in whom he could confide, and ſent them againſt the inſurgents, under the command of the duke of Bedford. But that able general well knew that his little army were formidable only for their zealous attachment to their maſter, and publiſhed a general pardon to all who ſhould lay down their arms. This prudent meaſure produced the deſired effect. Lovel, who was never celebrated for his courage and intrepidity, was ſo terrified with the fears of deſertion among his troops, that he abandoned his army, and made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutcheſs of Burgundy. His forces immediately ſubmitted; and the other body of inſurgents, informed of this miſcarriage, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and diſperſed. The two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but the privilege of that aſylum not extending to rebels, they were taken from the altar, and Humphrey, the elder, executed at Tyburn. The younger pleading that he acted under the influence of his brother, received a pardon.

The ſuppreſſion of this inſurrection did not, however, reſtore the tranquillity of the government. Henry was hardly returned to his capital, before he received information of another ſcheme of a ſtill more dangerous nature, though, at the ſame time, of a very extraordinary and romantic kind. A report had, for ſome time, prevailed among the people, that Edward duke of York, youngeſt ſon to Edward IV. had eluded his uncle's cruelty, by making his eſcape from the Tower. The pleaſure with which this intelligence was received by the people, encouraged one Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, who wanted neither ſubtilty nor courage, to raiſe a fictious prince to diſpute with Henry the poſſeſſion of the throne. The inſtrument of this impoſture was Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age. He was the ſon of a baker, but endowed with underſtanding and addreſs far ſuperior to his years and condition. The ſeditious prieſt had firſt inſtructed his pupil to perſonate the duke of York; but another report prevailing about that time, that the earl of Warwick had found means to leave the place of his confinement; and obſerving that this intelligence was ſtill more acceptable to the people, Simnel, by the dexterity of Simon, was immediately converted into Warwick. However qualified the young impoſtor might be to ſuſtain the character he was to perſonate, and however capable the prieſt might be of giving him the neceſſary inſtructions, there is great reaſon to think, that perſons of a much higher rank had joined in this conſpiracy; becauſe it appears that Simnel had better information in matters relating to the royal family than he could have derived from a perſon in Simon's ſituation. It has even been ſuſpected, that the queen dowager, diſcontented with the king, and offended at the ſtate of abſolute inſignificance to which ſhe was reduced, favoured this ridiculous enterprize. Henry himſelf ſeems to have been of this opinion; for he ſoon after cauſed the queen dowager to be cloſely confined in the monaſtery of Bermondeſey, and ſeized all her lands and revenues: nor did ſhe ever regain her liberty, but ended her life in poverty, ſolitude, and confinement.

Simnel having received ſufficient inſtructions for ſupporting the character he was to perſonate, was ſent to Ireland, where the deception was not ſo likely to be diſcovered, and where the houſe of York had a great number of partiſans. The attempt ſucceeded. The impoſtor no ſooner claimed the protection of the earl of Kildare, as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman received him as a true Plantagenet. The populace followed his example. Simnel was received with acclamations of joy, and crowned in Dublin, with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the Virgin, under the title of Edward VI. No oppoſition was made to theſe proceedings: the claim of Henry was totally forgotten.

The Engliſh government was alarmed at this revolt of Ireland; but Henry immediately conceived the meaſures he ought to purſue. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and led in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of London, that the people might be convinced of the abſurdity of Simnel's pretenſions. This expedient had its proper effect in England; but in Ireland it was thought that the king had produced a counterfeit Warwick; and Henry found it would be abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, in order to ſuppreſs the rebellion. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, on being informed that John, earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. had engaged in this conſpiracy. Lincoln was a nobleman of courage and capacity, and had formed very aſpiring views. The rigour of Henry towards the earl of Warwick, and his jealouſy of all the eminent perſons among the friends of the houſe of York, had filled him with apprehenſions, and he had retired to the court of the dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy for ſafety. That princeſs was deſcended from the houſe of York, and ſympathiſed in all the miſfortunes which had attended her family. The preſent revolt in favour of Simnel, ſeemed to offer a fair opportunity for making Henry feel the weight of her reſentment.

A. D. 1487. She accordingly ſent over into Ireland a body of two thouſand veteran forces, under the command of Swart, a brave and experienced officer. The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel embarked with theſe forces, and joined Simnel. Elated with this unexpected reinforcement, and encouraged by the countenance of perſons of ſuch high condition, the Iriſh determined to invade England, where they flattered themſelves with being joined by all the partiſans of the houſe of York. Henry was ſoon appriſed of the rebels intention, and raiſed a conſiderable army to oppoſe them. The inſurgents landed near Foudrey, in Lancaſhire, and directed their march towards York; but finding themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they had formed of being joined by multitudes of the Engliſh, it was determined to give Henry battle the firſt opportunity. They were encamped on a riſing ground, at Stoke, a village near Newark, when Henry's army appeared. The inſurgents, marching down the hill, began the engagement with great fury; and the battle was maintained for three hours, with equal valour on both ſides; though the Iriſh were dreadfully galled by the arrows of the Engliſh, being wholly deſtitute of defenſive armour. The Engliſh under the earl of Lincoln, and the Germans under Swart, made ſo noble a reſiſtance, that the greater part of Henry's vanguard was cut in pieces; but at length the valour of the royal army bore down all reſiſtance; and, after a bloody conflict, obtained a complete victory. The earl of Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart, fell in the action, with four thouſand of their troops; but Simnel, and his tutor Simon, were taken priſoners. The latter being a prieſt, was condemned to a cloſe impriſonment; but the former, as too contemptible to excite any apprehenſion in Henry, received a pardon, was made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, and was afterwards raiſed to the poſt of a falconer. Such was the iſſue of Simnel's attempt to perſonate the duke of Warwick; which, however ridiculous in itſelf, threw the whole nation into confuſion, and was at laſt terminated by a bloody engagement.

A. D. 1488. Henry, freed from all domeſtic diſturbances, turned his thoughts to the affairs of Europe. Thoſe of Britany particularly engaged his attention, as they were very intereſting to England. The nobles of that province had revolted againſt their late duke, Francis II. on account of his being governed by a favourite of very mean extraction, who oppreſſed the people; and the king of France conſidered this rebellion as a favourable incident for annexing that dutchy to his crown, eſpecially as he was invited by the States to aſſiſt them againſt the intrigues of the duke of Orleans; who being diſguſted with the lady of Beaujeu, ſiſter of Charles VIII. and regent of that kingdom, had retired into Britany, and greatly inflamed the diſcontented nobility. Charles accordingly ſent an army into that dutchy, under pretence of delivering the nobles from oppreſſion, but in reality to reduce the province. It was the intereſt of Charles to perſuade the king of England, that no hoſtile deſigns were entertained againſt Britany, and ambaſſadors were ſent to Henry for that purpoſe. But all his artifices were in vain; the Engliſh monarch ſaw clearly that France entertained a deſign of ſubduing Britany. But either perſuaded that the attempt would prove abortive, or unwilling to incur the expences of a foreign war, Henry contented himſelf with obſerving a neutrality. The French met with very little oppoſition in their progreſs, and the nobles began to be alarmed for their ſafety. They were now convinced, that inſtead of aſſiſting them againſt the ambitious deſigns of the duke of Orleans, the army they had called in for the preſervation of their liberty were labouring to render them ſlaves. They therefore retired from the French forces, collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, and obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege of Nantz. Elated with this ſucceſs, they raſhly engaged the French army at St. Aubin, and were totally defeated. The duke of Orleans himſelf fell into the hands of the victors, and the whole force of Britany was diſſipated. Soon after this miſfortune, Francis paid the debt of nature, and his death expoſed his dominions to a total revolution.

The duke left an only daughter to ſucceed him; and it ſeemed evident that the marriage of that princeſs would decide the fate of Britany. But ſhe was in no condition to oppoſe the arms of France: for notwithſtanding the duke of Orleans was now a priſoner, and, conſequently, the pretence for invading Britany no longer exiſted, the invaders continued their operations with the ſame avidity. Henry now thought proper to act as auxiliary to the princeſs Anne; but ſent over no more than ſix thouſand men, a force incapable of effecting any thing deciſive againſt the numerous armies of France. They acted entirely on the defenſive; and inſtead of relieving, plunged the dutchy into ſtill greater diſtreſs.

A. D. 1490. But even this dangerous ſituation could not render the Britons unanimous among themſelves. The object of diſſention was the marriage of their dutcheſs. At laſt the party of Maximilian, king of the Romans, prevailed; and the marriage of the dutcheſs with that prince was celebrated by proxy, and Anne immediately aſſumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But Maximilian was in no condition to give aſſiſtance to his diſtreſſed conſort: he was deſtitute both of troops and money, and embaraſſed by continual revolts of the Flemings. The court of France now began to perceive their error. It was found that it would be very difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to reduce the dutchy of Britany by arms; and that negotiation only could annex it firmly to the French crown. Charles, the young king of France, had formerly been affianced to the daughter of Maximilian; and that princeſs, though too young to conſummate her marriage, had been ſent to the court of France to be educated, and now actually bore the title of queen. But notwithſtanding theſe engagements, it was now perceived, that it would be more advantageous for Charles to marry the dutcheſs of Britany, by which that rich province would be for ever annexed to the crown of France. The whole art of perſuaſion was therefore ſecretly employed to convince the Britons, that they could never enjoy a happy tranquillity, but by being united to the French monarchy. The Britons were influenced by their ſuggeſtions; but the young dutcheſs herſelf had imbibed the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt Charles, whom ſhe conſidered as the author of all the miſfortunes of her family.

A. D. 1491. But notwithſtanding her repugnance to this meaſure, ſhe conſented to ſacrifice both her engagements and her prejudices to the intereſt of the people. The marriage was celebrated at Langey, in Touraine. The princeſs was then conducted to St. Denis, where ſhe was crowned, and thence made her entrance into Paris amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people. The daughter of Maximilian was ſent back to her father, and the dutchy of Britany annexed to the crown of France; an acquiſition of the utmoſt importance to that kingdom.

Maximilian, tranſported with rage at this double affront, threatened the moſt dreadful vengeance againſt Charles. Henry had alſo reaſon to reproach himſelf for his inaction: he ought to have ſupported the Britons with a force proportional to the importance of the union of Britany with France. His chagrin ſtimulated him the more to revenge, as he piqued himſelf upon the depth of his policy. A war with France was always flattering and agreeable to the Engliſh; and Henry immediately ſummoned a parliament to obtain ſupplies. He opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he told them, that the king of France, grown inſolent with power, had treated the Engliſh with contempt, and refuſed to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had ſtipulated with Edward IV. that he was determined to head his army in perſon; mentioned the victories of Creſſy, Agincourt, and Poictiers, and expreſſed his expectations of being equally ſucceſsful. The Engliſh were flattered with theſe pleaſing ideas; a large ſubſidy was granted him; and Henry, though he well knew that war was not his province, and that Maximilian had neither money nor troops to ſecond him, affected all the ardour of a conqueror.

A. D. 1492. Elated with the hopes of conqueſt, and of enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of the enemy, the Engliſh prepared, with the greateſt alacrity, to follow their prince; and many of them ſold their eſtates, that they might appear in the field with greater ſplendor, and lead their followers in a manner becoming their rank. The Engliſh army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe, landed at Calais on the ſixth of October. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon being conſidered as an indication that the war would ſoon be terminated, Henry replied, "It is of little conſequence at what ſeaſon the invaſion is begun, as one ſummer will not be ſufficient for the reduction of France." But notwithſtanding all his boaſts of conqueſt, he had, at that very time, perhaps before he landed at Calais, begun a negotiation for a peace. In order, however, to ſave appearances, he laid ſiege to Boulogne; and engaged ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in his army to preſent a petition, requeſting him to accommodate his differences with France, on pretence that his allies were not in a condition to give him much aſſiſtance, and that it would be difficult to find ſubſiſtence for his troops during the winter. The French well knew that Henry wanted nothing but money; and Charles, who was very impatient of undertaking the conqueſt of Naples, was eaſily diſpoſed to give him ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, and an annual penſion of twenty-five thouſand to himſelf and his heirs. Thus, as lord Bacon very juſtly obſerves, peace and war equally contributed to fill the coffers of Henry; the former giving him the money of his ſubjects, and the latter that of his enemies.

Henry had now great reaſon to think that the peace he had concluded with France would be laſting; and as he had nothing to fear from domeſtic enemies, he flattered himſelf with enjoying a long ſeries of uninterrupted tranquillity. But he was miſtaken: his enemies were indefatigable; and the dutcheſs of Burgundy in particular meditated vengeance againſt him. Careleſs of the means employed to ſatisfy her reſentment, ſhe determined to raiſe up another impoſtor, in order to ſhake the throne of Henry. By means of her emiſſaries, ſhe propagated, or rather revived a report, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his eſcape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered by the cruelty of his uncle, and ſtill lay concealed in ſome ſecret retreat. She ſoon perceived that the report was received with pleaſure; and that the people entertained the greateſt expectations that he would ſoon make his appearance, and attempt to recover the throne of his anceſtors. It was now neceſſary to procure a youth proper for perſonating Edward, and a young Jew ſeemed to anſwer her moſt ſanguine wiſhes. He was the ſon of one Warbec, a Jew, who had been converted to chriſtianity, and whoſe buſineſs having called him to London in the reign of Edward IV. his wife was there delivered of a ſon. He was called Perkin, or Peter; and Edward, who was ſuſpected of carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with Warbec's wife, was his godfather. The comelineſs of his perſon, his inſinuating manners, and the verſatility of his genius, rendered him extremely well adapted to the part he was to act. He ſoon learned the leſſons neceſſary for perſonating the duke of York; but as the ſeaſon ſeemed not then favourable for appearing in the world, ſhe ſent him to Portugal, under the care of lady Brumpton, where he continued a whole year, unknown to all the world.

When the dutcheſs found that a war between England and France was inevitable, ſhe determined to produce the impoſtor; and he was accordingly ſent over to Ireland, where he aſſumed the name of Richard Plantagenet. He wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, inviting them to join his party. The vulgar received him with open arms; and the ſtory of his eſcape from the cruelty of his uncle was ſoon ſpread over the whole kingdom, and procured him a multitude of partiſans.

Charles VIII. imagined that this pretended prince might be of advantage to him during his war with Henry, and Perkin was accordingly invited to the court of France. He was there received with all the honours due to the heir of the Engliſh crown. A magnificent palace was aſſigned him, with a handſome penſion, and a guard for his perſon. Numbers of Engliſh gentlemen came to Paris, in order to offer their ſervice to Perkin, who now began to appear dangerous to the government. The countenance of the king of France gave great credit to a fiction extremely well calculated to pleaſe the people. But, on the concluſion of the peace with England, Charles found it neceſſary to diſmiſs the counterfeit Plantagenet.

A. D. 1493. Perkin, on his leaving France, retired to the court of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, under pretence of craving her protection. That princeſs affected a total ignorance of his pretenſions, and ſeemed to examine every circumſtance with the moſt ſcrupulous anxiety. After many affected doubts, and the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, ſhe burſt into a tranſport of tenderneſs, embraced him as her nephew, the ſole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor of Edward IV. She even aſſigned him guards, and a magnificent equipage, and honoured him with the title of the "White Roſe of England." Many perſons of rank and condition came to her court from England, to aſſiſt him in his enterprize, and ſhare his fortune. Even Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had been ſo inſtrumental in putting the crown upon the head of Henry, entertained the project of a revolt in his favour. Sir Robert Clifford went over to Flanders, and openly joined the impoſtor. The whole nation was thrown into a ſtate of uncertainty. The murder of the two princes had been always doubted, the infernal deed having been committed under the impenetrable veil of night and ſecrecy; and the countenance given to Perkin by Charles of France and the dutcheſs dowager of Burgundy, gave countenance to the impoſtor. Henry ſaw his danger, and that the utmoſt prudence and precaution were neceſſary to divert the force of the impending ſtorm.

Could Henry have aſcertained the death of the real duke of York, the conſpiracy muſt have fallen immediately to the ground; but of the five perſons who had been employed in the baſe aſſaſſination, two only remained alive; ſo that their teſtimony, though they agreed in the ſame ſtory, was not thought ſufficient to put the fact beyond all doubt and controverſy. Henry, however, found a clue, by means of his ſpies, which guided him through the labyrinth of this myſtery. He diſcovered the pedigree and adventures of Perkin, and traced the whole conſpiracy from its firſt formation. The ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation. He bribed Clifford himſelf, one of the chief perſons in the court of the pretended prince, to diſcover the ſecrets of his party. Henry had no ſooner procured the neceſſary intelligence, together with the names of the principal conſpirators then in England, than they were arreſted, and their execution intimidated others. But the trial of Stanley required more ſolemn preparations. His rank and former ſervices ſeemed to ſecure him againſt any accuſation and puniſhment. It was feared that the death of ſo illuſtrious a perſon would be attended with many inconveniences, unleſs his crime was apparent to the whole nation. The king was, however, determined that he ſhould not eſcape his vengeance. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to accuſe Stanley before the council. The treacherous inſurgent obeyed. He threw himſelf at the king's feet while ſeated at the council-table, aſked pardon for his paſt offences, and offered to atone for them by any ſervices in his power. Henry told him, that the beſt proof he could give of his penitence, and the only ſervice he could now render him, was to make a full confeſſion of his guilt, and to name his accomplices. Clifford immediately accuſed Stanley, who was preſent, as the chief abettor of the conſpiracy. Stanley himſelf could not diſcover more ſurpriſe than was affected by Henry on this occaſion. Clifford inſiſted upon his charge, and offered to lay before the council the whole proof of his guilt. Henry ſeemed to heſitate, but at laſt ordered Stanley to be ſent to priſon, and he was ſoon after tried and beheaded.

A. D. 1495. The execution of Stanley ſtruck the conſpirators with terror. They perceived that all their ſecrets were diſcovered, and abandoned the idol they had worſhipped to his fate. Perkin had no other reſource than his deſpair. He embarked with his few followers, amounting to about ſix hundred men, and appeared on the coaſt of Kent. But the people were not now diſpoſed to favour him: the whole account of his impoſture was known, and the late executions had taught the people caution. Perkin miſtruſting ſomething of this kind, landed a ſmall party only, in order to diſcover the true diſpoſition of the Kentiſhmen, who were drawn up with great regularity to receive him. His retainers met with a very friendly reception, and Perkin himſelf was invited to land; but the wary youth ſuſpecting the whole to be a deception, and that a deſign was formed to take him priſoner, refuſed to commit himſelf to their hands. Deſpairing of being able to make themſelves maſters of the impoſtor's perſon, the Kentiſh men took the whole party, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty perſons, priſoners. Theſe were all tried, condemned and executed; and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the coaſts, as a terror to others. Diſappointed in the reception he hoped to meet with, Perkin ſailed to Corke in Ireland; but found no countenance there, except among the very loweſt of the people, and was obliged to conceal himſelf with the wild Iriſh in the bogs and foreſts of that country.

Henry now convoked a parliament, where the eſtates of all perſons convicted of having engaged in the ſupport of Perkin, were confiſcated; and the famous ſtatute was enacted, wherein it was declared, "That no perſon who ſhould by arms, or otherwiſe, aſſiſt the king for the time being, ſhould ever afterwards, either by courſe of law, or act of parliament, be attainted for ſuch an inſtance of obedience." This act, which Henry ſtrenuouſly promoted on account of his diſputed title, affords a glaring inſtance how far the prejudices, even of the wiſeſt men, may carry them to obtain the object of their wiſhes. Henry was fearful that his example, when he aſcended the throne, rather than this law, would be followed; and therefore endeavoured to bind the legiſlature itſelf, by preſcribing rules to future parliaments; an attempt evidently repugnant to the very fundamental principles of all political government. The ſame parliament alſo authoriſed him to levy, by courſe of law, all the ſums which any perſon had agreed to pay him by way of benevolence; an act which gave a ſanction to that arbitrary method of exaction.

Charles VIII. whoſe family had long claimed the crown of Naples, had now, in purſuance of his right, undertaken the conqueſt of that kingdom. His progreſs was amazingly rapid. The Neapolitans, long unuſed to arms, were in no condition of meeting the French veterans in the open field; ſo that Charles was ſoon maſter of the whole country, and even of the capital itſelf. The Italian ſtates were now ſufficiently alarmed for their own territories; and a powerful league was formed againſt him, in which Henry became one of the contracting parties. Charles, unable to ſupport himſelf againſt ſo powerful a combination, was obliged to abandon all his conqueſts, and return ingloriouſly to France, with the loſs of the greater part of his army.

A. D. 1496. Exaſperated at the meaſures purſued by Henry, Charles recommended Perkin, who ſtill lurked among the wild Iriſh, to the king of Scotland, who entertained no favourable diſpoſition towards England. Perkin immediately abandoned his retreat, and repaired to the Scottiſh court, where he was received with the utmoſt kindneſs and hoſpitality. James IV. who was firmly attached to the intereſt of France, owned him as the ſon of Edward IV. and appeared to be ſo thoroughly convinced of his being the real duke of York, that he rejected the alliance which was now offered him by Henry. He even married the young adventurer to his niece, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntly, and one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed ladies of the age. At the ſame time, he publicly declared, that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors; and it was agreed in the Scottiſh council to carry this deſign into immediate execution. A numerous army was accordingly aſſembled, under the command of the king in perſon, attended by the young adventurer. On their entering Northumberland, Perkin publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he inveighed bitterly againſt Henry, as an uſurper, a tyrant, and a murderer; and invited all his ſubjects to aſſiſt him in recovering the throne of his anceſtors.

But this manifeſto, though drawn up with great ſpirit and preciſion, produced very little effect: the claim of Perkin was grown obſolete, and his being aſſiſted by the Scots rendered him an unwelcome viſitor to the Engliſh. James ſoon perceived that he had undertaken a taſk he was unable to perform; and, deſirous of repaying himſelf the expences of the expedition, ravaged Northumberland in the moſt cruel manner. Perkin pretended to be greatly affected with the miſeries of his plundered ſubjects, and remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the proceedings of the army. But all his repreſentations were in vain. James told him, "That he was perſuaded his concern was only employed in behalf of his enemy, and that he was anxious to preſerve what would never belong to him." The depredations were accordingly continued without the leaſt intermiſſion, till advice arrived that a numerous army was advancing againſt them, when the Scots thought proper to retire into their own country.

A. D. 1497. Henry never loſt an opportunity of extorting money from his ſubjects. The Scottiſh invaſion furniſhed him with a ſufficient pretence for demanding a ſupply from his parliament; and a ſubſidy, to the amount of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, with two fifteenths, were accordingly granted. His avarice, which was his ruling paſſion, rather than his neceſſities, induced him to this exaction; and the people, often diſguſted with neceſſary taxes, were far from being diſpoſed to ſubmit to thoſe which were uſeleſs to the ſtate. The Corniſhmen, who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of the ancient ferocity of their anceſtors, were highly exaſperated at being obliged to ſupport ſo unneceſſary a burden. They complained loudly againſt this impoſition, from which they conſidered themſelves exempted; as the northern counties had uſually repelled the incurſions of the Scots, without burdening the other parts of the kingdom. Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who was conſidered as the leader of the multitude, greatly incited the ill-humour of the people by the moſt inflammatory reflections on the proceedings of the government. He was joined by Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, who had long been conſidered as the oracle of the neighbourhood. He perſuaded them, that they had no right to pay the tax, as the northern nobility were obliged, by the tenures of their eſtates, to defend the borders againſt the Scots; adding, that the only way to obtain redreſs was to deliver a petition to the king, and to ſecond it with ſuch a force as would give it authority; avoiding, at the ſame time, every ſpecies of oppreſſion, in order to convince their fellow ſubjects, that the good of the people had induced them to have recourſe to this method for procuring a redreſs of their grievances.

Theſe ſpeeches produced the deſired effect. The multitude flocked together, armed with ſuch weapons as are generally poſſeſſed by countrymen. Flammoc and Joſeph were choſen their leaders, and the rabble marched directly towards the capital. At Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman deſcended from an ancient family, but of a very reſtleſs and ambitious temper. Audley, by his authority, kept the inſurgents from committing the leaſt violence or diſorder during their march. When they reached Wincheſter, inſtead of continuing their route directly to London, as they at firſt intended, they marched into Kent, from a ridiculous notion, that the inhabitants of that country would join them in great numbers. But they ſoon found that their expectations were built on a chimerical expectation: not one of the Kentiſhmen would join their ſtandard. They were not, however, intimidated by this diſappointment; they continued their march to Blackheath, and encamped between Greenwich and Eltham.

The inhabitants of London were greatly alarmed; apprehending that their wealth might tempt the inſurgents to plunder the city. Fortunately for them, as well as for Henry, the army intended to chaſtiſe the Scots, was ready for action, and immediately ſent againſt the Corniſh rebels. The troops were divided into three bodies; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, the ſecond by the king in perſon, and the third by lord d'Aubeney, a general in whoſe abilities and courage the ſoldiers placed the higheſt confidence.

Lord Oxford was directed to poſt the left wing of his diviſion near Lewiſham, and to extend his right towards Foots-Cray, in order to ſecure all the roads and defiles by which it was poſſible to eſcape in that direction. Lord d'Aubeney was ordered to march directly againſt the front of the rebels, extending his right wing towards the left of the earl of Oxford's diviſion. The king himſelf encamped in St. George's Fields, his troops forming a kind of body of reſerve. This excellent diſpoſition rendered it almoſt impoſſible for any of the rebels to eſcape, as they had no ſhipping to croſs the Thames, the only paſſage that was left open.

It was given out that Henry intended to attack the inſurgents on the Monday following, whereas the king really intended to give them battle on the Saturday. This falſe rumour occaſioned a capital miſtake among the Corniſhmen; for while their main body was encamped on the middle of the heath, their advanced guard was poſted at Deptford-bridge, without any intermediate detachment between them.

D'Aubeney advanced againſt the rebels about four in the afternoon, and attacked their advanced guard with the utmoſt fury, and after a very ſmart conflict, drove them from their poſt, and followed them ſo cloſe up the hill, that he gained the ſummit before any aſſiſtance could be ſent from the main body to oppoſe him. This advantage inſpired d'Aubeney with a kind of contempt for the enemy, tho' they were formidable for their numbers, and far from being deficient in valour. He charged them at the head of his men with great impetuoſity; but met with a reſiſtance he did not expect: his valour carried him too far, and he was taken priſoner. Victory ſeemed now inclined to declare for the inſurgents; but lord Oxford falling in the critical moment upon their rear, changed the fortune of the day; they could not ſtand the ſhock of theſe veteran forces, being wholly deſtitute both of horſe and artillery. Fifteen hundred of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt taken priſoners, with their leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill; but Flammoc and Joſeph were executed at Tyburn. The reſt of the priſoners were diſmiſſed without any puniſhment, a favour which Henry's character gave them no reaſon to expect. Perhaps their inoffenſive behaviour pleaded ſufficiently in their favour; or perhaps he hoped to obliterate the remembrance of his former ſeverities by this inſtance of unuſual lenity.

This commotion in England induced James to make a ſecond invaſion of the northern counties. He met with no oppoſition, and ſat down before Norham caſtle. The earl of Surry commanded the few forces in thoſe counties; and as ſoon as the Corniſh rebellion was ſuppreſſed, Henry ſent the beſt of his troops to join that nobleman in Yorkſhire. With this reinforcement he advanced againſt the Scots, who immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retired with ſuch precipitation that the earl could not overtake them. He, however, continued the purſuit; and made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle of Ayton, ſituated between Berwick and Edinburgh. A new negotiation was now entered into for a peace, but the conferences were rendered abortive: only a truce for a few months was concluded.

The principal reaſon that prevented a truce from taking place between the two kingdoms, was James's refuſal to give up Perkin Warbec. But though he would not conſent to ſacrifice the perſon he had engaged to protect, he deſired him to quit his dominions. The unhappy fugitive was now reduced to a melancholy ſituation. Flanders could no longer furniſh him with an aſylum, as the Flemiſh, having ſuffered conſiderably by the interruption of their trade with England, had made an accommodation with Henry. He had therefore no other reſource than to return to Ireland, where he again reſided among his partizans, who ſtill continued firm to his intereſt.

A. D. 1498. The Corniſh rebels, on their return to their country, boaſted that they owed not their pardon to Henry's clemency, but to his fear that their puniſhment would have rouzed the whole nation; the people being ready to take up arms againſt the government. Animated by theſe repreſentations, the people again aſſembled; and hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, it was agreed to invite him over, and place him at their head. The young adventurer liſtened to their propoſals, and having prevailed upon a few perſons to follow his fortune, he landed in Whitſand-bay on the coaſt of Cornwall. He repaired immediately to Bodmin, where, being joined by three or four thouſand men, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he aſſumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Strangers to diſcipline, and ſtrangers to the danger of ſupporting themſelves againſt the attacks of a regular army, they were perſuaded that their force was invincible, and reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Exeter, which they promiſed themſelves would fall an eaſy conqueſt to their arms. They carried this wild project into execution; but being deſtitute of artillery, and almoſt every other requiſite neceſſary for forming a regular ſiege; the aſſailants, who attempted to ſcale the walls, were repulſed in every attack. While the rebels were thus employed in an attempt that exceeded their power, ſeveral of the nobility and gentry of Devonſhire, formed an aſſociation in defence of Henry's government, and raiſed forces in order to drive the inſurgents from the walls of Exeter. Henry alſo diſpatched the lord d'Aubeney, at the head of four thouſand men, to the relief of that city; and followed himſelf with a more numerous army.

Perkin was now intimidated; and, raiſing the ſiege of Exeter, he retired to Taunton in Somerſetſhire. His army, when he lay before Exeter, conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand men, but many of theſe having joined him from the hopes of plunder, left the army when he raiſed the ſiege. The young adventurer perceiving that the number of his followers daily decreaſed, and that lord d'Aubeney was in full march to attack him, did not think proper to venture a battle. He fled with threeſcore horſe to the monaſtery of Beaulieu, in the New Foreſt, where he and his retinue regiſtered themſelves, as perſons entitled to the benefit of that ſanctuary. Lord d'Aubeney was no ſooner informed of their flight, than he detached a party of three hundred horſe in purſuit of the fugitives; but finding they were already within the walls, he ſurrounded the aſylum, till he received further inſtructions from Henry. In the mean time the rebels, finding themſelves deſerted by their leader, ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, and received a pardon. The lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Perkin, fell into the hands of Henry, who treated her with a kindneſs that does him honour. He ſoothed her mind with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed till her death, which happened during the reign of his ſucceſſor.

But the fate of Perkin himſelf was not ſo eaſily determined; he had taken ſhelter in a ſanctuary which had never been violated. Some of the council adviſed the king to drag him from the altar by force, and inflict upon him the puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerved for his temerity. But Henry thought the remedy too violent: he was unwilling to offend the whole body of the clergy, who conſidered theſe religious retreats as ſacred and inviolable. At the ſame time he was deſirous of convincing, even the moſt bigotted part of his people, that Perkin was an impoſtor, which would effectually put an end to his pretenſions, without depriving him of his life. He therefore cauſed ſecret applications to be made to the young adventurer, offering him his pardon, if he would quit his ſanctuary, and deliver himſelf into the king's hands. Perkin, deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, liſtened to the propoſals; he was conducted in a kind of mock triumph to London, and committed to the Tower.

A. D. 1499. The volatile genius of Perkin was, however, ill adapted to confinement; he made his eſcape from the Tower, and fled to the ſanctuary at Shene. The prior of that religious retirement interceded with Henry, and obtained his pardon. Perkin was again ſent a priſoner to the Tower. But the ſpirit of intrigue had taken poſſeſſion of his mind. He found means to open a correſpondence with the young earl of Warwick, who having been kept in confinement from his earlieſt infancy, was ignorant even of the common tranſactions of life. He was therefore unable to ſee the conſequence of liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of Perkin: he engaged with the impoſtor to make their eſcape. Their plot, however, was diſcovered, and Perkin, having now rendered himſelf unworthy of all favour, was condemned and executed. Nor did Henry omit ſo favourable an opportunity of freeing himſelf from a prince he had always beheld with malevolence. He cauſed the unfortunate earl of Warwick, the only male remaining of the Plantagenet family, to be accuſed of forming deſigns to diſturb the government. He was eaſily found guilty, and Henry ſuffered him to be executed. This act of tyranny was thought, even by Henry himſelf, to ſtand in need of ſome apology; and it was accordingly pretended, that Ferdinand, king of Arragon, would not conſent to the marriage of his daughter, with the prince of Wales, while any prince of the houſe of York remained alive. But this apology was far from ſatiſfying the people: they exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of this cruel proceeding: they beheld with deteſtation a prince, who ſcrupled not to ſacrifice every principle of humanity to the dictates of an avaricious policy.

A. D. 1502. The marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and the princeſs Catherine of Arragon, was celebrated ſoon after the death of Warwick; but the prince, who was then about ſixteen years of age, did not long ſurvive his nuptials; he died of a conſumption, and, it was ſaid, without conſummating his marriage. Henry, unwilling to reſtore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thouſand ducats, obliged Henry, his ſecond ſon, whom he now created prince of Wales, to marry the princeſs, a diſpenſation from the pope being obtained for that purpoſe. This marriage occaſioned very remarkable events in the following reign. About the ſame time Henry married his eldeſt daughter Margaret, to James IV. king of Scotland; an event which gave occaſion to one of the members of the council to remark, that England, in conſequence of this alliance, might poſſibly fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry with ſome vivacity, "Scotland, in that caſe, would only become an acquiſition to England." He ſpoke not by the ſpirit of prophecy; but the event actually happened in the beginning of the ſucceeding century.

The plague, during theſe tranſactions, raged with uncommon violence; upwards of thirty thouſand perſons were ſwept away by it in the city of London. Among many others who fell victims to its fury, was cardinal Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of great parts and experience in buſineſs; but ſo entirely devoted to the avaricious will of his maſter, and at the ſame time ſo fertile in deviſing oppreſſive methods to fleece the people, that he was beheld with deteſtation, and died without receiving the tribute of a tear.

But the loſs of his favourite miniſter diverted not the thoughts of Henry from his darling purſuit of heaping up riches. Avarice was always the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, and was now increaſed by age to an immoderate degree. He was already poſſeſſed of more perſonal riches than any other ſovereign in Europe; but his deſire of acquiſition ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as it was gratified. He now iſſued out commiſſions for impoſing fines and redemptions upon all perſons in the counties of Wilts, Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, that ſhould be found to have favoured the Corniſh rebels under lord Audley and Perkin Warbec. At the ſame time he iſſued orders to all the ſheriffs, to ſummon every gentleman poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year in land to repair to court, within a limited time, and receive the order of knighthood. Theſe oppreſſive methods procured him the hatred of his ſubjects, though this hatred was, by his great abilities, tinctured deeply with fear. All the powers on the continent courted his alliance; and all the malecontents of England were over-awed into a peaceful acquieſcence.

The buſy, reſtleſs, and furious paſſion of jealouſy, however, ſtill encroached upon his repoſe. Henry was of a diſpoſition never to be eaſy under the ſmalleſt ground of apprehenſion, and an accident happened which greatly diſturbed his peace. Edmund de la Pole, ſecond ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, ſiſter of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, conſidered as the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward and of George, duke of Clarence, ſhould become extinct. Edmund had claimed the inheritance of his title and eſtates on the death of his brother, who periſhed in the battle of Stokefield; but his extravagance having rendered him unable to ſupport the title of duke, he was obliged to reſign that dignity, and Henry, in conſequence of that ceſſion, allowed him to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk. Edmund was of a very paſſionate diſpoſition, and happened, in one of his furious ſallies, to kill a man. He applied to the king for a pardon, which was not refuſed; but being little indulgent to perſons connected with the houſe of York, he obliged him to appear perſonally before the court of King's-Bench, and plead his pardon like a common felon. Suffolk ſo highly reſented this affront, that he fled over to Flanders, and was protected by the dutcheſs of Burgundy. Henry was alarmed at his retreat; he thought he ſaw a new pretender ready to diſpute his throne; and in order to prevent any deſign from being formed againſt him, he diſpatched ſome of his emiſſaries to Flanders, promiſing him every advantage he could deſire, if he would return. The offer was accepted: the earl came over to England, where he plunged into all his former exceſſes, to the ruin of his credit and fortune: he was obliged to retire into Flanders, where he again renewed the fears and jealouſy of Henry.

A. D. 1503. Finding all his offers to prevail upon Suffolk to return ineffectual, and perſuaded that he was forming deſigns againſt the government, he had recourſe to the ſame artifice he had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed in the caſe of Perkin Warbec. He applied to Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, near Calais, to attempt the diſcovery of Suffolk's ſecret intentions. He accordingly abandoned his poſt, under pretence of diſaffection to the government, retired into Flanders, and offered his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk. That nobleman received him with particular marks of eſteem, formed a very intimate connection with him, and ſhewed him, in confidence, ſeveral letters he had received from his correſpondents, in which the meaſures of Henry were treated with great freedom. Curſon immediately informed Henry of the diſcoveries he had made, in conſequence of which the earl of Devonſhire, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Windham, were taken into cuſtody, and the two latter were afterwards condemned and executed. The death of Tyrrel gave univerſal ſatisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the two young princes, ſons to Edward IV. Suffolk was, however, beyond the reach of Henry; but that nobleman, finding the dutcheſs of Burgundy was now become indifferent with regard to the partizans of the houſe of York, he retired to the court of Philip, archduke of Auſtria, where he was received with great marks of kindneſs and regard.

Henry was ſtill employed in inventing new ſchemes for ſatisfying his avarice. His agents in this complicated ſcene of extortion, were Sir Richard Empſon and Edward Dudley. The former was the ſon of a ſieve-maker, and by the boldneſs of his meaſures endeavoured to conceal the meanneſs of his birth: the latter was a perſon of fortune and family, as well as of great abilities; circumſtances which render his memory ſtill more execrable, if poſſible, than that of his partner in iniquity. The inſolence of theſe two miniſters were carried to that height, that they did not even obſerve the common forms of juſtice; they fleeced the ſubject with the moſt arbitrary licentiouſneſs. Such as refuſed tamely to yield up their property, were impriſoned, fined, and ſome of them executed, in conſequence of private trials, without any fair examination, or the verdict of a jury. Henry, who ſhared the fruits of this oppreſſion, covered the authors with the ſhield of his authority. Informers, ſpies, and other vermin of a ſimilar kind, filled every part of the kingdom; while Henry was deaf to the groans of the oppreſſed, and inſenſible to the reproaches of his people.

A. D. 1505. An event which now happened in Spain, for ſome time diverted Henry's thoughts from oppreſſion. Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, paid the debt of nature, and it was foreſeen that this incident would greatly affect the fortunes of her huſband Ferdinand, king of Arragon. Henry's ſituation was, in ſome particulars, ſimilar to that of Ferdinand, and therefore he regarded the iſſue of theſe tranſactions as a precedent for himſelf. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Iſabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heireſs of Caſtile, ſeemed entitled to diſpute with Ferdinand the preſent adminiſtration of that kingdom, It was of the utmoſt importance for Henry to ſupport the pretenſions of Ferdinand. He was very ſenſible that the greater part of his ſubjects were convinced of the ſuperiority of his wife's title to the crown; and he dreaded leſt the prince of Wales, who was every day advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by his own ambition, and the example of the archduke, to lay immediate claim to the crown.

A. D. 1506, Ferdinand, though ſo cloſely connected with Henry, ſoon found that it would be impoſſible for him to continue in the adminiſtration. His former exactions and impoſitions had rendered him very unpopular, and a reſolution was taken to declare Philip and Joan, king and queen of Caſtile. Philip therefore embarked with his conſort for Spain, on the ſixth of January; but being overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, he was obliged to put into the harbour of Weymouth for ſafety. Spent with the fatigues of a turbulent voyage, the duke and his conſort went on ſhore to procure ſome refreſhment, contrary to the advice of his council, who ſtrongly oppoſed the reſolution.

Alarmed at hearing that a large fleet had, for ſome days, been ſeen on the coaſt, Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of conſiderable property in the county of Dorſet, aſſembled a body of forces, and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was alſo at the head of a few troops, they came to that town. As no accommodations could be expected fit for entertaining perſons of their dignity, he invited them to his houſe, and immediately diſpatched an expreſs to inform the court of this important incident. Henry ſent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to aſſure them that he hoped ſoon to have the pleaſure of embracing them, and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would willingly have declined the honour of an interview; but he well knew that he muſt not now depart without the king's conſent, and therefore ſet out immediately for the court, which was then at Windſor, where he and his conſort were received by Henry with all the marks of the moſt cordial friendſhip. But the Engliſh monarch was determined to draw ſome advantages from this fortunate event; and accordingly hinted to Philip, that as he had changed his condition, by accepting the crown of Caſtile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ought to be renewed. No objections were made to this propoſal, and a new treaty was drawn up and ſigned by both princes.

But though this treaty was very advantageous to England, Henry was far more deſirous of ſucceeding in another attempt, which regarded himſelf only. He had been very uneaſy at the reception the earl of Suffolk had met with at Philip's court, and was determined to employ the preſent opportunity of procuring that fugitive to be ſent back to his own country. Accordingly he complained to Philip, that his ſubjects found an aſylum in his dominions, particularly the earl of Suffolk. "I really thought," replied the king of Caſtile, "that a perſon of ſo little conſequence was incapable of giving you the leaſt uneaſineſs. But to convince you, that I am deſirous of giving you all the ſatisfaction in my power, I will baniſh him from my territories." "You will greatly increaſe the obligation," ſaid the king, "by carrying your complaiſance a little farther, and deliver Suffolk into my hands: I can then depend upon his ſubmiſſion and obedience." "If I grant your requeſt," ſaid Philip, "I ſhall bring a ſtain of diſhonour upon us both. It will be ſaid that I was treated as a priſoner in your dominions." "Then there is no farther diſpute," replied Henry, "I will take all the diſhonour upon myſelf." Philip perceived that Henry was determined to carry his point, and therefore gave his conſent, on condition that no attempt ſhould be made againſt his life. Henry very readily agreed to this reſtriction, and even condeſcended to write a letter to the earl with his own hand; aſſuring the unfortunate exile, that he ſhould meet with the kindeſt reception in England. This invitation, added to that of Philip, who was perſuaded that Henry would make no difficulty of granting his pardon, produced the deſired effect. Suffolk returned to England; but on his appearance, was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued till the next reign, when he fell a ſacrifice to the deteſtable jealouſies of the ſtate.

Philip was now ſuffered to proceed on his voyage, after being detained in England above three months. He was joyfully received by his ſubjects. Ferdinand withdrew to his own kingdom of Arragon; and Philip was placed upon the throne of Caſtile, amidſt the acclamations of the people. But he did not long enjoy his crown. He died on the twenty-fifth of September, after a reign of about three months; and his conſort was ſo afflicted at his loſs, that ſhe fell into a deep melancholy, which rendered her incapable of holding the reins of government. Philip therefore reſumed the adminiſtration during the minority of Charles of Luxembourgh, afterwards ſo well known by the name of Charles V.

A. D. 1507. The Flemings having thus loſt their prince, invited the emperor Maximilian to reſume the government of the Low Countries during the minority of his grandſon. He accepted the invitation; but being engaged in affairs of importance, which detained him in Germany, he ſent his daughter Margaret, widow to the duke of Savoy, with the character of governante of the Low Countries, till his arrival. A proviſional treaty of commerce was ſoon after concluded between Margaret and Henry, until ſome differences which had ariſen between the Engliſh and Flemings could be amicably adjuſted.

But no buſineſs of ſtate, except where his jealouſy was concerned, could divert the attention of Henry from his avaricious proceedings; and the oppreſſions of Empſon and Dudley were more flagitious than ever. Sir William Capel, who had been lord-mayor of London about four years ſince, was now proſecuted upon a frivolous charge of not having puniſhed a perſon who had paid him falſe money during the time of his mayoralty, and fined two thouſand pounds. He refuſed to pay ſo exorbitant a ſum, and was immediately ſent to the Tower, where he continued till the death of Henry. Laurence Aylmer, lord mayor of London, and his two ſheriffs, were alſo proſecuted upon charges equally frivolous, and each fined a thouſand pounds. But they imitating the example of Capel, were committed to the King's-bench priſon. Several other gentlemen were proſecuted in the ſame manner; ſo that it is no wonder the names of Empſon and Dudley became obnoxious to the people. By theſe iniquitous practices, Henry amaſſed the enormous ſum of two millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, an amazing quantity in thoſe times. His rigid œconomy daily augmented this heap of wealth; and the more he advanced in years, the more deteſtable he became by his avarice; a vice never found in a great and cultivated mind.

A. D. 1508. But Henry now began to perceive, that neither riches, power, nor ſucceſs, could ſecure him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. He had for ſome years laboured under a conſumptive diſorder, too inveterate to be conquered by the preſcriptions of the healing art, which had exerted all its powers in preſerving a life Henry was ſo unwilling to reſign. At length his diſorder became deſperate: he found his end was approaching. The thoughts of death effected what reaſon had attempted in vain. Henry entered deep into himſelf, and trembled at the gloomy proſpect that now opened before him. He now ſaw the wickedneſs and folly of accumulating riches by violence and extortion, and was deſirous of performing ſome actions that might recommend him to the mercy of the Deity, and obtain, in ſome meaſure, the applauſe of his people. He diſtributed large ſums in charity; releaſed, at his own expence, all priſoners confined for debts under forty ſhillings; and, ordered, by his laſt will, that reſtitution, as far as poſſible, ſhould be made to thoſe who had ſuffered by the infamous agents of his oppreſſive avarice. But theſe meaſures, however commendable in themſelves, are more efficacions in relieving the conſciences of the unjuſt, than in ſatiſfying the Deity. There is little merit in abandoning what we can no longer enjoy.

A. D. 1509. In this manner Henry paſſed the laſt months of his life; and paid the debt of nature on the twenty-fourth of April, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ſecond of his age.

The reign of Henry was more advantageous to his people than honourable to himſelf. He put a final period to the civil wars which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom. He maintained order and regularity in the ſtate: he depreſſed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and by his firmneſs and intrepidity, together with the friendſhip and alliances he contracted with foreign princes, he became one of the greateſt monarchs in Europe. His reign, in ſome meaſure, humanized the ferocious manners of the Engliſh. He inherited a fund of good ſenſe, which was greatly improved by ſtudy and experience. His judgment was ſound, and his ſagacity remarkable. His prudence and valour ſurmounted every difficulty. Theſe ſhining qualities acquired him the eſteem of all the princes of Europe, and he was generally known by the appellation of the Engliſh Solomon. But his activity and firmneſs, his wiſdom, his love of peace, and his courage in war, cannot wipe away the ſtains which the odious vice of avarice left upon his memory.

Henry had ſix children by his queen; but only three ſurvived him; one ſon, and two daughters.

1. Henry Tudor, born at Greenwich on the twenty-fourth of February, 1491, and ſucceeded his father by the name of Henry VIII.

2. Margaret Tudor, born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1489: firſt married to James IV. king of Scotland; and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. She left children by both.

3. Mary Tudor, born in the year 1498: married firſt to Lewis XII. king of France; and after his deceaſe, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The great object of Henry's policy was to humble the nobility, and to keep them in a proper degree of ſubordination. Accordingly he aboliſhed, by his vigour and firmneſs, the practice of having retainers, which had been long an object of pride to the nobility; and who, by this method, engaged a multitude of people in their ſervice. Theſe became the tools of their injuſtice and rebellion. He alſo paſſed an act of parliament, by which the nobility were enabled to alienate their poſſeſſions, without paying the enormous fines before neceſſary. This enabled the people to purchaſe eſtates, and, conſequently, to augment their power; while it diminiſhed that of the barons, by furniſhing them with the means of prodigality and expence. Commerce and induſtry were every day advancing in their progreſs, though the real methods of encouraging trade were entirely unknown. The intereſt of money, the profits of exchange, and the exportation of plate and bullion, were prohibited. Prices were fixed for woollen cloths, for hats, and the wages of labourers: nor could any perſon bind his children apprentices, who did not poſſeſs twenty ſhillings a year in land. Theſe were ſo many obſtacles which impeded the progreſs of commerce and induſtry. Henry, however, paſſed ſeveral wiſe laws for the execution of juſtice, for the puniſhment of murderers, and for ſubjecting the clergy to capital puniſhments on the commiſſion of groſſer enormities.

The arts and ſciences now began to emerge from that obſcurity under which they had been ſo long concealed. The city of Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks in the year 1453; and the Greeks, among whom ſome remains of learning were ſtill preſerved, being ſcattered by theſe enthuſiaſtic barbarians, took ſhelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their ſcience, and their refined taſte in poetry and eloquence. The purity of the Latin tongue was alſo revived; the ſtudy of antiquity became faſhionable; and the eſteem for literature gradually propagated itſelf through every nation in Europe. But what ſtill more contributed to diſſeminate the ſciences, was the diſcovery of the art of printing, which ſpreads with ſuch rapidity, from country to country, the wiſdom and follies of men. William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, being ſent ambaſſador by Edward IV. to the duke of Burgundy, learned that uſeful art during his abode in the Low Countries, and introduced it into England about the year 1474. He tranſlated ſeveral books from the French, and printed them himſelf in one of the chapels of Weſtminſter-abbey, by permiſſion of John Iſlip the abbot. The book on "The Game of Cheſs," dated 1474, but without Caxton's name, is generally reckoned the firſt production of the Engliſh preſs. The invention was ſoon purchaſed by the monaſteries, and preſſes were ſet up at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Albans, and other places.

The dawn of literature was uſhered in by the diſcovery of a new world. Chriſtopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, one of thoſe bold and original geniuſes born for the inſtruction of mankind, undertook to extend the limits which ignorance had ſet to the world. His knowledge of the true figure of the earth, however obtained, was far ſuperior to that of any of his cotemporaries; and he generouſly determined not to ſuffer the diſcoveries he had made to continue in obſcurity. He conceived a project of ſailing to the Indies by a weſtern courſe, and of opening to his country a new ſource of opulence and power. But the Genoeſe rejected this notion as chimerical: they conſidered it as impoſſible for a weſtern coaſt to lead to the Indies. Stung with diſappointment and indignation, Columbus retired from Genoa; and, after a ſeries of difficulties, obtained a ſmall fleet from Ferdinand and Iſabella of Spain. He ſailed on the third of Auguſt, 1492, on the moſt adventurous attempt ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were intereſted. He was ſucceſsful; and the conſequence was the diſcovery of America. Soon after, the Portugueſe found a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, by which they carried on an advantageous trade with the inhabitants of the Eaſt. Diſcoveries of this important kind rouzed the torpid genius of mankind; and improvements were daily made in geography, navigation, and aſtronomy. New ideas opened to the human mind, the faculties were extended, and advances were continually made in uſeful and ornamental learning. The art of artillery and engineering were brought to ſome degree of perfection, and changed intirely the operations of war.

Among the men of genius and learning that flouriſhed in theſe times, were Sir John Fortiſcue and Sir Thomas Lyttleton. The former was one of the moſt learned men of his age: he was lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench in the reign of Henry VI. and conſtituted chancellor to that unfortunate prince after Edward IV. had taken poſſeſſion of the throne. He followed the fortunes of the houſe of Lancaſter, and was many years in exile with queen Margaret, and prince Edward her ſon. Soon after the deciſive battle of Tewkſbury, he was thrown into priſon, and attainted, with other Lancaſtrians, but found means to procure his pardon from Edward IV. His celebrated book, "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," was written for the uſe of prince Edward. His treatiſe on the "Difference between an abſolute and a limited Monarchy," was not publiſhed till the year 1714.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton was judge of the Common Pleas, and a knight of the Bath, in the reign of Edward IV. He was the author of the celebrated book of "Tenures or Titles," by which all eſtates were anciently held in England. The firſt edition of this work was publiſhed at Rouen about the year 1533. Sir Edward Coke's Book of Inſtitutes is a comment on this work.

BOO

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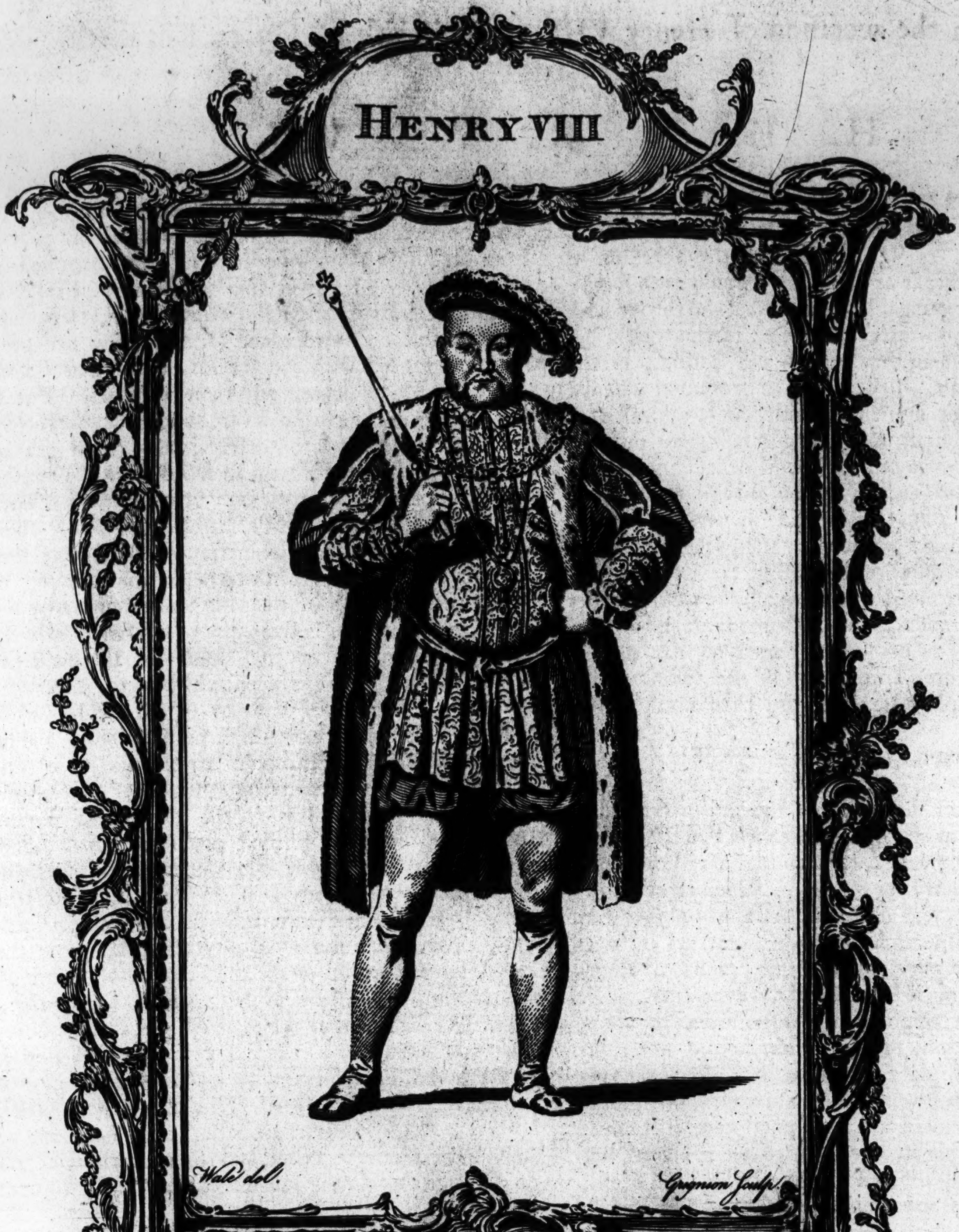
HENRY VIII
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

# BOOK X.

## From the acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the death of Queen Elizabeth.

## HENRY VIII.

A.D. 1509. THE Engliſh, who had long groaned under the avaricious tyranny of Henry VII. conſidered the acceſſion of his ſon to the throne as an event pregnant with happineſs; ſo that young Henry aſcended the throne with every advantage which nature and fortune could beſtow. Amiable in his perſon and addreſs, in the bloom of youth, bleſſed with uncommon talents, and poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, he ſaw himſelf at the head of a flouriſhing kingdom, where the arts and ſciences wanted only a liberal benefactor to promote their progreſs; and as the public tranquillity was ſecured by a long peace and powerful alliances, the people had already formed the greateſt expectations from his diſtinguiſhed abilities. It was not immediately perceived that his paſſions would render him a tyrant; nor was he tinctured with the vice of avarice. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than his diſpoſitions appeared to be the reverſe of his father: he diſplayed a liberality that bordered on profuſion.

Henry had been educated as an eccleſiaſtic; there being no hopes of his ever aſcending the throne till the death of his elder brother removed the difficulty, and rendered him heir apparent to the Engliſh crown. By this means he very early imbibed a taſte for literature, particularly for theology, which he ever after cultivated with great attention. This qualified him for the many diſputes he afterwards carried on with Luther and the pope; and to this, perhaps, all his meaſures, with regard to religion, were owing.

But however oppoſite the diſpoſitions of young Henry were to thoſe of his father, he did not think it neceſſary to diſplace thoſe ſtateſmen who had ſerved with fidelity in the preceding reign. His grandmother, the counteſs of Richmond, was ſtill alive; and as ſhe was highly eſteemed for her prudence and virtue, he wiſely liſtened to her advice in the eſtabliſhment of his new council. It was compoſed of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord-chancellor; Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy-ſeal; Howard, earl of Surry, lord treaſurer; Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, lord-ſteward of the houſhold; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, comptroller; Sir Henry Manny, afterwards lord Manny; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. Theſe were thoroughly experienced in buſineſs; nor had they borne any part of the public odium during the life of the late king.

The gay and ſpirited diſpoſition of Henry ſoon changed the aſpect of the court: the ſcenes of œconomy and avarice now gave way to thoſe of diſſipation and profuſion. One party of pleaſure ſucceeded another. Tilts, tournaments, and carouſals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age; and the prodigious treaſures amaſſed by the late king were diſſipated in the giddy expences of his ſucceſſor.

Henry did not, however, forget the complaints of his people. He publiſhed a proclamation to encourage complaints againſt all who had made uſe of the royal authority to the prejudice of his ſubjects. The opportunity was embraced with avidity; the ſpies and informers, who had ſo long exerciſed an unbounded tyranny over the kingdom, now felt the weight of juſtice, and fell victims to the reſentment of the public. Empſon and Dudley, who had been ſo often loaded with execrations, were cited before the council, to anſwer for their conduct. But it was ſoon found, that however obnoxious they were rendered by their late conduct, they could not be condemned by the laws of their country. Empſon artfully obſerved, that the only crime of which both himſelf and Dudley were accuſed, conſiſted in their having enforced a ſtrict execution of the laws; that they had acted entirely in obedience to the king, to whom the execution of the laws was entruſted by the conſtitution; that it belonged not to them, who were merely inſtruments in the hands of the ſupreme power, what laws were recent or obſolete, expedient or hurtful, ſince they were all equally valid while they remained unrepealed by the legiſlature. The council perceived Empſon's arguments were unanſwerable, and therefore thought proper to commit theſe obnoxious miniſters to the Tower, till a new accuſation could be formed againſt them. After ſome deliberation, it was determined to accuſe them of high-treaſon. It was ſaid, "That, conſcious of the popular odium incurred by their unjuſt proceedings, they had ſummoned their friends, while the late king lay on his death-bed, to conſult them on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to ſecure them from the reſentment of the public." Theſe meaſures were conſtrued into a conſpiracy to ſeize the perſon of the new king, and to take up arms in defence of themſelves and their party. This ſtrange accuſation, however abſurd and improbable, was ſufficient to convict them of the crime laid to their charge, and they fell victims to the juſt reſentment of an injured people.

While the public attention was engaged in the proſecution of theſe obnoxious miniſters, the council was employed in deliberating on the expedience of the king's conſummating his marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, a zealous prelate, and violently attached to the papal authority, ſtrongly ſupported the intereſt of the princeſs. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, urged, that it was contrary to a poſitive command of the Deity himſelf, for a man to marry his brother's widow, and, conſequently, that the pope's diſpenſation was invalid. Fox oppoſed to this argument the unlimited authority of Chriſt's vicar, and that the pope's diſpenſation was abundantly ſufficient. To this weak argument he added others of a much ſtronger tendency, founded on political motives. He repreſented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into an alliance with France, and of the two monarchs joining to reſent the affront offered to the king of Arragon in the perſon of his daughter, after ſhe had been ſo long affianced to Henry. He expatiated on the known virtue, modeſty, and noble diſpoſitions of the princeſs; her affection for the king, the large dowry ſhe brought, and the neceſſity of forming a cloſe alliance with

Spain, in order to counterbalance the great power of France. Theſe arguments prevailed, and the marriage was accordingly conſummated.

But though the biſhop of Wincheſter had been ſucceſsful with regard to the conſummation of Henry's marriage, he ſoon perceived that his power began to decline. He had acquired ſuch habits of caution and frugality during the preceding reign, that he could not now lay them wholly aſide. He remonſtrated againſt the ſchemes of diſſipation and expence purſued by the young monarch, and by that means loſt his favour: while Surry, who made his own intereſt the ſole motive of his conduct, was very officious in promoting the liberality, pleaſure, and magnificence which now prevailed. Wincheſter expoſtulated with him on his remarkable change of conduct, but without effect: Surry derived great advantages from the diſſipation of his maſter; and at the ſame time engaged him in ſuch a courſe of idleneſs, that he became negligent of the affairs of ſtate, and willing to entruſt the government to the care of his miniſters. Fox was highly exaſperated againſt Surry, and determined to introduce ſome perſon who might be a ſpy upon his actions. He caſt his eyes upon Dr. Thomas Woolſey, as a perſon well qualified to anſwer his purpoſe. He was the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, but diſtinguiſhed by his prudence, his talents, and his learning. Woolſey had recommended himſelf by his addreſs to Henry VII. who had employed him with advantage in ſome difficult commiſſions. Nor was it long before the young courtier gained the favour of his maſter. His inſinuating addreſs, his taſte for pleaſure, and his love of letters, could not fail of rendering him very acceptable to Henry. We ſhall ſoon ſee him at the head of the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1510. The wars in Italy ſtill raged with the utmoſt violence, and attracted the attention of all the princes in Europe. A league had been formed at Cambray between the pope, the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, for ſtripping the republic of Venice of her territories on the continent. Julius II. that warlike and imperious pontiff, had planned this confederacy. Forgetting the cares of religion, in order to increaſe the power of the holy ſee, he ſcrupled not to involve Italy in all the horrors of war, and deluge, with chriſtian blood, the countries over which he preſided as vicar of the Prince of Peace. The French ſoon reduced the Venetians to extremities, and recovered the territories claimed by the contracting princes. But the pope had no ſooner obtained poſſeſſion of the dominions he pretended to belong to the church, than he determined to break the league of Cambray, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he now conſidered as too formidable. In order to this, he endeavoured to excite the ſtates of Europe againſt the French monarch, and was particularly deſirous of engaging young Henry in his favour. He ſent that monarch a conſecrated golden roſe, a favour never beſtowed by the popes but on their moſt favourite princes. He engaged Ferdinand to aſſiſt him, and entered into a treaty with the Swiſs cantons.

Having formed ſo powerful a confederacy, he attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France. Lewis, who never imagined a deſign was formed for attacking his territories, made no preparations for repelling the attempts of the enemy; but determining not to abandon his ally, he ſent orders to Chamont his general, and governor of Milan, to ſupport the duke with all his forces. Chamont prepared immediately to obey the commands of his ſovereign, and hearing that the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, he reſolved to ſurprize him. He accordingly led his army towards the city, and had he not been amuſed with ſome of the pope's envoys, he would, in all probability, have put an end to all the projects of this enterpriſing pontiff; but inſtead of puſhing the ſiege with vigour, he liſtened to propoſals offered by Julius, which that artful churchman never intended to perform. This ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities furniſhed an opportunity for a body of Venetian troops to throw themſelves into the caſtle; and Chamont, being deſtitute of artillery ſufficient for taking the fortreſs, was obliged to abandon the undertaking.

Lewis, after trying every method in his power to bring about a treaty of peace with this imperious pontiff, determined to ſubdue him by force of arms, and to depoſe him in a council ſummoned to meet at Piſa. But no danger could intimidate the old pontiff; he laid ſiege to Mirandola in perſon; and tho' he was then ſeventy years of age, he mounted the trenches, viſited the works, encouraged the engineers, and at length entered the breach with the foremoſt of his forces.

While the pope, worn out with age, was fighting at the head of his forces, Lewis, ſtill in the vigour of life, was debating in his council. He laboured to ſtir up all the clergy in Europe, and the pope all the ſoldiers. The general council was ſummoned to meet at Piſa, where a few cardinals, who were enemies to the pontiff, made their appearance. But this council proved an idle undertaking, while the papal war was very ſucceſsful. Julius, without ſuſpending for a moment his military operations, fulminated anathemas againſt the biſhops aſſembled at Piſa.

A. D. 1512. Henry was courted by both parties, but at laſt, by the inſtigations of Ferdinand, who had joined the pontiff, declared againſt France. The glory of ſerving the pope, and of conquering provinces, excited the ambition of the young monarch; and the parliament readily granted ſupplies for an enterprize that was agreeable to the people. Ferdinand, always attentive to his own intereſt, while he ſeemed to be acting for that of others, perſuaded Henry that it would be more for his advantage not to land his troops at Calais, but at Fonterabia, where he might eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, and where he promiſed to aſſiſt him with a Spaniſh army. But the real intention of Ferdinand was to turn this force to the acquiſition of the kingdom of Navarre. Julius had excommunicated John d'Albert, its preſent king, as an adherent to the council of Piſa; and the dominions of an excommunicated prince were an object worthy to excite the violence and rapacity of Ferdinand the catholic.

Henry, who ſuſpected not the deſigns of Ferdinand, agreed to the propoſal. The marquis of Dorſet was appointed general of the land forces, which were landed in the province of Guipuſcoa, about the middle of June. The Engliſh admiral, in his return, made ſeveral ſucceſsful deſcents on the coaſt of Britany, and being joined by a ſquadron of ſhips commanded by Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with advantages. Alarmed at the attempts of the Engliſh, the French fleet of thirty-nine ſhips, was ordered to ſail from Breſt under the command of Primauget, an admiral of great courage and conduct. The two fleets ſoon after met, and a furious engagement enſued. At length Primauget's ſhip was ſet on fire, and determining not to periſh alone, he bore down upon the Engliſh admiral, and grappling with her, both ſhips ſoon became involved in the ſame inevitable deſtruction. This dreadful ſcene ſuſpended the action between the other ſhips; they were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſo frightful a ſcene of horror and confuſion. After ſome time time the French ſhip blew up, and the dreadful exploſion deſtroyed the Engliſh. This alarming cataſtrophe, in which above ſixteen hundred men periſhed, ſo affected both parties, that the engagement was not renewed; the French retired to Breſt, and the Engliſh continued cruizing in the Channel.

The duke of Alva, who commanded the Spaniſh forces, having joined the Engliſh, preparations were made for opening the campaign. But Dorſet, who was no ſtranger to Ferdinand's intentions, was ſurpriſed prized to find, that inſtead of purſuing the conqueſt of Guienne, his army moved towards the frontiers of Navarre. The Engliſh general complained to Ferdinand, that inſtead of undertaking the ſiege of Bayonne, which would open a paſſage into Guienne, the forces had taken a different rout. Ferdinand replied, that as the king of Navarre was connected with France, he thought it would not be adviſeable to form the ſiege of Bayonne, till meaſures were taken for preventing that prince from cutting off their proviſions, by forming a camp between the ſea and the mountains of Navarre. Dorſet agreed to theſe propoſals, and an Engliſh officer was ſent to that prince to know his intentions. D'Albert declared that he would obſerve an exact neutrality, and give no obſtruction to the attempts of the Engliſh. Ferdinand pretended not to be ſatisfied with this anſwer, he inſiſted that the king of Navarre ſhould join the combined army, or deliver into his hands ſix of the moſt conſiderable places in his dominions, together with his eldeſt ſon as an hoſtage. The artful Spaniard well knew that theſe terms could not be complied with, and on the return of the meſſenger with intelligence that the propoſal was rejected, orders were ſent to the duke of Alva to invade Navarre, and reduce the whole kingdom to ſubjection. The Engliſh general now perceived the intereſts of his maſter were to be ſacrificed to the ambitious views of the Spaniard, and refuſed to aſſiſt in the reduction of Navarre. He retired to his camp at Fontarabia, reſolving there to wait for freſh orders from England. But even his inaction anſwered the views of Ferdinand. It kept the French army in awe; and by preventing Lewis from aſſiſting d'Albert, the kingdom of Navarre fell into the hands of Ferdinand. The ſeaſon was too far advanced, and the French had taken too many precautions in putting Bayonne in a proper poſture of defence, for Dorſet to think of making any progreſs in the reduction of Guienne: he returned to England without having had an opportunity of leading his forces againſt the enemy. Henry was highly diſpleaſed at the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize; and Dorſet found the utmoſt difficulty to convince him that the miſcarriage was entirely owing to the fraudulent deſigns of Ferdinand, who was now ſtiled in Spain, "the wiſe, the prudent;" in Italy, "the pious;" in France and in England, "the perfidious."

A. D. 1513. But though this war was attended only with diſgrace to the Engliſh arms, yet it ſerved to weaken France. Lewis was obliged to recall his troops to the defence of his own dominions, and by that means loſt all his Italian conqueſts. Julius triumphed in the diſgrace of the French monarch; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune: he paid the debt of nature on the twenty-firſt of February, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by John de Medici, under the appellation of Leo X. one of the greateſt princes that ever filled the pontifical ſeat. He was the patron of arts, and the friend of learning. Deſirous of attaching Henry firmly to his intereſt, he ſent him a veſſel loaded with hams and wine. The arrival of this veſſel, which carried the papal banner, in the Thames, filled the Engliſh with exultation, and excited their natural antipathy againſt France.

The famous Wolſey was now at the head of the Engliſh miniſtry; and perceiving the ardour of Henry for war, he exerted all his abilities to provide an army that might retrieve the martial glory of his countrymen. Hoſtilities were firſt commenced at ſea, but without any advantage to either of the contending princes. It was on the continent that the deciſive blows were intended to be ſtruck. The van of the army, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, was led by the earl of Shrewſbury, aſſiſted by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Haſtings, and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe. This diviſion being landed at Calais, was ſoon followed by another body of ſix thouſand men, under the command of lord Herbert, chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curſon, and other gentlemen. Henry now prepared to follow his forces; but before his departure, he cauſed the unfortunate earl of Suffolk to be beheaded. What reaſons induced Henry to commit this cruel action, is not abſolutely known. The French hiſtorians tell us, that it was in obedience to the dying commands of his father; while others think, that Henry, exaſperated at the conduct of his brother Edward de la Pole, who had accepted a command in the French ſervice, ſatiated his vengeance on the unhappy Suffolk.

About the thirtieth of June, Henry landed at Calais with the third diviſion of his army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand men. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the principal nobility. But he ſoon perceived the little reliance he ought to place on the engagements of princes; for among all his allies, the Swiſs only performed the conditions of the treaty. The emperor Maximilian had promiſed to join them with a body of eight thouſand men; but though he had received from Henry one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns for that purpoſe, he failed in his engagements. He made ſome atonement, however, to the Engliſh monarch, by joining him, in the Low Countries, with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were of great ſervice in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new-raiſed forces. The emperor himſelf enliſted as a volunteer in the Engliſh army, and bluſhed not to receive an hundred crowns a day for his ſervice. He was, however, treated with the higheſt reſpect by Henry, and in reality directed all the operations of the combined army.

The earl of Shrewſbury, and lord Herbert, before the landing of Henry, had formed the ſiege of Terrouenne, a town ſituated on the borders of Picardy. The garriſon, which conſiſted of not more than a thouſand men, commanded by Teligini and Crequi, made a noble defence. The town was, however, at laſt reduced to extremities, for want of ammunition and proviſions; and Lewis determined, if poſſible, to ſend a ſupply. Eight hundred cavalry were choſen for making this dangerous attempt, each of whom carried behind him a ſack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon. Thus equipped, and headed by Fontrailles, they made a ſudden irruption into the Engliſh camp, ſurmounted all reſiſtance, and advanced to the foſſe of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. Then returning on a gallop, they again forced themſelves a paſſage with very little loſs.

This inſult was, however, ſoon revenged. Informed that a large body of French horſe was approaching, Henry ordered ſome troops to paſs the Lis, and give them battle. The conteſt was ſoon decided. The French cavalry, though conſiſting chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with the greateſt intrepidity in many diſperate encounters, were ſeized with ſo unaccountable a panic, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the Engliſh. The duke of Longueville, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners in endeavouring to rally their forces. This action is ſometimes called the battle of Guinegate, but more frequently the "Battle of the Spurs;" becauſe the French that day made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords.

Henry, who was now at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men, inſtead of profiting by this victory, and marching into the heart of France, as he might eaſily have done, returned to the ſiege of Terrouenne, while the French were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this ſhameful behaviour of their cavalry. They would have been leſs alarmed, if the whole body had been cut to pieces. They prognoſticated a fatal termination to the war with England, and were fearful that Henry would revive the dreadful ſcenes of Poictiers and Agincourt. But his ſupine negligence revived their ſpirits: Terouane ſoon after ſurrendered, and Henry inveſted Tournay, a place always incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy.

That city was incapable of making any long defence, the garriſon being almoſt deſtitute of military ſtores and proviſions. Accordingly the place was hardly inveſted before the garriſon offered to capitulate. The terms were accepted, and Henry entered the city in triumph. Sir Edward Poinings was appointed governor, and the biſhop's ſee being then vacant, Henry conferred it on his favourite Wolſey, who immediately took poſſeſſion of the revenues, which were very conſiderable.

While Henry was thus engaged in reducing the towns of France, the Swiſs entered Burgundy, and laid ſiege to Dijon, which was in no condition to reſiſt ſo formidable an army. Ferdinand ſeemed deſirous of taking advantage of the diſtreſs of Lewis; whoſe dominions were now ſurrounded by enemies. Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, perceived the dangerous ſituation of his maſter, and ſeduced the Swiſs into a negotiation. He made no objection to the terms they offered, perſuaded that his conduct would be diſavowed by Lewis: and the enemy, without making the leaſt enquiry into the powers of that nobleman, agreed to withdraw their army, on the promiſe of being paid four hundred thouſand crowns. The retreat of the Swiſs accelerated the departure of Henry. He arrived in England on the ſeventeenth of October, highly ſatiſfied with the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign.

While the Engliſh monarch was employed in reducing the towns of France, James IV. of Scotland, who had declared for Lewis, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, at the head of fifty thouſand men. He made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Norham, Etal, Werk, Ford, and other fortreſſes of leſs importance. The earl of Surry, who commanded the Engliſh forces, marched into the northern counties to ſtop the ravages of the invaders. His army conſiſted of about twenty-ſix thouſand men, five thouſand of which had been ſent over from the army in France. The Scots were encamped on the high grounds near Chiviot hills, in a very advantageous ſituation. The river Till ran in their front; nor could their camp be approached but by one narrow paſs, which was defended by their artillery.

Surry, perceiving that it would be madneſs to attack the enemy in their preſent ſituation, diſpatched an herald to the Scottiſh monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, appointing a day for the combat, and inviting him to try the valour of his forces on equal ground. But the anſwer he received was far from being ſatiſfactory, and he determined to have recourſe to a ſtratagem, in order, if poſſible, to draw the Scots from their advantageous ſituation. He made a feint of marching towards Berwick, in order to retaliate the ravages of the enemy, and cut off their proviſions.

This motion occaſioned a council of war to be ſummoned in the Scottiſh camp, where an old nobleman, who had learned prudence from experience, adviſed James to return immediately to Scotland with his booty. He obſerved, that enough had been done to fulfil his engagements with France; that it would be imprudent to hazard a battle with the Engliſh in their own country; and that, in ſerving France, Scotland was not to be neglected merely to pleaſe the French ambaſſador, who was deſirous of engaging others in the moſt dangerous enterprizes, in order to relieve his maſter from his preſent diſtreſs. But James liſtened not to this prudent advice; he determined to give battle to the Engliſh the firſt favourable opportunity. The army was accordingly put in motion, the huts in which the ſoldiers had been quartered were ſet on fire, and the Scots deſcended in diſorder from the hills. Surry obſerved the precipitate decampment of the Scottiſh army, and the ſmoke of the huts concealing his motions from the enemy, he paſſed the Till with his van-guard and train of artillery, at the bridge of Twiſel, while the reſt of his army croſſed the ſtream at a ford farther up the river.

As ſoon as the ſmoke was a little evaporated, James perceived that a battle was inevitable, and that he had now loſt his advantageous ſituation. He immediately drew up his army in three diviſions. The right was commanded by the earl of Huntley, aſſiſted by lord Hume; the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; and the center by the king in perſon: a fourth body under the earl of Bothwell, formed a corps de reſerve. The Engliſh army was divided into two lines: the main body of the firſt was led by lord Howard; the right wing by Sir Edmund Howard, and the left by Sir Marmaduke Conſtable. The main body of the ſecond line was commanded by the earl of Surry himſelf; the right wing by lord Dacres, and the left by Sir Edward Stanley. In this poſition the armies approached each other, and met in Floudon field. The battle was begun by the earl of Huntley, who charged with ſuch fury, that he broke the left wing of the Engliſh, and drove them off the field. But the ſame ſucceſs did not attend the other commanders: they could not ſupport the ſhock of the Engliſh; and Huntley at his return found the Scottiſh army in great diſorder. Elated with the ſucceſs of the wing commanded by Huntley, the diviſion under Lenox and Argyle, had broke their ranks, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of La Motte, the French ambaſſador, had ruſhed headlong on the enemy, imagining themſelves ſure of victory. But they ſoon found their miſtake. Sir Edward Stanley's diviſion ſtood firm; while Dacres, who commanded in the ſecond line, wheeling about during the action, attacked them ſo furiouſly in the rear, that they could not ſuſtain the ſhock; the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt eſcaped by a diſorderly flight. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate the diviſions under the king and Bothwell. Animated by the valour of their leaders, they ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh; and forming themſelves into a circle continued the engagement till night put an end to the ſlaughter. The ſlain on both ſides were nearly equal, being about five thouſand men: but the morning ſoon diſcovered that the two armies were now unequal. The Engliſh had loſt very few officers, while the whole flower of the Scottiſh nobility were ſlain. The king himſelf was miſſing; but whether he fell by the ſword of the Engliſh, or by the poniard of an aſſaſſin, is not known. A body ſuppoſed to be that of the Scottiſh monarch, was found among the dead, and conveyed to London in a leaden coffin, where it remained ſome time unburied, as James lay under the ſentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and oppoſition to the Holy See. Henry, however, obtained his abſolution from the pontiff, and the body was accordingly interred.

Such was the event of the battle of Floudon; and Henry had now a fair opportunity of inſiſting on his own terms with Scotland, perhaps of conquering the whole country. But he generouſly liſtened to the requeſt of his ſiſter, who, on the death of her huſband, became regent of the kingdom of Scotland during the minority of her ſon, and concluded with her a treaty of peace. At the ſame time he created the earl of Surry, duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; Charles Somerſet, lord Herbert, earl of Worceſter; and Sir Edward Stanley, lord Monteagle; Margaret of York, daughter to the duke of Clarence, obtained the title of counteſs of Saliſbury, as heireſs to her brother the earl of Warwick, beheaded by Henry VII. Wolſey, who was both the favourite and miniſter of Henry, was promoted to the biſhopric of Lincoln, and the pope permitted him to retain the revenues of the biſhopric of Tournay.

A. D. 1514. Lewis was very deſirous of reſtoring tranquillity to his dominions, and ſheathing, by an honourable peace, the ſword of deſtruction. He appeaſed Leo X. by renouncing the council of Piſa, which had been transfered to Lyons; and the pontiff, in return, took off the excommunication that had been denounced againſt him and his kingdom. He offered to Ferdinand to give in marriage to either of his grandchildren, his daughter Renee, and to cede with her his claim to the dutchy of Milan; and he engaged the emperor Maximilian in the ſame views, and that prince was eaſily induced to conſent to propoſals that were advantageous to his family. Henry was not averſe to a peace; the perfidious conduct of his allies had convinced him that they were more intent on promoting their own intereſts, than in fulfilling their promiſes. A negotiation was therefore opened between the two princes, and a peace ſoon after concluded on the following conditions: That Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, and reſide there on a penſion aſſigned by Lewis; that Henry ſhould receive a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that Lewis ſhould marry the princeſs Mary, Henry's ſiſter, who ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as even the former queen of France, who was heireſs of Britany. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the two princes ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with troops in caſe either of them was attacked by an enemy. The princeſs Mary, one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed women of the age, was then in her twentieth year, and Lewis in his fifty-ſixth. He met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence: but his paſſion for this amiable princeſs coſt him his life. His conſtitution was too much impaired to withſtand the exceſſes of pleaſure into which he plunged. He died in leſs than three months after his marriage, and left his people to bewail his loſs with the tears of affection. He was ſincerely beloved by his ſubjects, and deſervedly acquired the honourable appellation of "Father of his Country." His young queen ſoon after married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1515. While Wolſey was conducting the negotiation for a peace with France, the archbiſhop of York was poiſoned at Rome by his chaplain, in revenge for a blow the prelate had given him. Information was immediately ſent to Henry, informing him of this cataſtrophe, and that the pope had determined to keep the ſee of York vacant, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known. He did not wait long, Henry immediately conferred it upon Wolſey, and the pontiff confirmed his election. That celebrated churchman now governed the kingdom, tho' he affected only to follow the inclinations of Henry. He ſeemed to be only the companion of his pleaſures, but held in reality the reins of government. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profuſion. He was not only archbiſhop of York, but alſo biſhop of Durham and Lincoln, and farmed, on very eaſy terms, the biſhoprics of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, which were enjoyed by Italians who reſided abroad. He ſoon after obtained a cardinal's hat, which augmented at once his pride and oſtentation. His houſhold was compoſed of eight hundred perſons, among whom were ſeveral of the nobility. He was the firſt clergyman who wore ſilk and gold. But ſtill his ambition was not ſatisfied; he wanted the great ſeal of England, then in the hands of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The primate was a perſon of great prudence and conduct; he had never engaged in any court intrigues; nor even gave offence to any party. Wolſey therefore did not attempt to deprive him of his poſt of chancellor, which perhaps he could not have effected, but took every opportunity of mortifying him, in order to provoke him to reſign.

In order to this he prevailed upon the pope to appoint him legate a latere, which gave him precedency in the province of Canterbury; and being thus empowered to have the legantine croſs borne before him, he cauſed alſo that of York to be carried with it in an erect poſition. This privilege had formerly occaſioned violent diſputes between the two metropolitans; and was at laſt decided by the king's laying his expreſs command on the archbiſhops of York, not to have the croſs carried before them in the province of Canterbury. Warham remonſtrated with Wolſey on his conduct in this particular, but without effect; and the primate being of a peaceable diſpoſition, choſe rather to retire to his ſee, and employ himſelf wholly to the duties of his office, than remain at court, where he was every day affronted. Accordingly he reſigned the great ſeal into the hands of Henry, who, two days after, committed it to the cuſtody of Wolſey. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had ſo long directed the affairs of government, and even introduced Wolſey to the king's favour, could not bear to find himſelf neglected. He accordingly obtained leave to retire to his biſhopric, and at leaving the council-board he told the king, that "he hoped he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter." "Fear not, my good lord biſhop," replied Henry, "it ſhall be my care that ſubjects ſhall obey, and not command."

Francis I. who aſcended the throne of France on the death of Lewis XII. was a prince of great courage, and wanted only the talent of diſcretion to render him ſuperior to all the princes of Europe. He renewed the treaty made by his predeceſſor with Henry, and, induced by the ardour of conqueſt, he paſſed into Italy. His deſign was to conquer the dutchy of Milan, which Lewis XII. had loſt, and to wreſt it once more from the unhappy family of Sforza. He was ſupported by the Venetians, who wanted at leaſt to recover the Veroneſe, of which they had been ſtripped by the emperor Maximilian. His oppoſers were pope Leo X. an active and intriguing prince, and Maximilian, worn out with age and infirmities: but his moſt dangerous enemies were the Swiſs, irritated againſt France, by the refuſal of Lewis XII. to fulfil the treaty concluded before Dijon, and inflamed with the harangues of Matthew Schaner, cardinal of Sion. They had aſſumed the title of "Defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes;" and indeed for the laſt ten years this appellation was not merely imaginary.

The French monarch on his march to Milan continued to negotiate with that nation. Practiſed in the art of diſſimulation, which they had learned from the cardinal of Sion, they amuſed the king with empty promiſes, till they received advice that the military cheſt of France was arrived, when they deſcended from their mountains into the plain, though deſtitute of cavalry, and oppoſed themſelves to the progreſs of the French arms. A dreadful battle enſued at Marignan near Milan. The victory was conteſted with a perſeverance hitherto unknown; and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inſpire his troops with courage to ſupport themſelves againſt the deſperate aſſaults of theſe mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkneſs parted the combatants. The king ſlept on the carriage of a cannon within fifty paces of a Swiſs battalion. As ſoon as the dawn appeared, the action was renewed with redoubled fury; and it was not till the Swiſs had loſt their braveſt troops, that they could be prevailed upon to retire. The field was ſtrewed with twenty thouſand ſlain on both ſides; and the old marſhal Trivulcio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, uſed to call this "The Battle of the Giants."

The victory of Marignan was followed by the reduction of the Milaneſe. Both the pope and the Swiſs became allies of Francis. He compelled Maximilian to reſtore the Veroneſe to the Venetians; and procured for Leo X. the dutchy of Urbino, which ſtill belongs to the church. Sforza himſelf, tired with the viciſſitudes of fortune, diſguſted with the tyranny of the Swiſs, and deſirous of privacy and repoſe, put himſelf into the hands of Francis; and after ſtipulating for an annual penſion of thirty thouſand ducats, reſigned his pretenſions to the dutchy of Milan, and retired into France.

The glory acquired by Francis in this expedition excited the jealouſy of the Engliſh monarch; and it was the intereſt of Wolſey to cheriſh this diſcontent. The cardinal enjoyed the revenues of the biſhopric of Tournay; but ſaw with regret, that the titular biſhop of that ſee was protected at the court of France. The reſentment and diſguſt of a miniſter are too often ſufficient to kindle the flames of diſcord between two nations. An ambaſſador was ſent to Maximilian, to engage him to renew the war in Italy. He made no difficulty of complying; but the enterprize was unſucceſsful: the Germans were driven out of Italy. This unfortunate expedition diſappointed Henry and Wolſey in their deſigns to leſſen the power of France.

A. D. 1516. In the mean time, Charles V. the ſucceſſor of Ferdinand the Catholic, who was born with ſuperior talents, and who had been carefully educated, ſeemed deſirous, though very young, to give diſturbance to the French monarch; but thought it prudent to conceal his real deſign till his authority in his new dominions was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. Francis appeared diſpoſed to take advantage of this opportunity; but Charles diverted the ſtorm, by making him an offer which gained his friendſhip. He engaged to marry the daughter of Francis, then an infant of a year old; to receive, as her dowry, all her father's pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples; to pay him an hundred thouſand crowns a year till the conſummation of the marriage; and to give the king of Navarre ſatisfaction with regard to his dominions.

A. D. 1518. But notwithſtanding this alliance, the increaſing power of Charles gave Francis great uneaſineſs; and he was deſirous of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch; and took the only method of ſucceeding, by aſſiduouſly labouring to gain the affections of Wolſey. He flattered his pride, affected to conſult him in his moſt ſecret affairs, and endeavoured to perſuade him that he conſidered his directions as ſo many oracles. As ſoon as he perceived he had gained the cardinal's favour, Bonnivert, admiral of France, was ſent ambaſſador to the court of London. That able politician addreſſed himſelf with ſo much art to the paſſions of the haughty cardinal, that he negotiated a treaty, in which the reſtitution of Tournay was one of the articles. It was ſtipulated, that the princeſs Mary of England ſhould eſpouſe the dauphin, though they were both infants; that Tournay ſhould be her dowry; that Francis ſhould pay Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns, as a reimburſement of his expences in building a citadel at Tournay; and that he ſhould pay Wolſey an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres, as an equivalent for the revenues of his biſhopric.

While theſe negotiations were carrying on between the courts of France and England, Germany was agitated with thoſe religious diſputes which produced the Reformation. Leo X. by the encouragement he had given to learning, furniſhed arms againſt himſelf. Cardinal Pole complimented him upon his ſucceſs in the propagation of the ſciences; but at the ſame time reminded him, that it might be of dangerous conſequence to make mankind too learned. The pontiff, however, proceeded in the noble courſe he had begun; and, by his magnificence, gave occaſion to that remarkable revolution that happened in the Chriſtian world during his pontificacy. His predeceſſor, Julius II. under whoſe reign painting and architecture were ſo greatly improved, was deſirous that Rome ſhould be adorned with a ſtructure ſuperior to that of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople. He had the courage to undertake what he never could finiſh. Leo X. was extremely fond of this noble project; but it required prodigious ſums of money, and his magnificence had exhauſted his treaſury. He had therefore recourſe to the ſale of indulgences, in order to fill his coffers, and be enabled to carry on his intended deſign. A favourable opportunity offered. The Turks had juſt defeated the Mamelucks in Egypt, and it was apprehended that they would now turn their whole force againſt the Chriſtians.

It was ſtill believed that the pope, out of the inexhauſtible treaſure of the church, ariſing from the merits of Chriſt and the works of ſupererogation of the ſaints, had a power of diſtributing indulgences on certain conditions preſcribed by him, to the greateſt and moſt profligate of mortals, for a plenary remiſſion of ſin. Theſe indulgences were at firſt ſuppoſed to extend only to the relaxation of penances and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the eleventh century, was the firſt that granted a full remiſſion of all ſins to thoſe who ſhould take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. This practice was continued by his ſucceſſors; ſome of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to ſuch perſons, who being unwilling, or unable to carry arms in perſon, maintained a ſoldier in their room. At length, theſe ſpiritual favours were diſtributed to thoſe who took the field againſt heretics, or enemies to the Romiſh church. Great ſums were raiſed by theſe means, but ſeldom applied to the purpoſes intended. The Auguſtins, as being moſt in favour with the lower claſs of people, were made the brokers of this ſcandalous commerce. Each friar, or agent, was entruſted with a ſet of indulgences of all prices, of all denominations, in all caſes, and for all ſins: and the better to collect the money ariſing from the ſale of this pontifical merchandize, all Chriſtendom was divided into different departments, in each of which a certain number of theſe prieſts were commiſſioned to recommend and enforce the utility of indulgences.

But Leo X. who now attempted to fill his treaſury by this ſpecies of traffic, employed the Dominicans, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by exaggerating the benefits to be derived from indulgences. The Auguſtin friars were highly affronted becauſe this occupation was not, as uſual, entruſted to them; eſpecially as they had ſome time ſince been employed for the ſame purpoſe in Saxony, and had thence acquired both reputation and profit. Martin Luther, an Auguſtin friar, and profeſſor of divinity at Wirtemberg, ſtimulated to revenge, was loud in his declamations againſt the church of Rome. He was a perſon of great learning, genius, and ſpirit, inflexible and opiniative; and there was no want of abuſes whereon to found his invectives. A prodigious number of vain and ſuperſtitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exerciſe of religion: divinity was corrupted with ſubtilties: the clergy were given up to indolence and pleaſure; and the court of Rome had been guilty of numberleſs frauds and uſurpations. Religion, often proſtituted, had become a cloak for the moſt ſordid rapacity, and the moſt unpardonable ambition. An inceſſant cry of reformation reſounded from all quarters, and Luther knew how to take advantage of it. He, however, confined himſelf, in his firſt writings, to expoſe the doctrine of indulgences, and, perhaps, had then no other deſign. But he went farther than he at firſt intended, as is the caſe in all diſputes, and in almoſt all tranſactions. It has been ſaid, and with an air of probability, that the beſt method of inducing this zealous reformer to change his opinion, would have been to have ſent him a cardinal's hat; but the contempt in which he was held by the church of Rome, proved fatal to her power.

Luther no longer kept any meaſures with the pontiff. He exhorted all princes to throw off the papal yoke: he railed againſt private maſſes; and met with the greater applauſe, as he inveighed againſt the

the public ſale of them. His writings, full of zeal and fury, ſpread over Europe; and were the more attended to, as he ſupported his opinions from ſcripture, and other ancient writings of the Chriſtian church. The doctrines he inculcated were flattering to the princes of Europe, becauſe they furniſhed them with a pretence for throwing off the pope's authority, and for enriching themſelves with the wealth of the eccleſiaſtics. They flattered the vulgar by their novelty, and by the leſſons they taught of equality and liberty; and by the rigour and auſterity they inculcated, they ſerved to excite chimerical ideas of perfection, almoſt as ſeducing to ſelf-love as the tenet of a total relaxation of manners.

The Dominicans, ſupported by the pope's nuncios in Germany, cauſed his books to be burnt. The pontiff thundered out a new bull againſt him; but Luther, now protected by the princes of Germany, was not to be intimidated: he even ordered the pope's bull and the decretals to be burnt in the public market-place of Wirtemberg.

During theſe diſputes in Germany, the Engliſh were cultivating with avidity the bleſſing of peace. The arts found encouragement; trade was improved; manufactures were carried on with ſucceſs. Cardinal Wolſey made the nobleſt uſe of his power; he exerted it for the good of his country. His poſt of chancellor placed him at the fountain of juſtice, and never was it better adminiſtered. He was particularly careful to puniſh perjury, the worſt of crimes: he was a firm ſupporter of the poor, and enforced ſeveral excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and induſtrious part of the people. We have already obſerved, that he was a great friend to literature. At this time the Engliſh had very little learning, and were wholly deſtitute of taſte. Wolſey ſaw this, and laboured aſſiduouſly to improve the one, and introduce the other. He ſpared no pains to diſcover perſons of literary accompliſhments, nor thought any reward too great to beſtow upon them. He employed no miniſters but ſuch as were ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration the dignified offices of the law, the church, and the ſtate, were filled with men whoſe literary merit was their only recommendation. He alſo founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning; and Henry very readily gave his countenance to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite.

A. D. 1519. The death of the emperor Maximilian recalled the attention of Wolſey from his literary purſuits. Francis I. and Charles V. declared themſelves candidates for the imperial throne. Theſe competitors were worthy of each other: the former was diſtinguiſhed by his candour, his generoſity, and his valour; the latter by his prudence, his diſcretion, and his policy. Henry uſed all his intereſt to ſupport the election of Charles; and by his aſſiſtance he was elected by a majority of one voice among the electors. The addition of the imperial crown ſeemed to have placed Charles on the ſummit of human grandeur. He before poſſeſſed the dominions of Spain, thoſe belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, Burgundy, and Navarre, beſides his vaſt acquiſitions in the New World.

Theſe two great rivals had contended for the imperial throne without diſcovering the leaſt ſigns of perſonal enmity; but the preference given to the one could not fail of being diſagreeable to the other. Henry was courted by both theſe princes; and he might have held the balance of power between them, had his policy been equal to his ſtrength. But a monarch who is perpetually the dupe of his own paſſions, cannot purſue, with the requiſite ſteadineſs, the intereſts of his crown.

A. D. 1520. The character of Henry was well known to Francis, and he hoped to be able to gain his friendſhip and confidence by familiar converſation: he therefore ſollicited an interview near Calais. Wolſey, fond of diſplaying his riches, magnificence and power, ſeconded the requeſt of the monarch; and Henry, who was equally fond of pomp and honour, conſented to the propoſal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent its conſequences: but he well knew, that unleſs he could gain Wolſey over to his intereſt, all his attempts to procure the favour of Henry would be in vain. The cardinal now directed all the affairs of government; he had no competitor in the cabinet. Nor was his pomp leſs remarkable than his power: he celebrated maſs with all the ſtate and magnificence of the Roman pontiff: he was ſerved by biſhops; and even earls and dukes preſented him with the water and the towel. His dreſs was ſuperbly magnificent: he wore regal veſtments; his ſhoes were of ſilver gilt, ſet with pearls and precious ſtones. When he went abroad, two large croſſes of maſſy ſilver, the legantine and that of York, were carried before him by two tall prieſts; together with two pole-axes, two pillars of maſſy ſilver, golden cuſhions, and a train of ſtately horſes. Nor was he content with the great power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he had not attained. He already began to concert meaſures for obtaining the papal throne. He eſtabliſhed a legantine court, whoſe arbitrary authority reſembled that of the inquiſition. Though remarkable himſelf for the licentiouſneſs of his manners, Wolſey became a rigid reformer of the actions of the laity; and what is, perhaps, ſtill more ſingular, he joined with him, as a judge in that court, a man whom he himſelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. The whole kingdom dreaded his power; and his vanity roſe to ſuch a height, that he conſidered even the archbiſhop of Canterbury as far beneath him. That prelate having wrote a letter to him, in which he ſubſcribed himſelf, "Your loving brother." Wolſey complained of his preſumption. The primate, when informed of the offence he had given, ſaid coolly, "Know ye not that this man is intoxicated with proſperity?" But deſpotic exertions, when applied againſt the liberty of men's lives and manners, are particularly offenſive. The complaints of the people at laſt reached the ears of the ſovereign: he diſcovered his diſſatisfaction, and Wolſey ſet bounds to his authority: the deciſions of his court were made with more care and deliberation.

Such was the ſituation of Wolſey, when Charles V. in order to procure an interview with Henry, previous to that concerted with Francis I. landed at Dover. Wolſey was immediately diſpatched to compliment his Imperial Majeſty; and the next day he was met by Henry in perſon, who conducted him to Canterbury, where he was entertained with the utmoſt pomp and ſplendour. Charles paid his court to Wolſey in the moſt artful manner; and promiſed him his aſſiſtance in procuring the papacy, whenever there ſhould happen a vacancy in the pontifical throne. There was, however, little appearance of this promiſe being claimed. Leo X. was a young man, and likely to fill the chair of St. Peter when Wolſey was no more. It ſoothed, however, the ambition of that powerful prelate, who, in conſequence, devoted himſelf ſolely to the intereſt of the emperor.

The very day that Charles left England, Henry paſſed over to Calais, with his queen, and the whole court. Francis, attended in the ſame manner, came to Ardres, a ſmall town a few miles diſtant from Calais. The interviews were at firſt carried on with remarkable precaution; the number of guards on each ſide were carefully counted, and every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted. Francis, whoſe ſoul was above diſtruſt, determined to break through ſuch idle ceremonies: he viſited the Engliſh monarch without guards or attendants; and Henry, diſdaining to be excelled in ſo noble an inſtance of confidence, followed the example. From that moment they viſited each other without the leaſt precaution; a generous diſdain of ſuſpicion ſupplied the uſe of precaution. They paſſed their time in feaſts and tournaments, where they reſpectively diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their dexterity and addreſs in thoſe martial diverſions; but they parted without entering into any ſerious buſineſs.

Though the emperor received daily information from the cardinal, of what paſſed at this interview, he was very uneaſy with regard to the event. He came to Gravelines, where he was met by Henry, and the moſt cordial aſſurances of friendſhip and eſteem paſſed between the two monarchs. At the ſame time, the emperor renewed his promiſes of aſſiſting Wolſey in obtaining the papacy, and put him immediately in poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the biſhoprics of Bajadox and Palencia in Caſtile; an acquiſition which rendered the revenues of Wolſey nearly equal to thoſe of the crown itſelf.

A. D. 1521. But notwithſtanding all the endeavours of Henry to prevent any ill conſequences reſulting from the enmity that had been for ſome time viſible between Charles and Francis, it was not long before the ſparks of that fire which was to extend its flames through all Europe were viſible. The French ſent an army into Navarre to re-place the family of d'Albert on the throne of that kingdom. Had the French general confined himſelf to the reduction of Navarre, his conduct could not have been conſidered as a breach of the peace between Charles and Francis; but he had no ſooner ſubdued that country, than, finding the kingdom of Spain itſelf was in the utmoſt diſorder from an inſurrection of the people, he thought the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, and immediately laid ſiege to Logrogno in Caſtile. The Caſtalians were now convinced of their folly; the appearance of a foreign enemy put a period to their domeſtic diſſentions; they attacked the French with ſo much fury, that they drove them from their intrenchments, and even expelled them from Navarre. Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, had the imprudence to attack the emperor's dominions in the Low Countries; and Charles, not doubting but that Robert was inſtigated by Francis, raiſed a powerful army, and openly commenced hoſtilities againſt the French monarch.

Henry affected to obſerve an exact neutrality; and the two monarchs, having ſatisfied their revenge by committing the moſt dreadful ravages and devaſtations on the territories of each other, carried their complaints to Henry, as the proper arbitor between them. Conferences were accordingly opened at Calais; but Charles, who depended on the favour of Wolſey, demanded poſſeſſion of Burgundy, and required to be freed from the homage which his anceſtors had paid for Flanders and Artois. The emperor well knew that theſe propoſals would be rejected; he made them with that intention, and, it is ſaid, with the approbation of Wolſey. But however that be, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal of York ſoon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor with the ſame ſtate, magnificence and reſpect, as if he had been the king of England himſelf. And he concluded, in the name of his maſter, an offenſive alliance with the pope and the emperor againſt France.

Soon after the return of Wolſey, he commenced a proſecution againſt the duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, who had unfortunately given the cardinal ſome cauſe of diſguſt. He was deſcended by a female line from the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of Edward III. and being infatuated with the whims of judicial aſtrology, and the vain predictions of a viſionary monk, he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of one day ſucceeding to the crown, and even meditated ſome project againſt the life of the king. He was tried by a jury of his peers, and declared guilty. But as his crime was rather founded on imprudence than malice, the execution of the ſentence was generally imputed to the malice and revenge of the cardinal.

The religious diſputes in Germany ſtill continued, and ſeveral of the princes had already declared in favour of Luther's reformation. England alſo, where there were ſtill a great many Lollards, who inculcated nearly the ſame tenets, would alſo have followed the German princes, had not the government firmly oppoſed the doctrines of the Wirtemberg profeſſor. Capricious fate, which ſports with the affairs of the world, ſo ordered it, that Henry himſelf ſhould be engaged in this diſpute. He had been ſtrictly educated in an attachment to the court of Rome, and had contracted an averſion to Luther, becauſe he had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author. Vanity and reſentment, more than zeal for religion, induced Henry to become an author, and to combat the doctrines of the German monk. The book was ſoon finiſhed and ſent to Rome, where it was received with rapture by the pope, who beſtowed the title of "Defenders of the Faith" upon Henry and his ſucceſſors. Luther, who made no difference between noble and ignoble writers, ſoon wrote an anſwer to Henry, and treated him with all the acrimony of ſtile, to which, in the courſe of his diſpute, he had been ſo long accuſtomed. The controverſy now became more illuſtrious by Henry's entering the liſts; it engaged ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran party acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe. It became a matter of competition to inſult, with moſt indecency, the pope and the church. They called the pontiff antichriſt, denominated his communion the ſcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions which however applied, were to be found in the ſcriptures, and therefore better calculated to act on the ignorant multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments.

Luther's cauſe found very few ſupporters in Italy. That ingenious nation, wholly intent upon intrigues and pleaſures, took no ſhare in theſe troubles. The Spaniards, notwithſtanding their learning kept themſelves quiet. The French, though they have the ſenſibility of thoſe nations with a ſtronger paſſion for novelties, were a long time before they engaged in theſe diſputes. It is a great problem whether Charles V. ought to have embraced or oppoſed the reformation. By throwing off the yoke of Rome, he would at once have taken ample revenge for all the injuries which the papal tiaræ had offered to the imperial crown, upwards of four hundred years; but, on the other hand, he would have been in danger of loſing Italy. He was obliged to keep fair with the pope, who was to join him againſt Francis I. Beſides, the inhabitants of his hereditary dominions were all catholics. At length it became abſolutely neceſſary for him to declare himſelf either for or againſt the reformation; he choſe the latter, tho' perhaps he really thought ſome of Luther's opinions were well grounded.

Charles ſummoned that reformer to come and give an account of his doctrine before the imperial diet at Worms. Luther, having obtained the emperor's ſafe conduct, made no ſcruple to appear, though he expoſed himſelf to the ſame fate as John Huſs; but this aſſembly being compoſed of princes, he truſted to their honour. He ſpoke before the emperor and diet, and defended his tenets with great reſolution. It is ſaid, that Charles V. was ſollicited by Alexander, the pope's nuncio, to order Luther to be ſeized, notwithſtanding his ſafe conduct; as Sigiſmund had delivered up John Huſs without paying any regard to public faith: but that Charles made anſwer, "he did not chuſe to have cauſe to bluſh like Sigiſmund."

A little after this diſpute with Luther, Leo X. paid the debt of nature in the flower of his age, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. He was a prince well qualified by his ſound judgment, moderation and temper, to have retarded the progreſs of the reformation, which now made a very rapid progreſs. He was ſucceeded in the papal throne by Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles, the preſent emperor. This pontiff was a perſon of great integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners; but the prejudices of the reformers were ſo violent againſt the church, that he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues. He frankly confeſſed, that many abominable and deteſtable practices prevailed in the court of Rome.

A. D. 1522. Wolſey was not without hopes of being at this time choſen to fill the vacant chair, and had actually, at different ſcrutinies, nine, twelve, and nineteen voices. He, however, loſt his election; but the advanced age, and numerous infirmities of Adrian, ſtill allowed him to hope, that he ſhould ſoon be able to ſatisfy his ambition. Charles V. never intended to place Wolſey in St. Peter's chair. He was deſirous of having a pope who would be wholly at his devotion; and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of the cardinal of York, to think he would ever be ſubmiſſive to the will of any perſon whatever. But in order to diſſipate the chagrin of that haughty miniſter, he paid a new viſit to the court of England; where, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and cardinal, he repeated to Wolſey all the promiſes he had formerly made him of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. The inſinuating addreſs of Charles produced the deſired effect: Wolſey concealed his reſentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was determined in the Engliſh council to declare war againſt France.

Clarencieux, king at arms, was accordingly ſent to the French court, with a declaration, that his maſter looked upon Francis as the firſt aggreſſor, and therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking part with the emperor. The bloody ſtandard of war was now diſplayed; the ambaſſadors on both ſides were recalled; the effects of the merchants were ſeized in both countries; and Henry fitted out a ſtrong fleet for making prizes of the enemy's ſhips, and protecting the Engliſh commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England; and the emperor alſo created him high admiral of his dominions. Surry, after taking ſome towns in Britany, landed at Calais, and laid ſiege to Heſden, but was not able to take the place.

The allies were, however, more fortunate in Italy, where the pope was entirely in their intereſt. A little before the death of Leo X. the artful cardinal of Sion found means to corrupt the Swiſs in the French pay, and to bring them over to the intereſt of the allies, who were by that means vaſtly ſuperior to the French army. Proſper Colonna, the pope's general, paſſed the Adda, and ſurpriſed Milan, where he had for ſome time held a correſpondence with ſeveral of the principal inhabitants. This was followed by the reduction of Pavia, Lodi, Parma, Placentia, and ſeveral other places in the Milaneſe.

A. D. 1523. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, having renewed the ancient league with France, now made preparations for invading the northern counties of England. The earl of Surry was ſent with an army to prevent his deſign. Surry entered Scotland, where he committed the moſt dreadful ravages, burnt the town of Jedburgh, with ſeveral villages and caſtles in that neighbourhood, and returned to Newcaſtle. Albany now approached the Engliſh borders, and ſent a herald to Surry, offering to give him battle; but Surry telling him that he ſhould never decline an engagement, though he did not chuſe to follow the counſel of an enemy, Albany paſſed the Tweed, and inveſted the caſtle of Werk, with a part of his army. Sir William Liſle, the governor, knowing that the fortreſs was in no condition to ſupport a long ſiege, made a deſperate ſally upon the enemy, and drove them from the works, with the loſs of three hundred men. This ſo intimidated the Scots, that they returned into their own country, and a truce for one year was concluded between the two kingdoms.

The war with Scotland had prevented the army from paſſing over to Calais before the middle of Auguſt. The duke of Suffolk was appointed commander; and on his arrival at St. Omers, he was joined by three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, in the Imperial ſervice. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme; and, if poſſible, to provoke the enemy to a deciſive engagement: but the French had learned prudence from paſt miſfortunes; they contented themſelves with haraſſing the van of the Engliſh army with flying parties; and depended on the ſtrength of their frontier garriſons, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to prevent the Engliſh from taking up their winter quarters in their country.

They were not deceived: for though the duke of Suffolk made himſelf maſter of Bray, Montdidier, Roye, and ſeveral other conſiderable places; and even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, he found it would be impoſſible for him to canton his troops in the places he had conquered, as the duke of Vendome lay in Paris with a large body of troops, and the marſhal Tremouille was forming another army by draughts from the garriſons of Picardy. He was therefore obliged to return to Calais, in order to put his army into winter quarters; but before he reached that fortreſs, many of his ſoldiers periſhed by the inclemency of the weather. In conſequence of this retreat, moſt of the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French. Nor had Charles any better ſucceſs in the attempt he made, at the ſame time, upon Gaſcony. His forces inveſted Bayonne; but the French general, Leutrec, made ſuch a noble defence, that the Spaniards, after ravaging the adjacent country, were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Theſe miſcarriages animated the French to exert themſelves againſt the powerful alliance that was formed againſt their country; and, in all probability, Francis would have been able to have ſupported himſelf againſt all the efforts of his enemies, had not the conſtable of Bourbon, the moſt able of all his generals, perſecuted by the hatred of the dutcheſs of Angouleme, the king's mother, ſacrificed to his reſentment his duty and the love of his country, and entered into the ſervice of Charles V. He was immediately created generaliſſimo of the emperor's armies, and marched into the dutchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under admiral Bonnivet, his greateſt enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, their ſtrength and weakneſs, muſt have been of conſiderable advantage to Charles: but there were other circumſtances ſtill more in his favour. Moſt of the princes of Italy were in his intereſt. The people hated the French government; and he was aſſiſted by the beſt generals in Europe, particularly the marquis of Peſcara, Lannoy, and John of Medicis, names ſtill famous in Europe.

Bonnivet was but an indifferent ſoldier, and a worſe ſtateſman. He croſſed the Alps at the head of thirty-three thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of Novaro, and ſome other places of leſs importance in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps, have recovered that city for his maſter; but he loſt ſo much time in treating with the inhabitants, that the conſtable of Bourbon had an opportunity of putting the place into a poſture of defence. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon Cremona, and other places, none of which he was able to reduce. The Italian generals ſaw his inabilities, and took care to cut off his proviſions; ſo that Bonnivet was obliged to retire into Piedmont, where he put his army into winter quarters.

During theſe tranſactions, pope Adrian VI. paid the debt of nature; and Clement VI. of the Medicean family, was elected in his place, by the intereſt of the imperial party. Wolſey was now convinced of the inſincerity of the emperor; and juſtly concluded, that he muſt never hope to mount the papal throne by his intereſt. He, however, diſſembled his reſentment,

ment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and applied for a continuation of the legantine powers he had enjoyed under the two laſt pontiffs. Clement well knew the neceſſity of maintaining the friendſhip of this imperious miniſter, and not only granted his requeſt, but ſent him a commiſſion for life; a very unuſual conceſſion, and by which Wolſey obtained the whole papal authority in England. He, however, made a noble uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, and another at Ipſwich. He invited learned men from every part of Europe, to fill the chairs of theſe colleges: and, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome of the leſſer monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. Theſe proceedings were countenanced at Rome: there was now an immediate neceſſity for learned men to defend the church againſt the forcible attacks of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Bonnivet, the French general in Italy, having given offence to the Swiſs by his haughty carriage, theſe hardy mountaineers abandoned the French army, and returned to their own country. Deſerted by theſe forces, Bonnivet ſaw the neceſſity of a retreat. He left his camp, and was followed by the allied army. A ſharp action enſued, in which the greater part of Bonnivet's rear was cut to pieces. The chevalier Bayard was mortally wounded in this conteſt: he was conſidered as the model of ſoldiers and men of honour; and obtained the title of the "Knight without fear, and without reproach." When this brave gentleman could no longer ſupport himſelf on horſeback, he ordered his attendants to ſet him under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that poſture. Every perſon ſeemed to ſhare in his misfortunes. The ſoldiers, as they paſſed, dropped a tear; and the allied generals, and among the reſt the conſtable of Bourbon, came round him, and expreſſed their concern for his preſent condition. "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon, "I die in the diſcharge of my "duty: they alone are the objects of pity, who fight "againſt their prince and their country."

Clement was now alarmed for Italy: the emperor ſeemed a more dangerous enemy than the French. The Florentines and Venetians were alſo ſatisfied with the advantage already obtained, and thought it prudent not to proſecute their victory. The pope proceeded ſo far in his oppoſition to Charles, that he ordered his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But however exaſperated the cardinal might be againſt the emperor, he determined to have the whole honour himſelf in bringing about ſo great an alteration. Accordingly he perſuaded Henry to refuſe the pope's mediation; and a new treaty was concluded between Henry and Charles for the invaſion of France.

Accordingly the conſtable of Bourbon paſſed the Alps, and entered Provence at the head of ten thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The defenceleſs towns of Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles, and Aix, fell an eaſy conqueſt; and the conſtable ſat down, on the nineteenth of Auguſt, before Marſeilles, which was defended by a garriſon of three thouſand foot, and two hundred men at arms, beſides nine thouſand inhabitants, who took up arms on this occaſion. About the ſame time, the Spaniſh admiral, who had been ſent with a ſtrong fleet from Genoa to aſſiſt the land forces, made himſelf maſter of Toulon. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour for about a month; when the approach of Francis, at the head of forty thouſand men, obliged the conſtable to abandon the enterprize, and retreat, with ſome precipitation, into Italy.

Had Charles been ſatisfied with defending his own dominions, in all probability, he might have rendered all the deſigns of his enemies abortive; eſpecially as the Engliſh were by no means ſanguine for carrying on the war with vigour. But he was deſirous of recovering the Milaneſe, and accordingly croſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis; and the conſtable being in no condition to oppoſe him, he marched immediately to the capital of that dutchy, and entered the city without oppoſition. The imperial forces fled to Lodi; and were preparing to abandon that place, when advice arrived that Francis had undertaken the ſiege of Pavia, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Italy, and well provided for making a ſtout defence. Francis puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt fury, and made ſeveral breaches in the walls; but the vigilance of Leyva, the governor, rendered all his attempts abortive; he inſtantly threw up new intrenchments behind the breaches.

A. D. 1525. The emperor, notwithſtanding his immenſe poſſeſſions, had not money to pay his troops; ſo little progreſs had induſtry and commerce as yet made in Europe. Bourbon pawned his jewels; and with that money, aſſiſted by his perſonal intereſt, he levied twelve thouſand men, and joined the imperial generals Piſcarra and Lannoy, who had gathered forces from all parts of Italy. The junction being completed, the army advanced to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia, where Francis, as imprudent as he was brave, perſiſted in his deſign, though he met with invincible obſtacles. Had Francis raiſed the ſiege, the imperial generals would, doubtleſs, have diſperſed, and he might have reduced the dutchy of Milan without any difficulty; but thinking his honour concerned, he reſolved either to make himſelf maſter of Pavia, or loſe his army in the attempt.

The French camp was ſurrounded with ſuch ſtrong intrenchments, that the imperial generals contented themſelves with cannonading the enemy for ſeveral days; when the Swiſs having recalled their troops from the French army, they attacked the intrenchments of the beſiegers about midnight of the twenty-fifth of February. Upon the firſt alarm, Francis put himſelf at the head of two thouſand cavalry, and fell with ſuch impetuoſity upon a body of troops commanded by Piſcarra, that the general was unhorſed, and dangerouſly wounded; and the whole corps would have been totally ruined, had not the duke of Bourbon, who had already made a dreadful ſlaughter in another part of the camp, haſtened to his aſſiſtance. The conteſt was now unequal; but the French, to defend the perſon of their king, gathered round him, and fought with all the fury of men driven to deſpair. La Pleſſe, la Tremouille, Galcas de San Severino, and admiral Bonnivet, were ſlain by his ſide. The king defended himſelf with aſtoniſhing vigour: his horſe was killed under him, and he received a deſperate wound in his leg; but he ſtarted up, and ſtill fought on foot with amazing valour.

Pomerant, an officer of ſome diſtinction, who had followed the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, came up at that inſtant; and ſeeing the king in ſuch a dangerous ſituation, drew his ſword; and placing himſelf by the ſide of Francis, aſſiſted him in keeping off the ſoldiers, who preſſed forward to take him alive. At the ſame time, he deſired that the duke of Bourbon might be called, to receive the king as a priſoner. But Francis, tranſported with rage, declared, that he would ſooner periſh than deliver his ſword to a traitor. "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples," continued he; "to him I will ſurrender." That officer accordingly appeared; and the king ſaid to him, "M. de Lannoy, take this ſword; it is that of a king, who is not a priſoner from cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the ſword upon his knee, kiſſed his hand with the profoundeſt reſpect, and preſented him his own ſword, ſaying, "I beg your Majeſty will be ſo good as to receive mine, which has this day ſpared the lives of many Frenchmen. It does not become an officer of the emperor to leave a king diſarmed, though a priſoner." Lannoy did not, however, think Francis ſafe in the army. He feared the German forces might ſeize his perſon as a ſecurity for their pay; and therefore carried him immediately to the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzighitone, where he remained for ſome time under the care of Alvazon, the Spaniſh governor, who ſerved him with the greateſt reſpect.

Pennaloſa, who was ſent expreſs to the emperor at Madrid, with the news of this remarkable victory, and who paſſed through France by means of a ſafe conduct which he received from the captive king, carried alſo a letter from Francis to his mother, who then reſided at Lyons. It contained only theſe few words "Madam, all is loſt except our honour." The princeſs was ſtruck with the greatneſs of the calamity. Every thing ſeemed to foretel inevitable ruin. The frontiers of France were unguarded; the treaſury exhauſted; a general conſternation prevailed throughout all orders of the ſtate, and violent diſſentions agitated the council of the queen-mother, who governed the kingdom during the abſence of her ſon. Charles affected to diſplay the utmoſt moderation on this event; but his conduct diſcovered the whole to be hypocritical and falſe. He appeared to deſire peace; but the conditions he required rendered it impoſſible that any treaty could be concluded.

The Engliſh monarch had been for ſome time jealous of the emperor's power, and diſſatisfied with his conduct; his pride now completed the diſguſt of Henry. Charles had hitherto always written to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribed himſelf "Your affectionate ſon and couſin;" but he had now forgot the ſtile of flattery. Elated with his proſperity, he dictated his letters to his ſecretary, and ſubſcribed himſelf "Charles." An incident of this kind could not fail of wounding the ſelf-love of Henry; and Wolſey had not forgot his behaviour with regard to the papacy; he had twice deceived him, and the reſentment of the haughty cardinal now exerted its whole force. He wanted only a pretence to break with Charles, and his behaviour now furniſhed him with one ſufficient for his purpoſe. A correſpondence was ſoon after opened by Henry with the dutcheſs of Augouleme, the regent of France; and he engaged to procure the liberty of Francis on very reaſonable terms. It was ſtipulated in return, that he ſhould enjoy an annual penſion during his life of one hundred thouſand crowns; and, at the ſame time, the regent acknowledged, that France owed him one million eight hundred thouſand crowns. The cardinal was promiſed the arrears of his penſion which had been granted him inſtead of the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay, amounting to twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three crowns; beſides which he was gratified with the additional ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns.

The natural conſequence of this alliance was a war with the emperor; but as the treaſury was almoſt exhauſted, Henry committed the care of recruiting it to Wolſey, who, inſtead of calling a parliament, where he expected a repulſe, he iſſued a decree in the king's name, for levying through the whole kingdom, one ſixth of all the lay revenues, and one fourth of thoſe belonging to the clergy. This tax was conſidered as ſuch a violent encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and ſuch a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a dreadful clamour in every part of the nation, and it was feared a rebellion would be the conſequence. Henry, when informed of this alarming ferment, diſowned the meaſure, declaring, "That no neceſſities of the crown ſhould make him attempt the raiſing of money any other way than by the people's conſent in parliament."

Diſappointed in this attempt, the cardinal had recourſe to the old method of benevolences, which he imagined muſt appear leſs odious to the people. But he was deceived; it occaſioned very loud complaints and remonſtrances. The more illegal the impoſts he levied, the more the ſufferers were enraged. They regarded them not as neceſſary ſupplies for the ſtate, but as violent and tyrannical exactions. A lawyer having obſerved, that all benevolences had been aboliſhed by act of parliament in the reign of Richard III. it was anſwered, that Richard was an uſurper, that his parliaments were factious aſſemblies; and that his ſtatutes were of no force againſt a legal king. The judges who were conſulted on this occaſion, went ſo far as to affirm, that the king could, by commiſſion, exact whatever ſum he pleaſed. This deſpotic maxim was not, however, admitted by the people; they had recourſe to arms; and Henry had no better method of ſuppreſſing the inſurgents, than by granting them a general pardon.

Henry ſeems to have been hitherto unacquainted with the meaſures of the cardinal, and to have imagined that the people were happy and contented under his adminiſtration; but the clamours and frequent inſurrections which had happened in conſequence of the late attempts to oppreſs the ſubject having convinced him to the contrary, he was highly incenſed againſt his favourite, who was obliged to have recourſe to the moſt humble and abject ſubmiſſion to appeaſe the wrath of his maſter. He produced his will, in which he had left all his riches to the king, and laboured to convince him that all he did was to promote his honour, and would prove in the end highly advantageous. At the ſame time he made him a preſent of his ſtately palace at Hampton-court, which was then juſt finiſhed.

Moſt of the powers of Europe now intereſted themſelves in procuring the liberty of the French monarch; but the emperor inſiſted upon ſuch harſh terms, that Francis declared that he was reſolved to ſuffer any extremity rather than conſent to ſuch unreaſonable demands; and accordingly ſent into France a public act ſigned by his own hand, conſenting that his ſon, the dauphin, ſhould be placed on the throne, and he himſelf ſpend the remainder of his days in captivity. This appearance of reſolution had great effect upon Charles, who now began to liſten to terms of accommodation.

A. D. 1527. Accordingly a treaty was ſigned at Madrid on the fourteenth of January, whereby it was ſtipulated, That Francis ſhould relinquiſh to the emperor, the dutchy of Burgundy, with its ſovereignty and dependences, within ſix weeks after his return to France: That Francis ſhould be ſet at liberty in his own kingdom by the tenth of March, when the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, his two eldeſt ſons, ſhould be put into the emperor's hands as hoſtages: That if any difficulty ſhould occur with regard to the reſtitution of Burgundy, Francis ſhould return to Madrid, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty: That Francis ſhould reſign all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, the lordſhip of Genoa, the counties of Aſti, Arras, Tournay, Mortaigne, St. Amand, Liſle, Douay, Orchies, Hedin; and alſo all ſovereignty which he could claim over the countries of Flanders and Artois: That the emperor ſhould reſign all his rights and pretenſions to the cities and lordſhips of Peronne, Montdidier, Rouen, Guiſnes and Ponthieu; together with all the cities and territories on the river Somme: That the duke of Bourbon ſhould be reſtored to all the eſtates and poſſeſſions he formerly enjoyed.

Such were the principal articles in the treaty of Madrid, which Francis engaged to ratify at the firſt town he ſhould enter upon his arrival in his own dominions. But though he was remarkably delicate in regard to the principle of honour, he did not think himſelf bound by a promiſe which force had extorted from him, and which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the ſtates of Burgundy. Charles ſhould have foreſeen this circumſtance, and have behaved with more generoſity, or have drawn more advantage from the captivity of Francis. His uſual policy forſook him on this occaſion. Francis offered the emperor two millions of crowns as an equivalent for Burgundy; but Charles would not conſent to the leaſt alteration in the treaty. The French monarch, therefore, concluded an alliance againſt the emperor with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the principalities of

Italy; a confederacy of which the king of England was declared the protector.

Irritated at this league, Charles determined to take ample vengeance on thoſe allies that had deſerted him in the time of danger; particularly the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had ſo ungratefully abandoned the intereſt of his benefactor. He accordingly ordered the duke of Bourbon to advance towards Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed the emperor's commands with the greateſt bravery and conduct, but was killed as he was mounting a ladder to ſcale the walls. His death inſpired his followers with fury and revenge. Rome, taken by aſſault, was pillaged, and became a ſcene of the moſt ſhocking barbarities. That renowned city never ſuffered more, even from Barbarians, than now from the hands of Chriſtians. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, whatever was ſacred in religion, ſeemed only to increaſe the brutality of the ſoldiers. The pope himſelf was taken priſoner, and treated with every indignity. When intelligence was brought the emperor of the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Roman capital, he affected the utmoſt ſorrow, put himſelf and his whole court into mourning, and ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the pope. But the artifice was too groſs to impoſe even upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude. It was remarked, even by the vulgar, that a letter under his own hand, to his generals in Italy, would be more effectual than all his prayers.

It was very different with Francis and Henry: they were extremely concerned for the misfortunes of the pontiff, and determined to carry their arms into Italy. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſeas to have an interview with Francis, who met him at Amiens; where it was ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry the princeſs Mary: and as it was apprehended that Charles would immediately ſummon a general council, both monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's impriſonment. Soon after, a new treaty was negotiated between the two monarchs; by which Henry renounced his ancient pretenſions to the crown of France; and Charles, in return, bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay annually the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns. Spain was now become the terror of the Engliſh; and the animoſity ſo long entertained againſt the French entirely ſubſided.

Charles, though alarmed at this alliance between France and England, refuſed to ſubmit to the conditions inſiſted upon by the allies. He receded, indeed, from his demand of Burgundy, as the ranſom for the two princes; but inſiſted that Francis ſhould evacuate all his Italian conqueſts before they ſhould recover their liberty. The conditions being rejected, the Engliſh and French heralds, purſuant to their inſtructions, declared war againſt the emperor, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with great moderation; but reproached the Frenchman with his maſter's breach of faith, and anſwered him with inſults. The French monarch retaliated this charge, by giving the emperor the lie; and challenges were formally ſent to each other by theſe great princes. But though they were both undoubtedly brave, no duel took place. The practice of ſingle combat was, however, at this time, very common in Europe, and even countenanced, in ſeveral caſes, by the law. It was ſtill the common method of terminating diſputes between diſcontented warriors; and the challenges which reciprocally paſſed between Charles and Francis, greatly increaſed the evil.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the paſſions of Henry produced events as remarkable as any that are found in the hiſtory of any country. His conſort, Catherine of Arragon, who was ſix years older than Henry, had loſt his affections. She was the daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and niece to Charles V. had been married to Henry eighteen years, and brought him three children; one of whom, the princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of England, was ſtill living. The queen could neither be reproached with barrenneſs, with bad conduct, nor even with that peeviſh humour which ſo frequently accompanies female virtue. But all her gentle and amiable accompliſhments could not fix a heart devoted to pleaſure. She had been firſt married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henry; and upon his death, ſhe was betrothed to him. This marriage had always been conſidered as illegal by moſt of the foreign ſtates; had been ſtrongly oppoſed as ſuch by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and his opinion had been confirmed by the two houſes of Convocation. Theſe authorities ſtrengthened Henry's ſcruples; and it was thought that the pope had no power to diſpenſe with a poſitive law of the Deity. Henry was the more affected, becauſe all his children by Catherine, Mary excepted, had died in their infancy; and the curſe of being childleſs is threatened in the Levitical law againſt the perſon who ſhall eſpouſe his brother's widow. He conſidered himſelf as obnoxious to this malediction; and the more he was inclined to a divorce, he was the more ſollicitous to convince himſelf of the illegitimacy of his marriage. The great progreſs Henry had made in caſuiſtical divinity, enabled him to examine this queſtion thoroughly. The celebrated Thomas Aquinas, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with Henry, had treated of that very caſe, and expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. "The prohibitions (ſays that famous caſuiſt) contained in Leviticus; and among the reſt, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them."

This deciſion was ſufficient to convince Henry, that his marriage was unlawful; and an incident that now happened determined him to procure a divorce from Catherine. Anne Boleyn, a young lady celebrated for her beauty and mental accompliſhments, had been lately created maid of honour to the queen, and ſoon acquired an entire aſcendant over the affections of Henry. He endeavoured, by every method, to ſeduce her, but the virtue or ambition of Anne reſiſted all his arts; and the king perceiving that there was no other method of gratifying his paſſion, determined to make her his partner in the throne. But it was no eaſy taſk to repudiate the aunt of Charles V. Many difficulties oppoſed every ſtep of the proceſs.

A. D. 1527. Before any advances could be made, it was neceſſary that the bull of pope Julius ſhould be annulled at Rome; a proceeding which no pontiff would be willing to adopt. Clement, though ſtill a priſoner to Charles, was deſirous of procuring the favour of Henry, who was alone able to aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs: he therefore liſtened to the propoſals of that monarch, and ſeemed willing to annul the bull of his predeceſſor. He granted a commiſſion to Wolſey to examine, as legate, the validity of the marriage, and promiſed to expedite a bull of divorce. But Clement, with all his dexterity and addreſs, wanted intrepidity, firmneſs, and integrity. Charles V. diſcovered his intentions; and threatened, if he favoured the Engliſh monarch, to ſummon a general council, and cauſe him to be depoſed, on account of his being a natural ſon of Julian of Medicis. At the ſame time, he flattered him with the hopes of re-eſtabliſhing his family in the dutchy of Florence, if he complied with his deſires. The offers and threatenings of Charles were too powerful for Clement to withſtand: he granted a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolſey, for trying the validity of the king's marriage. But he could not be induced to promiſe, that he would not

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

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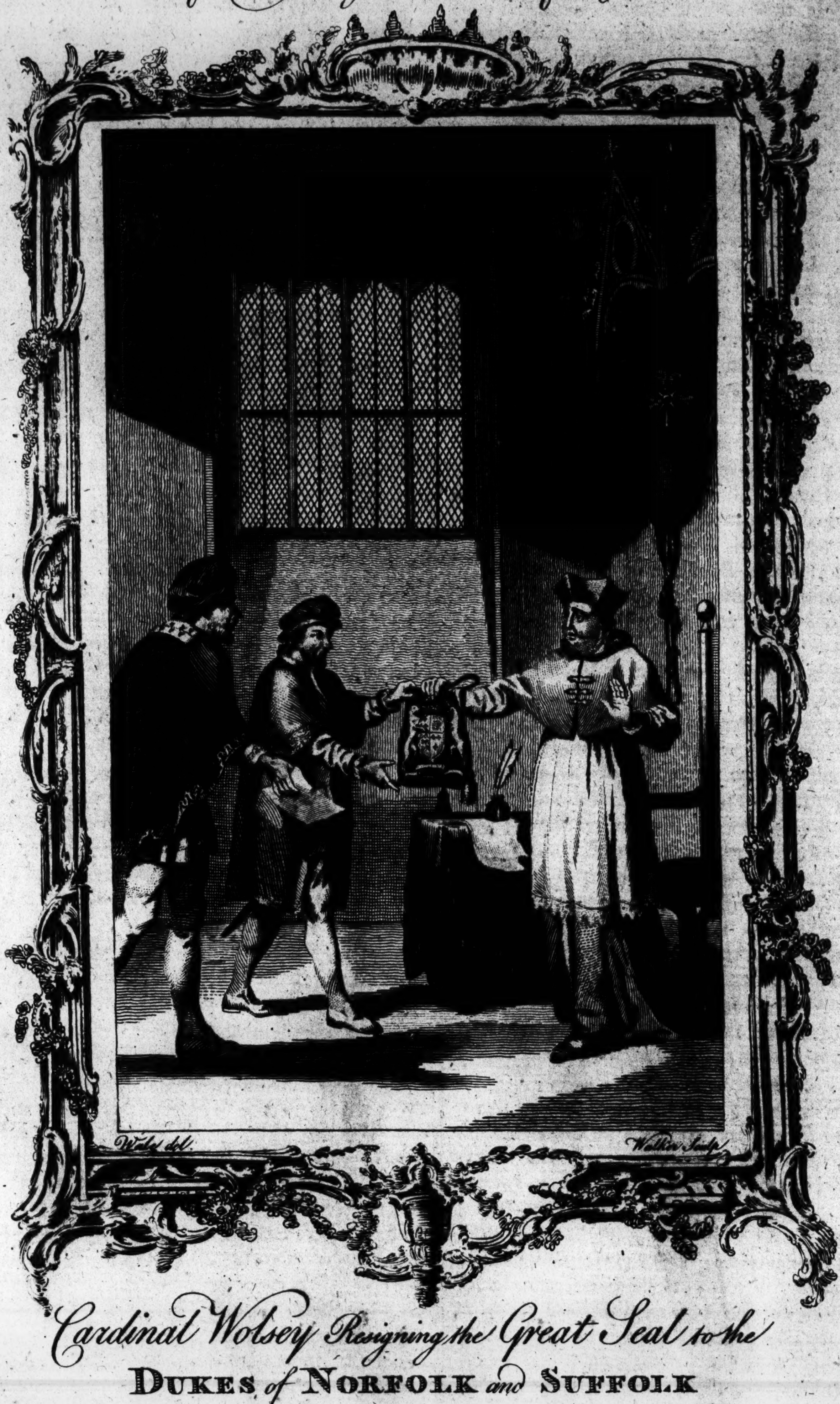
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Walker Sculp.

*Cardinal Wolsey Resigning the Great Seal to the*
**DUKES** *of* **NORFOLK** *and* **SUFFOLK**

recall this commiſſion. Campeggio artfully protracted his departure for England; and when he arrived there with a bull in the ſtile requeſted by Henry, he refuſed to communicate it to any perſon except the king and Wolſey. Nor could this bull be executed till the marriage was pronounced illegal; and accordingly the two legates proceeded to examine the validity of the marriage.

A. D. 1529. The king and queen were both cited to appear before this tribunal; and Henry, when called, anſwered readily to his name. But the queen, inſtead of anſwering to her's, roſe from her ſeat, threw herſelf at the feet of her huſband, and addreſſed him in the moſt pathetic terms. She began with obſerving, that ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, deſtitute of friends, of counſel, of aſſiſtance; expoſed to all the injuſtice which her enemies were pleaſed to heap upon her. She told him, that her conduct, ever ſince their marriage, had been irreproachable; and proteſted, that he had received her a virgin to his bed. She added, that in eſpouſing him, ſhe had followed the advice of thoſe able princes, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. She expreſſed her ſuſpicion of the legates, appealed from them to the pope; and, after making the king a low reverence, ſhe left the court, nor would ſhe ever after appear before the legates. Henry did not attempt to reproach her with any crime: on the contrary, he declared that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour. But he ſtill inſiſted on the ſcruples with which he had been agitated. He mentioned the conſummation of her marriage with his brother Arthur; declared his doubts of the validity of pope Julius's diſpenſation; and expreſſed his deſire that the court might give judgment according to the rules of equity and religion.

The legates now proceeded in their commiſſion, and firſt examined into the proofs of the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine. And it muſt be owned by every impartial enquirer, that the fact was eſtabliſhed as far as the nature of the tranſaction would admit of proof. Every perſon now expected that the ſentence of divorce would be ſoon pronounced, but that moment was ſtill at a great diſtance. Campeggio ſpun out the trial, till he received his final inſtructions from Rome; when he burnt the decretal bull, and declared that the cauſe was evoked to Rome. Henry thought himſelf ſure of obtaining his wiſhes, when he was informed of this mortifying tranſaction. He ſuſpected Wolſey of treachery, and from that moment we may juſtly date the fall of that powerful miniſter. Both the emperor and Catherine made the utmoſt efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, by means of their agents, wholly calculated to accompliſh his deſtruction. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, at the head of a powerful party, exerted all their influence to ſupplant him in the royal favour, and embraced every opportunity of miſrepreſenting his actions. But, perhaps, all their endeavours, added to the envy and malignancy of the world, would not have been ſufficient to have effected his diſgrace, without the powerful aſſiſtance of Anne Boleyn, who had now gained an entire aſcendency over the mind of her royal lover. Aſſiſted by her powerful influence, Wolſey ſunk under the complicated weight.

Every body expected that the diſgrace of the cardinal would have immediately followed the evocation of the cauſe to Rome; but they were deceived. Henry had ſo much command over his paſſion, as not to intimate any diſlike to the proceedings of his miniſter; but Campeggio had no ſooner received his audience of leave, than Henry, in order to divert the chagrin reſulting from his diſappointment, made a progreſs through ſeveral of the counties adjacent to his capital, without taking the cardinal with him. From this neglect Wolſey prognoſticated that his fall was at no great diſtance. He, however, ſtill continued to diſcharge the duties of his office; and obſerving no alteration in the behaviour of the courtiers towards him, he began to flatter himſelf that his diſgrace was not abſolutely determined. But his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, had ſo prepoſſeſſed the king, during his abſence, againſt the miniſter, that on his return to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both ſworn enemies to Wolſey, were ſent to demand the great ſeal, which Wolſey thought proper to refuſe, aſſerting, that he held it by patent during his life. The next day they returned with orders under the king's ſignet, and Wolſey immediately delivered the ſeal into their hands. The king immediately gave it to Sir Thomas More, a man of letters, virtue, and integrity. Wolſey was ordered to retire from York palace, which, though it belonged to the archiepiſcopal ſee, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. A cupboard of maſſy gold, a thouſand pieces of holland, which had belonged to him, with all his rich furniture, were converted to the king's uſe. Wolſey himſelf retired to Aſher, a country-ſeat he poſſeſſed on the banks of the Thames, where he diſmiſſed his numerous retinue.

Henry was, however, for ſome time, willing to ſuſpend the blow which overwhelmed his favourite; but his enemies, particularly Anne Boleyn, ſo exaſperated the king againſt him by falſe accuſations, that he gave him up to the proſecution of the parliament. The Houſe of Lords preſented an accuſation againſt the cardinal, conſiſting of forty-four articles; but all of them ſo vague and indeterminate, that the Commons rejected the bill. Thomas Cromwell, formerly one of his domeſtics, defended him in that aſſembly with a force and courage which, inſtead of hurting his fortune, as might have been expected, laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king. True merit ſometimes acquires an aſcendant over vicious minds. But the oppoſition of the Commons was not ſufficient to divert the dreadful ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm this once powerful miniſter. He was condemned, on pretence of his having ſollicited bulls from Rome, though the king had given his conſent to that meaſure; and the cardinal was never able to recover from this diſgrace: he fell a ſacrifice to the envy and malevolence of his enemies. The king, however, would not ſuffer this proſecution to be carried to extremities: he even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture; and continued, from time to time, to intimate, that he ſtill entertained for him his former affections.

Clement, by his duplicity, greatly augmented the prejudices already entertained by the Engliſh againſt the Romiſh church. This was ſufficiently evident by the conduct of the parliament. The utmoſt freedoms were uſed with the characters of the ſacred colleges. Some members of the Houſe of Commons having attacked the impoſitions of the clergy, and the various attempts they had made to uſurp an authority in civil matters, no offence was taken, though their invectives were remarkably ſevere. One of them had even the boldneſs to advance ſuch tenets, that even the deiſts of our times would ſcruple to defend publicly. He ſaid, That as the vaſt variety of theological opinions which had, at different times, prevailed in the world, could not poſſibly be known and examined by individuals, their wiſeſt method was to ſuſpend their judgment with regard to all; and that the only religion obligatory on the human race, was the belief of one Supreme Being, and the practice of virtue. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, complained, on this occaſion, of the temerity of the Commons; and accuſed them of having formed a deſign, founded on heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk undertook their defence, but made uſe of terms perhaps ſomewhat indecent. He ſaid, "That the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men." "Your obſervation may be right," replied Rocheſter, "but I have not known, in my time, any fools that have proved great clerks." This reflection diſpleaſed the Commons, who complained of it to the king, and the biſhop was obliged to put a favourable conſtruction on his words. So greatly was the power of the hierarchy fallen in the opinion of this capricious monarch.

Henry, inſtead of condemning the Commons for their ſevere attacks, was pleaſed to find that the clergy muſt depend ſolely on his power. He had more than once determined to throw off all dependence upon Rome, though, at the ſame time, he trembled at the thoughts of hereſy. He had defended the Catholic Church againſt Luther, and his pride would not ſuffer him to acknowledge that he was now convinced of his error. He had no hopes of ſucceeding in his ſollicitations for a divorce from Rome. The policy of Clement VII. and the intrigues and power of Charles V. had abundantly convinced him, that every attempt of that kind would prove abortive. A treaty had been lately concluded between the emperor and the pope; by which it was ſtipulated, "That the emperor ſhould reſtore to the family of Medicis the dutchy of Florence, on the ſame footing as before the war: that he ſhould cauſe Revenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Modena and Reggio: that he ſhould aſſiſt him in making himſelf maſter of Ferrara: that Franciſco Sforza ſhould be reſtored to Milan: that the pope and the emperor ſhould employ their temporal and ſpiritual arms againſt the heretics of Germany: that Alexander de Medicis ſhould eſpouſe Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope ſhould grant the emperor a fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his dominions, in order to enable him to carry on the war againſt the Turks; and that he ſhould abſolve all who had been any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of Rome."

This treaty was ſoon after followed by another, between the emperor and Francis I. on the baſis of that concluded at Madrid. By this treaty the emperor agreed to wave, for the preſent, his claim upon Burgundy. Francis engaged to pay two millions of crowns for the ranſom of his children; to withdraw his troops from Italy; to cede to Charles the government of Flanders and Artois; to reſtore the county of Aſti, with all that he ſtill retained in the kingdom of Naples; to eſpouſe Eleanor, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter; and to re-eſtabliſh the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon in all the eſtates of that family, which had been confiſcated.

Theſe treaties reſtored peace to Italy, and Clement no longer depended on Henry's aſſiſtance. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome other expedient, or drop all thoughts of obtaining a divorce from Catherine. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus College, Cambridge, diſcovered a method which ſeemed to promiſe the removal of every difficulty. He propoſed to conſult all the univerſities of Europe with regard to this controverted point; alledging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his Majeſty's ſcruples muſt ceaſe of courſe: if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to reſiſt the opinion of all the learned, when joined with the ſollicitations of ſo great a monarch. Henry was highly delighted with this propoſal, and determined to carry it immediately into execution. He alſo found, upon inquiry, that Cranmer was a perſon of acknowledged piety, learning, and moderation, and therefore determined to have him near his perſon. Accordingly he ſent for him to court, entered into converſation with him, and conceived an high opinion of his parts and underſtanding. In the mean time, he diſpatched his agents to collect the opinions of the univerſities of Europe.

A. D. 1530. It was not long before Henry obtained his deſire. The univerſities of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouſe, Angiers, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge, pronounced a deciſion agreeable to his wiſhes. They maintained, "That the marriage of a perſon with his brother's widow was contrary to the divine law; and, conſeſequently, could not be authoriſed by any diſpenſation."

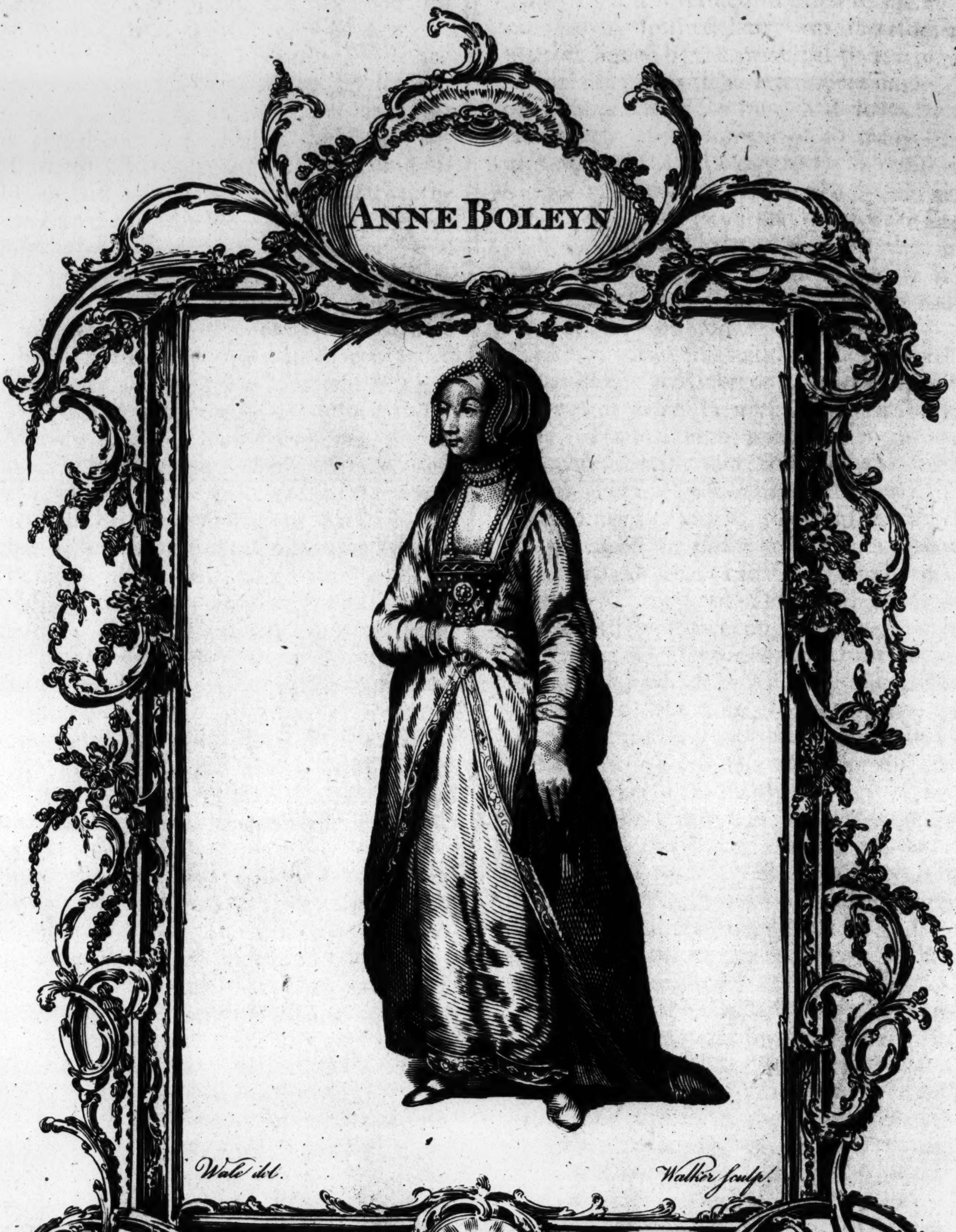
But this deciſion had no effect upon the court of Rome; they ſtill refuſed to liſten to Henry's remonſtrances. A ſpirited letter was therefore written to the pope, ſigned by the principal prelates and nobility of England; in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done for his Holineſs, the judgment of ſo many learned univerſities, and the little regard he had paid to all theſe weighty conſiderations; they plainly told him, "that if he continued to amuſe and deceive the Engliſh monarch in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connections with the ſee of Rome, and do themſelves that juſtice which they had ſo long demanded in vain from his Holineſs."

During theſe tranſactions, Wolſey reſided at a country-houſe at Richmond, a ſeat he had received as a preſent from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court. He had been reinſtated in the revenues of his archbiſhopric, and thoſe of the ſee of Wincheſter. He even entertained hopes of again recovering the king's favour. The courtiers were alarmed, and procured an order for him to remove to his archiepiſcopal ſee. He immediately obeyed, and retired to Cawood, in Yorkſhire, where he applied himſelf ſtrictly to execute the duties of his eccleſiaſtical charge. Nor did he labour in vain. The aſſiduity with which he diſcharged his paſtoral duties, his charity to the poor, his hoſpitality, and the obliging reception he gave to all who viſited him in his retreat, ſoon gained him the love and eſteem of all orders of men in the neighbourhood of his reſidence. Wolſey, for the firſt time, now became truly popular. But he was not long ſuffered to enjoy this happineſs unmoleſted. The earl of Northumberland and Sir Peter Walſh were ſent down to arreſt him for high-treaſon, and to conduct him to London. No regard was paid to his eccleſiaſtical character; the privileges of the church were no longer regarded.

Wolſey made no oppoſition to the royal orders; he immediately ſet out for London with ſome degree of chearfulneſs. They were met upon the road by Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, at the head of a party of the guards. But the cardinal, partly by the fatigues of his journey, and partly by the great anxiety of his mind, was ſeized with a diſorder, which ſoon turned to a dyſentery; ſo that he reached Leiceſter-abbey with the utmoſt difficulty. He perceived his diſſolution was approaching; and told the abbot and monks, who advanced to receive him with great reſpect, that he was come to lay his bones among them. He was immediately carried to his bed, from which he never more aroſe. The folly of ambitious purſuits, and the vanity of human grandeur, now appeared in their genuine colours; and he ſincerely regretted the time he had ſpent in aſſiduouſly ſtudying the headſtrong paſſions of an ungrateful prince. "Had I" ſaid he, "ſerved my God as diligently as I ſerved my king, he would not have forſaken me in my grey hairs." With theſe reflections Wolſey paid the debt of nature on the twenty-third of November, in the ſixtieth year of his age; and was interred, at his own requeſt, in the chapel of Leiceſter-abbey.

This great miniſter exhibits a ſtriking example of the folly and weakneſs of thoſe who miſtake the paths of ambition for the paths of happineſs. His character has been loaded, perhaps unjuſtly, with the moſt violent reproaches. Great allowances ſhould certainly be made for the obſtinacy and violence of Henry's temper: Wolſey was often obliged to purſue meaſures his better judgment condemned. His ſucceſſors

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM


ANNE BOLEYN
Wale del.
Walker sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

ceſſors could not hold the helm of government with ſo ſteady a hand: they were far more criminal than the cardinal. The ambition he entertained of filling St. Peter's chair proceeded, perhaps, in part at leaſt, from a deſire he entertained of being ſerviceable to his country in that important ſtation. Henry himſelf, when informed of the death of the cardinal, regretted his loſs, and ſpoke of him in the moſt favourable terms: and it ſhould be remembered, that a miniſter who is odious to the nation he governs, cannot be tranſmitted, in very favourable colours, to poſterity.

A. D. 1531. The parliament that met ſoon after the death of Wolſey, made uſe of the ſame act that had deſtroyed the cardinal, to enrich the crown, at the expence of the clergy. The legantine power of Wolſey, though exerciſed with the king's conſent, had been the cauſe of his fall; and the clergy were conſidered as having participated in his guilt, becauſe they had ſubmitted to an authority now declared illegal. The example of Wolſey had ſufficiently convinced the eccleſiaſtics, that it would be in vain to offer any apology for their conduct: they ſubmitted to the king's pleaſure, and were glad to purchaſe a pardon at the expence of one hundred and eighteen thouſand, eight hundred and forty pounds. It was alſo required of them, that they ſhould acknowledge Henry "the protector, and ſupreme head of the church of England." Some of them, indeed, procured a clauſe to be inſerted, which invalidated the whole conceſſion: it ran in theſe terms, "So far as is permitted by the law of Chriſt."

The whole proceedings of Henry ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was determined to humble his clergy. He knew he ſhould be ſupported in all his meaſures by the Commons, who ſhewed a ſtrong deſire to mortify the eccleſiaſtics; nor did he apprehend any oppoſition from the temporal lords. The Proteſtant religion was at this time ſecretly favoured by many perſons in England, where the writings and ſermons of Wickliff and his diſciples had, many years ſince, diſſipated, in part, the miſt of ignorance and ſuperſtition from the minds of the people; who being, at the ſame time, oppreſſed by the pope's uſurpations, and ſcandalized by the lewd and immoral bulls of the late pontiffs who had filled St. Peter's chair, were very deſirous of an opportunity to deliver themſelves from ſuch an intolerable and diſgraceful yoke. But however deſirous the Commons might be of humbling the clergy, they were greatly alarmed at the king's having revived the obſolete ſtatute of proviſors. Moſt of them had, in ſome manner or other, maintained cauſes in the legantine court, and therefore were as liable to the penalties of that ſtatute as the clergy themſelves; and the rigour with which Henry had treated that body, made them apprehenſive for their own ſafety. They therefore preſented a petition to the king, requeſting that they might be included in the pardon preparing to be iſſued for the clergy. Their deſire was granted, and the Commons extolled the clemency of Henry to the ſkies.

A. D. 1532. The parliament proceeded ſtill farther at their next meeting, with regard to the power of the Roman pontiff in England. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates, or firſt fruits, a tax hitherto paid to the pope for granting bulls to the new prelates. This ſtatute declared, "That the kingdom was impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, ſince the ſecond year of the late reign, above one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been ſent to Rome on account of annates or firſt-fruits, palls and bulls for biſhoprics: that the annates had been originally deſigned as a contribution for ſupporting a war againſt the infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpoſe, it was decreed, that they ſhould not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue ſhould be given for the bulls of biſhoprics: that if the pope ſhould refuſe to grant them upon theſe terms, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be conſecrated; but ſhould the metropolitan refuſe conſecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king ſhould perform the ceremony, and the elect ſhould then be conſidered as lawfully conſecrated. The parliament, however, at the ſame time, declared, that the king ſhould be at liberty to annul or confirm this act, within a limited time; and if, in that interval, he ſhould compromiſe his difference with the court of Rome, it ſhould obtain the force of a law; but ſhould the pope, on account of this act, endeavour to diſturb the peace of the kingdom with the ſentences of excommunication and interdict, theſe cenſures ſhould be utterly diſregarded. All eccleſiaſtics were forbid to receive or publiſh ſuch cenſures, and enjoined to celebrate divine ſervice in the ſame manner as if they had never been iſſued." After paſſing this act, they proceeded to examine the oath to the pope, adminiſtered to the biſhops on their inſtallation; and were on the point of aboliſhing it, when the breaking out of the plague at Weſtminſter occaſioned their being prorogued.

It was now ſufficiently evident to the whole nation, that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn; and either force the pope to agree to his meaſures, or withdraw his obedience from the holy ſee. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man of ſtrict virtue, incapable of making his religion ſubmiſſive to his intereſt, and, at the ſame time, too much a philoſopher to be over ſollicitous to advance his fortune, begged leave to reſign the ſeals, and retired from that elevated ſtation with more joy than an ambitious perſon would have felt in being placed in that exalted ſeat of power. Soon after the reſignation, Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature; an event which gave Henry no ſmall ſatisfaction, as he flattered himſelf he ſhould now eaſily procure the affair of his divorce to be determined in his own dominions. For though the deceaſed prelate was convinced that Henry's marriage with Catherine was unlawful, yet he was too much devoted to the ſee of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority in oppoſition to the papal power. The king named for his ſucceſſor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, and he was ſoon after placed in the archiepiſcopal chair.

Henry had exerted all his influence to prevail upon Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; but all his attempts proving abortive, and a treaty of offenſive alliance being concluded with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn on the fourteenth of November. Her father, mother, and brother, together with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and archbiſhop Cranmer, were preſent at the ceremony.

A. D. 1533. The queen ſoon became pregnant, and Henry publicly owned his marriage. This circumſtance rendered it neceſſary that Catherine's divorce ſhould now be finiſhed; and it was determined in the council, that the archbiſhop ſhould pronounce the ſentence. Accordingly Cranmer repaired to Dunſtable, in the neighbourhood of which the queen reſided, and cited Catherine to appear. As ſhe took not the leaſt notice of the citation, ſhe was declared contumacious, and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The evidences of Arthur's conſummation of his marriage were produced; the opinions of the univerſities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York: and after theſe preparatory ſteps, Cranmer annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as unlawful. He alſo, by a ſubſequent ſentence, ratified the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was ſoon after publicly crowned with the greateſt pomp and ceremony. On the ſeventh of September, the new queen was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and afterwards ſwayed the ſceptre of England with ſuch honour and applauſe. Henry immediately conferred on her the title of princeſs of Wales, though ſhe was only the preſumptive heir to the crown.

The intelligence of theſe tranſactions no ſooner reached Rome, than the whole conſiſtory was in the moſt violent ferment. The cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication againſt the Engliſh monarch; but the pontiff could not be prevailed upon to proceed any farther than to threaten Henry with that ſentence, if he annulled not the criminal acts he had committed within a limited time. The mediation of Francis I. who had entered into a negotiation with Clement for the marriage of his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine of Medicis, the pope's niece, ſeemed, however, likely to produce an accommodation. Henry was prevailed upon to ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, provided the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded from the Roman conſiſtory during the trial; and the pope was diſpoſed to gratify his deſire. A day was even appointed for the return of the meſſenger with Henry's definitive anſwer; but the courier who carried the king's acquieſcence in writing, was detained by accident beyond the limited time. In vain did the biſhop of Paris requeſt the pope to wait a few days for the meſſenger: Clement was ſo highly exaſperated, that he would liſten to no remonſtrances. He entered the conſiſtory enflamed with anger; and, with a precipitation fatal to the power of the Roman ſee, pronounced the legitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated if he refuſed to obey the ſentence. Two days after, the meſſenger arrived; but the evil was not to be redreſſed. The obedience of England, one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown, was loſt by this haſty deciſion. A kingdom the moſt devoted of any in Europe to the apoſtolical ſee, was become its irreconcileable enemy. Two days patience would have prevented this alarming event.

A.D. 1534. The parliament met on the fifteenth of January, and continued to enact laws wholly ſubverſive of the papal authority. They had already proſcribed all appeals to Rome, and all the rights and regulations of the apoſtolic chamber. The people had for ſome years been perſuaded, that a general council was far ſuperior to the Roman pontiff; it was now publicly maintained, that the pope was only a biſhop, and that his power extended no farther than the limits of his own dioceſe. The people, the parliament, and even the clergy, adopted this opinion. The ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics was moderated. By another ſtatute it was declared, that no ſynod or convocation of the clergy ſhould be aſſembled without the king's permiſſion; that his majeſty ſhould nominate ſixteen perſons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with a power to aboliſh ſuch as were uſeleſs, and confirm thoſe that were neceſſary. The parliament next confirmed the ſtatute againſt annates: it was enacted, "That for the future the pope ſhould have no ſhare in the election or confirmation of biſhops; but that, when a ſee became vacant, the king ſhould ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, or licence, to elect a new biſhop; and if the election ſhould not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of chuſing ſhould fall to the king: that the biſhop elect ſhould ſwear fealty to his majeſty: that no perſon ſhould preſume to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpoſe: that Peter-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and diſpenſations, iſſued by the court of Rome, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed: that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be empowered to grant ſuch diſpenſations as were conſiſtent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence ariſing ſhould be paid into the king's exchequer: that all religious houſes, whether exempted or non-exempted, ſhould be ſubject to the viſitation of the archbiſhop: that the king's marriage with Catherine ſhould be deemed null and void; and that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled upon the iſſue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female." This parliament alſo paſſed an act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called, "The holy Maid of Kent," and her accomplices, in a treaſonable attempt to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom.

This woman had been long ſubject to hyſteric fits, during which her body was thrown into unuſual convulſions, and ſhe frequently uttered many ſtrange and incoherent expreſſions; whence the ignorant and credulous multitude were induced to believe that ſhe ſpoke by the inſpiration of heaven. The party who ſtill ſupported the pope's authority, conſidered this perſon as a proper inſtrument to gain proſelytes to their party, and condemn the methods that had been taken to procure the divorce. They, however, waited till the belief of her having an immediate intercourſe with heaven was eſtabliſhed with the people. This being effected, they taught her to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe called hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government, and againſt the king's divorce from Catherine. She even at laſt had the boldneſs to aſſert, "that if the king proſecuted his divorce, and married another woman, he ſhould not wear the crown a month longer, but ſhould die the death of a villain." Henry, for ſome time, neglected to take any notice of this woman; he conſidered her pretended prophecies as the effects of a diſtempered brain, and which would be diſregarded as ſoon as they ceaſed to be a novelty. But finding that ſhe was ſupported, not only by the monks, but alſo by the pope's agents in England, he reſolved to proceed againſt her with the utmoſt ſeverity. Both the maid herſelf and her accomplices were accordingly examined in the Star-chamber, where they readily confeſſed all the particulars of their guilt, and ſuffered the puniſhment inflicted by the parliament. The detection of this impoſture tended greatly to injure the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially the monks, who now became the objects of Henry's reſentment.

During theſe tranſactions, intelligence of the excommunication fulminated by Clement reached England, and added greatly to the general ferment. The appeal of the king to a general council of the clergy was affixed to all the gates of the churches. The convocation declared, that the biſhop of Rome had no authority in England; and that the power which he and his predeceſſors had hitherto exerciſed there, was nothing more than an uſurpation tolerated by its kings. Thus was the church of England totally ſeparated from the authority of the Roman ſee; and thoſe who pretended that no great kingdom could throw off the ſubjection of the pope without the moſt imminent danger, now ſaw that a ſingle blow was ſufficient to overthrow this venerable Coloſſus.

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, Henry ſent commiſſioners through the whole kingdom, to adminiſter the oath of allegiance and ſucceſſion to all his ſubjects; and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, refuſing to take it, were committed to the Tower. But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers. Their tenets were, however, embraced by great numbers of the Engliſh, and all ranks of men were diſpoſed to favour their attempts to remove many of the ſuperſtitious practices from the public worſhip. The king's book againſt Luther had done him honour with the Catholics; and the anſwer of that reformer, who treated him with a ſovereign contempt, failed not to wound his vanity. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Roman church, though he denied the authority of the pontiff. His miniſters and courtiers knew not which religion to adopt; they wavered between both, and ſeemed extremely cautious of declaring their real opinions. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardener, biſhop of Wincheſter, who were firmly attached to the ancient religion, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, uſed every method in their power to exaſperate Henry againſt the reformers. On the other hand, the new queen, with archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſecretary

Cromwell, who were friends to the proteſtants, artfully excited his reſentment againſt the Holy See, while they themſelves profeſſed the eſtabliſhed faith. Thus the profeſſors of both religions were equally obnoxious to perſecution. It was as criminal to acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy as to embrace the tenets of Luther. The prior of the Carthuſian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benaſe, a monk of Sion college, and John Haile, vicar of Iſleworth, together with three monks of the Charterhouſe, were put to death for denying the king's ſupremacy. This ſeverity was a prelude to thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes that diſgrace the cloſe of Henry's reign.

At the ſame time, the reformers felt the weight of Henry's violent hand. The ſpirit of liberty cheriſhed by that whole ſect alarmed the rapacious monarch, and he was determined to employ perſecution and violence againſt them; but he ſhould have remembered, that the zeal of ſectaries is always increaſed by oppoſition. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, having embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, were ſeized by the government, and put to the torture. Their ſufferings proved too ſtrong for their zeal; they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were ſet at liberty. But feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunctions for their timidity, they boldly preached againſt the ſuperſtitions of the eſtabliſhed religion, and were condemned to the flames. It was expected by their enemies, that they would again recant when brought to the ſtake; but they were miſtaken: they ſuffered with the moſt unſhaken intrepidity; and even in the midſt of their torments, gloried in the tenets they had before inculcated. Another diſciple of the reformers, when ſurrounded with the flames, embraced, with a tranſport of joy, the faggots which were to put a period to his life. It was not, indeed, eaſy to avoid the danger of incurring the king's diſpleaſure; his miſplaced zeal conſidered the moſt innocent actions as heretical. To teach children the Lord's prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to ſpeak againſt pilgrimages, and to neglect the faſts of the church, were conſidered as highly criminal, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. The jealouſy and cruelty of the Spaniſh inquiſition ſeemed to direct the proceedings of the Engliſh government.

Nor were theſe inſtances of his zeal for the tenets of the Romiſh church ſufficient to ſatisfy the Catholics: they conſidered his revolt from the pope to be equally criminal with denying the fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity. One Peyto, a Franciſcan friar, who preached before him, had the boldneſs to declare, "That many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as the true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, as they had done the blood of Ahab." The king, notwithſtanding the violence of his temper, took no notice of this inſult. But the next Sunday, he ordered Dr. Corren to preach in the Royal Chapel; and he juſtified the king's proceedings, and called Peyto a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog and a traitor. He was interrupted in the midſt of his harangue by another Franciſcan, who told him he was one of the lying prophets, who endeavoured to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown by adultery. Henry impoſed ſilence on this petulant churchman, and he was ſummoned before the council. But this did not intimidate the friar: for being told by one of the counſellors, that he ought to be thrown into the Thames, he anſwered, "That the road to heaven was not longer by water than by land."

A. D. 1535. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, were ſtill confined in the Tower. They were both men of great parts and learning. Fiſher had, for many years, enjoyed the confidence of Henry, and was a prelate of great virtue and erudition. The pope, who conſidered his ſufferings as the conſequence of his attachment to the holy ſee, ſent him a cardinal's hat during his confinement in the Tower. But this promotion could not exempt him from puniſhment. He was at laſt brought to his trial; and refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy, was found guilty, and condemned to loſe his life. He received the notice of his execution with great compoſure, and ſubmitted to the fatal blow with calmneſs and intrepidity. Great pains had been uſed to prevail upon Sir Thomas More to take the oath of ſupremacy; but he refuſed every offer, and fell a victim to the ſanguinary malevolence of Henry. When conducted to the ſcaffold, neither the ſerenity of his mind, nor the uſual chearfulneſs of his temper, forſook him. He begged the executioner to ſtay till he had put aſide his beard, "for (added he) it never committed treaſon." The humour, the virtue, and the reſolution of this great man, will be remembered with applauſe, while the malevolence of his enemies will be recollected with deteſtation.

Paul III. who had lately ſucceeded Clement VII. in the papal chair, had flattered himſelf with being able to reconcile Henry to the Roman ſee. He had always favoured Henry's cauſe before his advancement to the papacy, and even gained the friendſhip of that capricious monarch. Senſible of the loſs the apoſtolic ſee muſt ſuſtain by a breach with England, he was very deſirous of putting a friendly period to this alarming diſpute. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue, when the news of Fiſher's execution re-kindled the rage of the ſacred college. A cardinal put to death in defence of the rights of the holy ſee, merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and the pontiff haſtened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican. Henry was cited to appear at the pope's tribunal, with all his adherents, within ninety days; and in caſe of diſobedience, the king was declared to be excommunicated, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn illegitimate; his ſubjects were freed from all oaths of allegiance; his kingdom was given up to the ambition of the firſt invader; and his leagues with all Catholic princes were diſſolved. Paul, however, thought proper to delay the publication of theſe cenſures till it ſhould appear that an accommodation with England was abſolutely deſperate; and till Charles V. at this time violently preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes of Germany, ſhould be in a condition to execute the violent meaſures of the conſiſtory.

Henry was not in the leaſt intimidated by the threatenings of the pope: the thunder of the Vatican was no longer terrible to the Engliſh. The league of Smalcalde, in which the German reformers aſſumed the name of Proteſtants, had compoſed a formidable barrier to the ambition of Charles V. The kings of France and England made ſome advances to be admitted into this confederacy. They well knew, that a conformity of ſentiments, as well as of political intereſts, was neceſſary for this purpoſe; and the rigid treatment their reformed ſubjects had experienced in both kingdoms, muſt induce the German princes to think they could not rely upon them as ſincere allies. Francis and Henry, therefore, pretended to a conformity of ſentiments with them, and that they were deſirous of eſtabliſhing the Reformation in their dominions. But as the German princes ſuſpected the ſincerity of their declarations, they refuſed to enter into an alliance with them, but upon certain conditions. Thoſe delivered to the Engliſh ambaſſadors were in ſubſtance as follows:

"That Henry ſhould approve and embrace the Augſburg confeſſion of faith, and defend it in a free council with all his power: that he ſhould approve of no place for holding a council without their conſent; that if the pope ſhould call a council by his own authority, Henry ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it: that he ſhould accept of the title of Protector of the League: that he ſhould never return to the obedience of the pope: that he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies; and that he ſhould pay one hundred thouſand crowns towards the defence of the league; but if any part of that ſum remained at the concluſion of the war, it ſhould be reſtored." Theſe articles, however diſagreeable, were not rejected by Henry; but it ſoon appeared, that their ſentiments, with regard to religion, were ſo very different, that no alliance could be concluded between them.

A. D. 1536. While the greateſt powers of Europe were thus agitated with religious diſputes, queen Catherine was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, which put a period to her life on the ſixth of January, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very tender and pathetic letter to the king, whom ſhe ſtiled "her moſt dear lord, king, and huſband." Henry was greatly affected with this laſt proof of Catherine's affection, given at a time when ſhe was tottering on the brink of eternity, and juſt going to appear before the Judge of the whole earth. The queen's behaviour was very different: ſhe openly expreſſed her ſatisfaction at the death of Catherine, and ſeemed to take a pleaſure in communicating it to the public. She little thought that ſhe herſelf would ſoon fall a victim to the unbounded paſſion of her huſband. The remains of the unfortunate Catherine were depoſited in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an epiſcopal cathedral.

The great breach between Charles and Henry had been chiefly occaſioned by the exertions of the former to revenge the diſhonour of his aunt. But as that princeſs was now no more, the emperor conſidered himſelf at full liberty to regain, if poſſible, the friendſhip of Henry. He accordingly offered to renew the former amity, on theſe conditions: That he ſhould be reconciled to the court of Rome; that he ſhould aſſiſt him in his war againſt the Turks; and that he ſhould join him againſt Francis I. who was preparing to conquer Milan. But Henry had too often experienced the duplicity of that prince to form an alliance with him, and therefore politely refuſed his advances. He declared, that he ſhould not refuſe the friendſhip of the emperor, provided he would acknowledge, that the former breach between them proceeded entirely from himſelf; that his conduct with regard to the pope had been juſt, was ratified by the parliament, and could not now be revoked; that when peace was firmly eſtabliſhed among the princes of Chriſtendom, he ſhould very readily join in a war againſt the infidels; and that when the former friendſhip between him and the emperor was reſtored, he ſhould not fail to employ his good offices to reconcile him with Francis; or, if theſe proved ineffectual, to aſſiſt the injured party with all his forces. Charles, though defeated with regard to his attempt of forming an alliance with Henry, loſt not ſight of the projects he had formed. He invaded Provence and Picardy, but was repulſed with loſs. He himſelf laid ſiege to Marſeilles, and his generals to Peronne, but neither of them ſucceeded.

Henry now determined to take a ſevere revenge for all the affronts he had received from the monkiſh clergy. That numerous body of men, knowing that their power was ſo cloſely connected with that of the Roman ſee, that they muſt ſtand or fall together, exerted all their influence to depreciate the Reformation, and load Henry with the moſt atrocious crimes. They declaimed, with the utmoſt violence, againſt the followers of Luther; while the religioniſts, in their turn, imputed to the monks thoſe frequent faſts which oppreſſed the induſtrious to enrich the idle; thoſe ſuperſtitious rites of devotion which were often conſidered as more meritorious than a diſcharge of the moral duties; thoſe vain ſubtilties which adulterated theology; and that captious caſuiſtry which tyrannized over the reaſon and conſciences of men. But, perhaps, the revenues of the convents had inſpired him with a deſire of being maſter of their riches. He was, however, fearful of the conſequences that might reſult from this attempt, as religious retreats had ſo long been conſidered as ſacred and inviolable. A council was therefore ſummoned, where the affair was conſidered with the utmoſt attention; and it was reſolved, that a general viſitation ſhould be made of all the monaſteries; that a ſtrict inqueſt ſhould be taken of all their titles and revenues; and that the morals of the religious, and the regulations obſerved in each order, ſhould be cloſely inſpected. Cromwell was created vicar-general, and inquiſitor-general of all the monaſteries, and other privileged places. The viſitation was accordingly performed with the utmoſt rigour; and, if credit may be given to the reports of the viſitors themſelves, they diſcovered ſuch abominations and ſcenes of vice, debauchery, and impoſture, as were not only diſgraceful to religion, but even ſhocking to human nature. The report of the viſitors was publiſhed, in order the more effectually to excite the horror and deteſtation of the people.

Recourſe was now had to the parliament, where an act for the diſſolution of the leſſer monaſteries was paſſed into a law. The preamble to this bill declares, "That ſmall religious houſes, under the number of twelve perſons, had been long and notoriouſly guilty of the moſt abominable vices, and conſumed and waſted the church lands belonging to them: that for above two hundred years, many viſitations for reforming theſe abuſes had been made without ſucceſs, their vicious method of life daily increaſing; ſo that unleſs the ſmall houſes were diſſolved, and the religious diſtributed into the greater monaſteries, no reformation could be expected." It was therefore declared, that all houſes, whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, their revenues converted to better uſes, and the religious compelled to reform themſelves.

This act was no ſooner paſſed, than orders were iſſued, that all nuns and friars under twenty-four years of age ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed and abſolved from their vows; and that all others above that age ſhould have free liberty to leave their houſes and retire wherever they pleaſed. No leſs than three hundred and ſeventy-ſix of theſe leſſer monaſteries were thus diſſolved; and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thouſand pounds a year, were given to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at one hundred thouſand pounds. While the parliament was engaged in paſſing an act for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, the convocation deliberated upon a propoſition of the utmoſt importance to the reformers. This was a new tranſlation of the Bible. Tindal, ſome years before, had publiſhed a verſion of the ſcriptures; but it being found, upon examination, to be inaccurate and unfaithful, it had been committed publicly to the flames by order of the government. It was therefore now propoſed to publiſh a new tranſlation, which ſhould be free from thoſe objections. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the popiſh party, and as warmly ſupported by the friends of the Reformation, who conſidered it as the only means of diſcovering to the people the many errors and ſuperſtitious abſurdities of the church of Rome. After a long conteſt, the motion was carried, and a new tranſlation of the Scriptures was ordered to be made by perſons eſteemed equal to the undertaking.

But the reforming party now loſt their principal ſupport. Anne Boleyn, who had ſo long continued her aſcendency over the heart of Henry, had now loſt the power of pleaſing. Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and a lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had inſpired him with a new paſſion, and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of his appetite. Anne was of a lively and gay diſpoſition; and, though ſtrictly virtuous, ſhe was not ſufficiently careful of her behaviour. She had been bred at the court of France, and contracted the eaſy carriage ſo familiar to that ſprightly people. Calumny converted her imprudence into vice; and the Auſtrian party, who had been exaſperated at the divorce of Catherine, improved the report, to render the king ſuſpicious of her virtue. The paſſions of Henry were all in the extremes: he had no ſooner conceived a jealouſy of the queen, than her deſtruction was determined. He cauſed her to be arreſted, and accuſed her of adultery before a committee of the Houſe of Lords, on ſuch ſlight circumſtances, that to mention them is ſufficient to confute them. The counteſs of Rochford, who had married the queen's brother, a woman of the moſt infamous character, accuſed her of carrying on a criminal correſpondence with her own brother, but was not able to bring the leaſt proof of her aſſertion. The parliament, however, always ſubſervient to the monarch's paſſions, paſſed ſentence of death upon the queen, though no evidence was produced againſt her. She proteſted her innocence to the laſt; and ſent the king, as ſhe was going to mount the ſcaffold, a very pathetic letter, which at once indicates the ſerenity of her mind, and that ſhe met death with that decent confidence which always attends a mind conſcious of its own integrity. "You have (ſaid ſhe) been continually raiſing me: from a private gentlewoman, you made me a marchioneſs; from a marchioneſs, a queen; and as you can raiſe me no higher in this world, you are this day ſending me to be a ſaint in heaven." She was beheaded on the nineteenth of May, and buried privately in the Tower.

Thus fell the celebrated Anne Boleyn, who had ſo long reigned ſovereign of Henry's affections. Her unhappy fate was deplored by the people, who conſidered her as the innocent victim of her huſband's inordinate paſſion. If this opinion needed any confirmation, the behaviour of Henry himſelf was ſufficient for that purpoſe. He married the lady Jane Seymour the very next day after her execution, ſo eager was he to ſatisfy his brutal appetite. His obdurate heart was not the leaſt affected by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon who had for ſeveral years been the object of his moſt tender affections. Nor was he ſatisfied with this ſanguinary action: he cauſed his marriage with Anne to be declared illegal, under pretence of a pre-contract of marriage with the earl of Northumberland. By this cruel proceſs, Elizabeth, as well as Mary, became illegitimate.

Elizabeth was about three years of age when her mother fell a ſacrifice to Henry's jealouſy. She had been hitherto ſtiled princeſs of Wales, but was now diveſted of that title. The princeſs Mary, whom he had treated with great ſeverity on account of her tender attachment to her mother, and her refuſing to renounce the pope's ſupremacy, was now perſuaded by the Romiſh party to attempt a reconciliation with her father. Accordingly ſhe ſubſcribed to the king's ſupremacy, renounced the authority of the biſhop of Rome, and acknowledged the illegality of her mother's marriage, in order the more effectually to remove the princeſs Elizabeth from the king's preſence and affections. But Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, continued his affection to Elizabeth: he cauſed her to be educated at court with all the care and tenderneſs of a father.

The late events rendered it neceſſary for the king to call a new parliament; and he ſoon found that the ſame obſequiouſneſs prevailed in this as in the former aſſembly. They confirmed the late queen's divorce, declared the children by the king's two firſt marriages illegitimate; and adjudged the crown, after his deceaſe, to the iſſue of his preſent queen, or any other perſon he might marry after her death. At the ſame time, they gave Henry full power to ſettle the mode of ſuch ſucceſſion, either by will, or letters patent under the great ſeal; and pronounced all thoſe who maintained the validity of his two former marriages guilty of high-treaſon.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries now occaſioned great diſturbances in different parts of the kingdom; and the pope having repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt Henry, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid his ſubjects to pay him any obedience. The monks exerted all their influence to perſuade the people, that they were under an indiſpenſable duty of taking up arms againſt a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The ignorant multitude eagerly liſtened to theſe inſinuations; they had been always taught to conſider as ſacred what was now devoted to deſtruction. Upwards of twenty thouſand men aſſembled in Lincolnſhire, under the command of Thomas Mackerel, prior of Barlings. This undiſciplined multitude publiſhed their grievances in a petition to the king; complaining of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the ſubverſion of the ancient religion, the eſtabliſhing new tenets, &c. Henry ſent an anſwer to this petition; and diſpatched the duke of Suffolk, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, to reduce the inſurgents to obedience. But they were in no condition to contend with regular forces; and on being promiſed a pardon, diſperſed of themſelves. Their leader, however, fell into the hands of the royaliſts, and paid his life as a forfeit to his temerity.

This inſurrection was hardly ſuppreſſed, before another was excited in Yorkſhire, which ſeemed to threaten more important conſequences to the government. The rebels were headed by one Aſke, a gentleman of fortune in that county, and well adapted, by his natural talents, to head a popular inſurrection. The inſurgents were joined by a little army of ejected monks, carrying before them a banner, on which a crucifix with five wounds, and a chalice, were painted. They wore the ſame device upon their ſleeves, to animate them in the ſupport of their religion. They ſtiled their march "The Pilgrimage of Grace;" and all who joined them were obliged to take an oath, "That they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preſervation of the king's perſon and iſſue, the purifying the nobility, and expelling all evil counſellors; not for any particular profit of their own, nor to kill any man through envy; but to ſupport the true faith, procure the reſtitution of the church, and ſuppreſs heretics and their opinions." The people were deluded with theſe ſpecious pretences; they flocked to this religious ſtandard; and Aſke ſoon found himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men. Their firſt attempt was againſt the caſtle of Pontefract, which was conſidered as a place of ſtrength, but ſoon ſurrendered to the inſurgents. York and Hull were alſo eaſily reduced; and Aſke obliged all the nobility in the county to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, who defended Skipton-caſtle againſt all the attempts of the rebels.

The government was greatly diſtreſſed for want of troops; five thouſand men only could be raiſed on this emergency. The duke of Norfolk, however, advanced, at the head of this little army, againſt the rebels; while Henry, in order to amuſe them, publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him at Northampton on the ſeventh of November. The royaliſts were encamped at Doncaſter, and the inſurgents advanced into that neighbourhood. The river Till only ſeparated the two armies; and the rebels attempted twice to paſs it, in order to venture a battle, and were twice prevented from executing their purpoſe by violent falls of rain, which rendered the ſtream impaſſable. A ſuperſtitious terror now filled the breaſts of the inſurgents: they were perſuaded that heaven itſelf oppoſed their deſign; and liſtened to the offers of the duke of Norfolk, who promiſed them a pardon. They diſperſed, and returned to their reſpective habitations.

But this peace was but of a ſhort continuance. The prieſts renewed their practices for diſturbing the public peace; and ſoon collected a numerous body of men, who were perſuaded that religion itſelf depended upon their defending the ancient ſuperſtitions of the church. The duke of Norfolk found it neceſſary to continue in the north during the winter; but by putting the martial law into ſtrict execution againſt every one who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, he, inſtead of leſſening, increaſed the diſorders. Two gentlemen, Muſgrave and Treby, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an unſucceſsful attempt on Carliſle, and were afterwards entirely routed by the duke of Norfolk. Muſgrave made his eſcape; but Treby, with about ſeventy of his followers, being taken priſoners, were all hanged on the walls of Carliſle.

A. D. 1537. Exaſperated at theſe frequent diſturbances, Henry ſent for the chiefs of the rebels to court, in order to prevent their engaging in any other inſurrection. Aſke readily obeyed the ſummons, and was received with kindneſs; but the lords Darcy and Huſſey, together with ſeveral other chiefs of the rebels, refuſing to obey the king's mandate, were ſeized, and beheaded on Tower-hill. Theſe executions intimidated Aſke: he retired into the country without a licence from the government, and was ſoon after hanged at York. Fortunately for Henry, the Scottiſh monarch, James V. was in France during theſe diſturbances in the north of England; ſo that the rebels could receive no aſſiſtance from that kingdom.

Henry was now ſo uſed to ſlaughter, by the frequent executions, that he ſeemed to delight in blood. He ordered Thomas Fitzgerald, ſon to the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, who had ſuffered a long confinement in the Tower for an inſurrection in Ireland, to be executed, in order to intimidate the people, who ſeemed ripe for a revolt. But Stephen Fitzgerald, the earl's youngeſt ſon, eſcaped to the continent, and retired to cardinal Pole, who made uſe of him in the deſigns he had formed of recovering England to the obedience of the holy ſee.

While Henry was thus employed in chaſtiſing his rebellious ſubjects, his queen was delivered of a ſon at Hampton-Court, to the inexpreſſible joy of the nation in general, and of Henry in particular. He had now obtained the object of his ardent wiſhes; he was bleſſed with a ſon, the undoubted heir of all his dominions: but his ſatisfaction was greatly leſſened by the death of the queen, which happened ſoon after her delivery. She was the moſt beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humble deportment, her goodneſs, and her affability. The king was ſo afflicted with his loſs, that he ſecluded himſelf from all company ſeveral days. The young prince was baptized by the name of Edward, and three days after declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter.

A. D. 1538. The birth of a prince tended greatly to confirm Henry's power: he was feared by his ſubjects, and his friendſhip courted by the greateſt princes of Europe. He now conſidered the monks as his greateſt enemies, and determined to render them unable to give him any diſturbance for the future. In order to this, he procured addreſſes from the two univerſities; wherein the pernicious nature of religious houſes, which harboured only a multitude of lazy drones and ſwarms of impoſtors, were fully diſplayed, and the king requeſted to remove ſo great an evil. A viſitation was accordingly appointed, and the viſitors confounded guilt and innocence. Time and the paſſions had indeed introduced many corruptions into the cloiſters; but it is not reaſonable to believe, that the manners of the eccleſiaſtics ſhould be totally depraved. In ſome of the religious houſes, inventions to impoſe on popular credulity were diſcovered; falſe relics were employed, and falſe miracles were performed. Some impoſtures of a more artificial nature were alſo found by the viſitors. At Hales, in Glouceſterſhire, had been ſhewn, for ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt, ſaid to have been brought from Jeruſalem; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, that a relic of ſuch importance muſt be held in the higheſt eſtimation. This relic was ſuppoſed to be attended with very important circumſtances: the ſacred blood was not viſible to any perſon in mortal ſin, even when placed before him, till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution. At the diſſolution of the monaſtery, the whole contrivance was diſcovered. Two monks, who were entruſted with the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week. This they put into a phial, one ſide of which was clear and tranſparent, and the other thick and obſcure. Furniſhed with this inſtrument of deception, they uſed it to their own emolument. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his crimes; or rather till his money, faith, or patience, were nearly exhauſted; when they turned the bright ſide of the phial, and bleſſed him with the ſight he had ſo long and earneſtly deſired.

At Boxley, in Kent, was a crucifix remarkably famous, held in the higheſt veneration, and diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Road of Grace. It had been often ſeen to move, to bend and riſe itſelf, ſhake its head, hands and feet, roll its eyes, and move its lips. This inſtrument of religious deception being brought to London, it was broke in pieces at St. Paul's Croſs, by Hilſey, biſhop of Rocheſter, before a multitude of ſpectators, who, with their own eyes, beheld the ſprings and wheels by which it had been actuated.

It is no wonder that diſcoveries like theſe raiſed a general indignation. The authors of ſuch ſcandalous abuſes were deteſted; the monaſteries were conſidered as infamous; and the crimes of a few were extended to the whole body of the religious. This gave Henry the advantage he deſired; and the monks, convinced that it would be madneſs to make any oppoſition, ſurrendered their monaſteries, and many of them received penſions for their ſubſiſtence. No leſs than ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries were diſſolved, twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed ſeats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in the ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chauntries and free-chapels; and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole annual revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand one hundred pounds; a ſum which did not much exceed the twelfth part of the national income.

Whilſt Henry was thus employed in demoliſhing the baſis of ſuperſtition, it could not be ſuppoſed he would overlook the moſt famous and reſpected of all the inſtruments of popiſh idolatry, the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted, for the honour of being ranked among the ſaints, to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the Holy See; and a ſaint of that character muſt be highly obnoxious to Henry, who was determined to aboliſh the power of the Roman pontiff in England. He could not bear the thought, that ſuch a furious and obſtinate rebel to his prince ſhould be held in the higheſt veneration by the people, his tomb frequented by pilgrims, and enriched with ſuperb preſents. It was not uncommon, in theſe times, to carry on proceſſes againſt the dead, and Henry availed himſelf of the practice. The life of Becket underwent a ſtrict examination; his actions were condemned by the generality of the people; and the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries. His name was therefore ordered to be eraſed out of the Calendar, the office compoſed for his feſtival expunged from the Breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his aſhes diſperſed by the winds. The rich ſhrine of the ſaint had alſo attracted the rapacity of Henry, who converted the whole to his own uſe. Among the ſpoils was a diamond eſteemed the moſt valuable in Europe. It was a preſent from Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was, by Henry's orders, ſet in a ring, and worn afterwards by that monarch on his thumb. At the ſame time, Henry, in order to reconcile the people to theſe innovations, erected ſix new biſhoprics, gave large donations to his courtiers, and ſettled ſalaries on the abbots and monks. It was alſo pretended, that the crown would never more have occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, by the acquiſition of the church-lands, to defray all expences of government. The people were, however, ſoon convinced, that thoſe pleaſing promiſes had no foundation, and that all the riches of the nation would not be ſufficient to ſupply the prodigality of their monarch.

Intelligence of theſe proceedings no ſooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and ſatires againſt the perſon and conduct of Henry: he was repreſented as the moſt impious and ſacrilegious tyrant that ever diſgraced the royal title or dignity: he was compared to Belſhazzar, Nero, Domitian, Diocleſian, and particularly to Julian the apoſtate, whom he was ſaid to reſemble in his learning and apoſtacy, though greatly inferior in moral duties. Cardinal Pole's ſtyle was eaſily diſtinguiſhed in theſe invectives, which were ſoon diſperſed over all Europe. Henry, whoſe vanity and ſanguinary diſpoſition daily increaſed, determined to revenge the inſult. The cardinal himſelf was beyond his power; but ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom were his two brothers, were arreſted, as his accomplices in a conſpiracy againſt the king's life; and all of them were executed, except Sir Geoffrey Pole, who was pardoned on account of his having diſcovered all he knew of the cardinal's intentions.

The Roman pontiff had hitherto ſuſpended the bull of excommunication formerly paſſed againſt Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had rendered a reconciliation impoſſible, he publiſhed the bull with great ſolemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring powers againſt a prince whom he had conſigned to deſtruction. He even offered the Engliſh crown to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to wreſt it from Henry's head.

But the prince that had dared to drive the religious from their retreats, and committed to the flames the remains of Becket, was not to be intimidated. He knew that the thunder of the Vatican had loſt its force; and that the cultivation of reaſon had removed a corner of the veil which ignorance and ſuperſtition had formed to conceal the rays of truth from the eyes of mankind. Henry therefore ſet the pope's power at defiance; and exacted a new oath from the clergy, by which they renounced the authority of the Roman pontiff. The new tranſlation of the Bible was alſo now finiſhed, and preſented to the king by Cromwell, who was perſuaded that nothing could ſo effectually eradicate the popiſh ſuperſtition as a free toleration of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue. But Henry, who halted half way between the Catholics and the Proteſtants, would not permit an indiſcriminate uſe of the Scriptures; he would only allow a copy of the tranſlation to be depoſited in each pariſh church, where it was ordered to be fixed by a chain; and took care to inform the public by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs and liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of virtue, not of ſtrife: and ordered, that no man ſhould read the Bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt while he ſang maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful paſſages without the advice of the learned." This indulgence was, however, conſidered as a great acquiſition by the friends to the Reformation; eſpecially as they obtained a royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. At the ſame time, they were ordered to recommend good works; and to teach the people, that relics, roſaries, and other ſuperſtitious trifles, were unneceſſary to ſalvation.

A. D. 1539. Notwithſtanding Henry had proceeded with ſuch animoſity againſt the Roman pontiff, he piqued himſelf on his zeal for the Catholic faith: he was even ambitious of defending it by diſputation, as well as by perſecution; and the doctrine of the real preſence, or that of tranſubſtantiation, the moſt incomprehenſible of all the dogmas in the Romiſh religion, was the point he maintained with the greateſt obſtinacy. One Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter of London, had ventured to doubt of the real preſence; and being cited to appear before the biſhops, he appealed to the king. Henry was charmed with having ſo fine an opportunity of diſplaying his theological talents. He thought it no derogation from his dignity to hold a public diſputation with that reformer. Notice was accordingly given that the king intended to enter the liſts againſt Lambert, and the prelates, the nobility, and many gentlemen of diſtinction were aſſembled on this occaſion. The king himſelf appeared in all the enſigns of majeſty ſeated upon his throne: and in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and required to defend his opinion againſt his royal antagoniſt.

The conference was opened by the biſhop of Chicheſter, who informed the ſchoolmaſter, that the king had taken the preſent opportunity of convincing him of his errors; adding that if he ſtill continued to perſevere in his heretical opinions, he muſt expect the ſevereſt puniſhment. Lambert defended his opinion with great intrepidity: but the king aſſiſted by ten biſhops, who all engaged in the diſpute, if indeed ſo patial a conteſt deſerves the name, effectually confounded the diſputant, after the conference had laſted five hours. But though confounded and reduced to ſilence, he was not convinced: and when the king aſked him whether he would live or die? Lambert replied, that he threw himſelf entirely on his majeſty's clemency. The king replied, that he protected not heretics, and that he muſt either abjure his opinions or periſh. Lambert choſe the latter, and died with the utmoſt intrepidity amidſt the moſt dreadful tortures.

Intoxicated with the praiſes that had been laviſhed upon him during his diſpute with Lambert, Henry exacted with more violence than ever, a ſubmiſſion to his religious ſentiments. To think different from him on theological ſubjects, was equal to committing a capital crime; and he took the advantage of the ſervility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the ſtandard of orthodoxy in England. The chancellor informed the two houſes, that it was his majeſty's deſire to extirpate from his kingdom all diverſity of opinion with regard to religion; and a committee was immediately appointed to draw up a bill for effecting that purpoſe. But it was ſoon found that ſuch a diverſity of ſentiments prevailed among the members of the committee that there was no hopes of their ever making a report. A bill was, therefore, drawn up, either by Henry himſelf, or ſome member of the privy council, and preſented to the houſe, where it was paſſed into a law. It was called "the bill of the Six Articles," or as the proteſtants juſtly termed it, "The Bloody Bill." By this law the preſence in the euchariſt; communion in one kind; the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity; the celibacy of eccleſiaſtics; the utility of private maſſes; and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, were eſtabliſhed. Whoever denied the real preſence was ſubjected to death by fire; nor was he even admitted to abjure his error. The puniſhment of the other articles was alſo remarkably ſevere; for though abjuration was admitted, the offender was puniſhed by the confiſcation of goods and chattels, and impriſonment. Thoſe who continued obſtinate, on who relapſed, were capitally puniſhed. The clergy, who ventured to marry were alſo ſubject to death; and fines and impriſonment were inflicted on all thoſe who refuſed to confeſs themſelves, or to receive the euchariſt at appointed ſeaſons. It is difficult to conceive the idea of regulations more unjuſt and ſevere. Cranmer alone had the courage to oppoſe this bill; but when it was paſſed into a law, he immediately ſeparated himſelf from his wife, and Henry was ſatisfied with this proof of his ſubmiſſion. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their biſhoprics on account of this act, and were committed to priſon.

Nor were the parliament more tenacious of their civil than their eccleſiaſtical liberties; for by one ſingle act, without ſcruple, and almoſt without deliberation, they totally ſubverted the Engliſh conſtitution. They paſſed a bill, by virtue of which the king's proclamation obtained the ſame force as a ſtatute enacted by the whole legiſlative power.

By another act the king was empowered to nominate any number of biſhops, ſees for biſhops, and cathedral churches, as he thought proper, and to endow them with ſuch poſſeſſions as he might judge convenient. An act was alſo paſſed, by which the parliament inveſted in the crown all the abbey-lands, upon the falſe pretence, that the ſurrenders made by the abbots, priors, and ſuperiors, had been "without conſtraint, of their own accord, and according to the due courſe of common law." Nor did any of the mitred abbots, who ſtill kept their ſeats in the Houſe of Peers, enter any proteſt againſt this ſtatute; though it was ſufficiently known that arts of all kinds had been employed; that every motive, calculated to work upon the frailty of human nature, had been ſet before them; and that it was at laſt with the utmoſt difficulty thoſe dignified eccleſiaſtics agreed to a conceſſion, which moſt of them regarded as deſtructive of their intereſts, as well as ſacrilegious and criminal in itſelf.

The parliament alſo gave another inſtance of their condeſcenſion and meanneſs. They paſſed bills of attainder againſt cardinal Pole, the counteſs of Saliſbury his mother, the marchioneſs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Sir Thomas Dingley, without hearing any evidence to convict them of the crimes which were laid to their charge. The two gentlemen were executed, the marchioneſs was pardoned, and the counteſs received a reprieve.

As the libraries of ſeveral abbies were well furniſhed with books, Henry, deſirous of preſerving whatever was valuable in theſe repoſitories, employed the famous antiquary John Leland to collect the moſt uſeful manuſcripts, and other monuments of antiquity. He alſo intended to found a college for the ſtudy of the civil law, the purity of the Latin and French languages, and the knowledge of foreign affairs; to ſerve as a ſeminary for miniſters of ſtate and ambaſſadors. But the king's own prodigality, and the rapacity of his courtiers, rendered this, and ſeveral other ſimilar deſigns, abortive.

The ſlaviſh conceſſions of the parliament had rendered Henry's will the law of the land; and both the Proteſtant and Popiſh parties cultivated his favour with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. Bonner, lately made biſhop of London, though in ſecret a zealous partizan of the pope's authority, found means, by the moſt profound diſſimulation, to obtain letters patent for enjoying both the ſpiritual and temporal revenues of his ſee during the king's pleaſure: and Gardiner, a bigotted ſon of the Romiſh church, maintained his influence by the moſt extravagant ſubmiſſion. Theſe prelates encouraged the Catholics to be extremely vigilant in informing againſt all who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the ſix articles; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were ſoon thrown into priſon. But though Cromwell and Cranmer had not intereſt enough to prevent the act from paſſing, they were able, for ſome time, to elude its execution: they even remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents, and obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. Thus the uncertainty of Henry's temper gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in their turn. The law of the ſix articles, which ſeemed intended to extirpate the reformed religion, was ſoon followed by a general permiſſion for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family; a conceſſion regarded by the Proteſtants as a deciſive victory over the Catholics.

While the conteſt thus continued in ſuſpence, both parties ſeemed to be perſuaded that the final deciſion would, in a great meaſure, depend upon the choice of a future queen, the king having given ſeveral intimations of his intention to enter into a new marriage. He firſt caſt his eyes on a daughter of the duke of Guiſe, but was informed that this princeſs was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. Cromwell therefore propoſed Anne of Cleves, youngeſt ſiſter to the dutcheſs of Saxony. A flattering picture of that princeſs, drawn by the hand of Hans Holbein, determined Henry to apply to her father; and the marriage was ſoon after concluded, notwithſtanding the negotiation was oppoſed by the elector of Saxony, and the princeſs was ſent over to England. The marriage of Henry with this princeſs would, in all probability, have fruſtrated all the attempts of Gardiner and his party, had ſhe anſwered the great character given by her friends of her beauty and accompliſhments. But when Henry, who was impatient for a ſight of his conſort, ſaw her privately at Rocheſter, he was ſo diſappointed, that he ſwore, "ſhe was a great Flanders mare;" and declared, he could never bear her any affection. His averſion was increaſed, when he found ſhe could ſpeak only German, a language he did not underſtand; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He would even have broken off the match abruptly, had not his affairs required the friendſhip of the German princes. A good underſtanding had, for ſome time, prevailed between the emperor and the king of France; and even ſuch marks of union appeared, as occaſioned great jealouſy in the court of England. Henry therefore determined to complete his marriage; and told Cromwell, that ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke.

A. D. 1540. The marriage was accordingly performed on the ſixth of January; and Cromwell, who knew how greatly his own intereſt was concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The king anſwered, that he hated her more than ever; that her perſon was more loathſome on a near approach; and that he was determined never to meddle with her. He, however, continued to behave very kindly to the princeſs; nor gave any intimation of the diſguſt he had conceived againſt Cromwell for the ſhare he had taken in this tranſaction.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he informed both houſes, that the king, in order to terminate all diſputes about religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the conteſted articles, that a ſtandard of faith might be eſtabliſhed on the ſolid baſis of the ſacred Scriptures; and that after the truth ſhould be thus made known to his people, he was reſolved to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all thoſe who ſhould preſume to prefer their own opinion to the eſtabliſhed articles of belief. Cromwell's ſpeech was received with the higheſt applauſe; and the peers, in order to flatter the king in the perſon of his miniſter, declared, that he was worthy, by his deſerts, to be vicar-general of the univerſe. At the ſame time, the miniſter ſeemed to be in the higheſt favour with his maſter, who created him earl of Eſſex, and inſtalled him a knight of the garter.

The only religious order that now remained in England, was that of the Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, or of the Knights of Malta. The valour this order had exerted againſt the infidels, acquired them the favour of the people, and they reſolutely refuſed to yield up their revenues to the king. Henry, determined not to ſuffer any ſociety to exiſt in England that profeſſed obedience to the pope, had recourſe to the parliament for the diſſolution of this order. But their revenues, though very large, were far from ſatisfying the rapacity of Henry; they were ſoon ſquandered away, and the king was obliged to have recourſe to his parliament for a ſupply. He had always found that aſſembly very laviſh of their liberties and the blood of their fellow-ſubjects, but very frugal of their money; and accordingly they ſtrongly oppoſed the demand of this tyrannical monarch; nor was it without the utmoſt difficulty that he obtained the grant.

The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, which had been principally effected by Cromwell, greatly leſſened the power of that miniſter: Henry was ſecretly diſguſted, and the favours he had lately conferred upon him were deceitful. The duke of Norfolk and Gardiner obſerved this prognoſtic of the miniſter's fall, and determined to improve it. They well knew, that he was hated by the nobility, becauſe they ſaw themſelves eclipſed at court by a perſon of mean extraction; that he was odious to the catholics, becauſe they regarded him as a ſworn enemy to the church of Rome; and that he was ſuſpected by the proteſtants of having betrayed their intereſt through timidity. They did not, however, think it prudent to attack him abruptly, but to have recourſe to ſtratagem. They introduced Catherine Howard, a beautiful young lady, and neice to the duke of Norfolk, at court. The king was highly pleaſed with Catherine; and Gardiner, at once the pander and the prieſt, made frequent entertainments at his own houſe for the royal lover and his miſtreſs. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; Henry was ſo pleaſed with his miſtreſs, that he offered to make her his partner in the throne.

In conſequence of this new connection, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner acquired the higheſt credit in the cabinet, and made uſe of the vileſt inſinuations to ruin the miniſter. They repreſented to Henry, that the nation in general was diſſatisfied with his adminiſtration, and perſuaded that Cromwell had abuſed his majeſty's confidence. They added, that as theſe complaints and murmurings chiefly regarded religion, it would be prudent to ſatisfy the people by examining his conduct ſtrictly, and even, if neceſſary, to ſacrifice the vicar-general, in order to procure the tranquillity of the kingdom. Henry, who was exaſperated againſt Cromwell, readily liſtened to theſe inſinuations, and it was determined that the miniſter ſhould fall a victim to the reſentment of the public. He was accordingly arreſted at the council-board, and immediately committed to the Tower. Cromwell now experienced the common fate of degraded miniſters, that of being forſaken by all his friends: Cranmer alone endeavoured to ſupport him. The more the parliament had flattered him in his proſperity, the more they inſulted him in his diſgrace. They accuſed him of hereſy and treaſon, and condemned him to death without examination, and without evidence. In vain he implored the clemency of the king in a letter written in the moſt affecting ſtrain, and containing the moſt earneſt ſupplications. Henry was deaf to the ſoft whiſpers of humanity; his brutal heart was a ſtranger to mercy. The miniſter was executed without delay; and all his ſervices diſregarded or forgotten. Cromwell was a man of induſtry and ability, and worthy of a better maſter, and a better fate. Though raiſed from a plebeian origin, he behaved with no inſolence to his inferiors; nor forgot in his proſperity to return the obligations he had received during his low condition: no perſon had cauſe to complain of his ingratitude.

Henry had now the pleaſure of perceiving that the obſtacles which had hitherto prevented his divorce, were removed: the two powerful monarchs Charles V. and Francis I. were no longer friends. Charles having occaſion to viſit Flanders to ſuppreſs an inſurrection, had begged permiſſion of Francis to paſs through his dominions. The requeſt was very readily granted; he was received by Francis with unſuſpicious courteſy, and even intruſted with the ſecrets of his allies. Charles was no ſooner out of reach of danger, than he profited by this indiſcretion; he expoſed Francis to the reſentment of the king of England; and though by acting ſo treacherous a part, he proved himſelf unworthy of all confidence, he found means to procure the friendſhip of a prince, who knew no other rule of conduct than his paſſions and his caprice.

It was now determined by Henry to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves; and found no difficulty in obtaining a deciſion from the convocation in his favour. It was ſaid that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that the king had not "inwardly" given his conſent, and that he had never conſummated his marriage. Theſe objections were certainly very frivolous; but as the queen made no oppoſition, they were thought ſufficient, ſentence was pronounced for a diſſolution of the marriage, and the deciſion of the clergy was ratified by the parliament. The queen expreſſed no diſſatiſfaction. She was ſatiſfied on being informed, that the king, would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted ſiſter, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year ſhould be allotted for her maintenance; and that ſhe might either live in England, or return to her own country. She choſe the former, and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, informing him, that ſhe had been treated in the moſt tender and generous manner by the king, though ſhe could not have him for her huſband; and conjuring him not to break the harmony that ſubſiſted between the two courts, on account of any thing that had happened to her in England. Thus was the marriage with Anne of Cleves diſſolved on the moſt frivolous pretences that ever were urged before any court of juſtice.

This obſtacle being removed, Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, after having been for ſome time privately married to Henry. But this marriage had no effect on the conduct of Henry; cruelty ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. Papiſts and reformers were equally the objects of his infernal paſſion; they both ſuffered for the tenets of their religion. The former denied the king's ſupremacy, and the latter the real preſence in the ſacrament; both were contrary to the religious eſtabliſhment of Henry, and therefore both equally obnoxious to puniſhment. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming miniſter, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the ſtake for hereſy; but they did not ſuffer alone, three bigotted catholics ſhared the ſame fate, and periſhed in the ſame flames, for denying the king's ſupremacy. Barnes diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and as the debate between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators. This promiſcuous puniſhment of proteſtants and catholics gave occaſion to a foreigner, then in England, to ſay, That it was of no conſequence whether they were for or againſt the pope, ſince both loſt their lives for their opinions.

But it could not be expected that ſuch deſpotic cruelty could be executed without exciting the hatred of the people; they conceived an abhorrence for the authors of ſuch deteſtable proceedings, and ſome alarming ſymptoms of an inſurrection appeared in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. The king's ſuſpicion fell upon cardinal Pole; and this was to him a ſufficient reaſon for putting the counteſs of Saliſbury, the mother of that prelate, to death. She was the laſt of the Plantagenet race, and venerable both for her age and her virtues. She was led to the place of execution; but even in thoſe diſtreſſful circumſtances ſhe did not loſe her courage. She refuſed to ſubmit to a ſentence pronounced without a trial; and, running about the ſcaffold, ſhe told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he muſt win it in the beſt manner he could. Nor was it till after he had aimed many blows at her neck, that he at laſt gave her the fatal ſtroke.

The frequent inſurrections of popiſh faction in the northern counties had ſo often alarmed Henry, that he now determined to viſit thoſe parts in perſon, in order, if poſſible, to terminate theſe diſorders, by puniſhing, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who had dared to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The inhabitants were no ſtrangers to his cruel diſpoſition, and therefore wiſely determined to deprecate his vengeance, by offering him a conſiderable ſum of money. Henry accepted of the commutation, and deſiſted from carrying his inhuman deſigns into execution. Before he left London, he had diſpatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, to propoſe an interview with James V. and the Scottiſh monarch had agreed to meet him at York, in order to concert meaſures for preſerving the peace of both kingdoms.

Scotland had, for ſome time, felt the zeal and fury of ſectaries, as well as England: the torch of civil diſcord flamed both in the northern and ſouthern parts of the Britiſh iſles. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, deſtined for the church, having, about the year 1527, been ſent abroad for his education, imbibed the opinions of the reformers; and, on his return to Scotland, diſſembled not his religious ſentiments. A Dominican, who had inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, perfidiouſly accuſed him before the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. He was tried, condemned to be burnt for his errors, and ſuffered with all the reſolution of an hero. At the ſtake he cited his accuſer to the tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt; and the Dominican, either aſtoniſhed at his conſtancy, or overcome with remorſe, ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and expired. The death of Hamilton, who was now conſidered both as a prophet and a martyr, brought over a great number of proſelytes to the Reformation. Among others, was friar Foreſt, who became a zealous preacher, and profeſſed an extreme attachment to the holy ſcriptures; which, in thoſe times, was conſidered as a ſure characteriſtic of hereſy. Foreſt was therefore ſoon after brought to his trial, and condemned to the flames. While the prieſts were deliberating on the moſt proper place for his execution, one of their hearers adviſed them to burn him in ſome cellar; "for (ſaid he) the ſmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton affected all thoſe on whom it blew."

Such was the ſtate of religious diſputes in Scotland when James received the invitation from Henry to meet him at York. The nobility perſuaded him to accept the offer; hoping, that if an union was formed between the two princes, they ſhould be able to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the church. The clergy were alarmed; they dreaded the conſequences of ſuch an interview; and determined, if poſſible, to prevent it. They repreſented the danger of making any innovations in the eſtabliſhed religion; the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf in the hands of the Engliſh; and the dreadful ſituation of his country, ſhould he, by purſuing ſuch impolitic meaſures, loſe the friendſhip of France. At the ſame time, they offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds Scots, and promiſed that the church ſhould be always ready to contribute liberally to the neceſſities of the ſtate. Theſe repreſentations, aſſiſted by the influence of the queen, induced James to change his reſolution. He delayed his journey for ſome days, and then ſent excuſes to Henry, who waited for him at York. The Engliſh monarch was not of a temper to bear tamely this affront: he vowed the moſt ſevere revenge; but an event, which happened ſoon after his departure, rendered it neceſſary for him to return to his capital, and defer, for a ſeaſon, his revenge againſt the king of Scotland.

While Henry continued at York, one Laſcelles informed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common ſtrumpet. He offered to confirm his information by the evidence of his ſiſter, who had lived as a ſervant in the old dutcheſs of Norfolk's houſe, where the queen had been educated, and where ſhe had carried on a criminal intrigue with Derham and Mannock, two menial ſervants. Struck with this intelligence, which it was dangerous either to conceal or diſcover, Cranmer communicated it to the chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and requeſted their advice with regard to the moſt prudent method of proceeding in ſo delicate an affair. They knew that Henry, though extremely ſcrupulous in every particular that regarded his honour, was captivated by the youth, beauty, and agreeable diſpoſition of Catherine. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal ſtate; and had deſired the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe. But notwithſtanding theſe demonſtrations of the king's eſteem for Catherine, it was reſolved that the matter ſhould not be buried in ſilence, and that the primate himſelf was the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to his Majeſty. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak upon ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole proceeding, and ſent it by a ſpecial meſſenger to the king. It is impoſſible to expreſs the ſurprize and confuſion of Henry when he received the archbiſhop's relation of the queen's infamous conduct; but, at the ſame time, he was ſo fully convinced of his conſort's fidelity, that he at firſt gave no credit to the information, and declared that he looked upon the whole as a malicious forgery; but as he could not reſt till he knew the certainty of the matter, he ordered it to be inquired into with ſuch precautions as might preſerve the queen from any ſcandal, ſhould ſhe be found innocent. It was therefore reſolved, that the lord privy-ſeal ſhould examine Laſcelles. This he accordingly did, and found him ſteady in his information. The ſiſter of Laſcelles was next examined, and ſhe confirmed the teſtimony of her brother by undeniable evidence. It was now thought neceſſary to arreſt Derham and Mannock, which was eaſily done, as they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their danger. They both confeſſed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; and it was alſo proved, that ſhe had ſince entertained one Culpepper a whole night in her chamber.

When Henry received the report of theſe examinations, his grief and diſtraction deprived him of ſpeech; he vented his diſtreſs in a torrent of tears. He appointed the primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, to interrogate the queen on this ſubject. She at firſt denied the charge; but finding her illicit amours were fully diſcovered, ſhe confeſſed the whole to the archbiſhop, who wrote the narrative from her mouth, and ſhe ſigned it with her own hand. Henry was now convinced of the infidelity of his queen, and determined to take a ſevere revenge on her, and all her accomplices.

A. D. 1542. A parliament, the uſual inſtrument of Henry's tyranny, was immediately ſummoned; and the queen's confeſſion being laid before them, they preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which, after entreating him not to be concerned at this untoward misfortune, to which all men are ſubject, they deſired leave to frame a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices. They received a gracious anſwer; and proceeded immediately to attaint of high-treaſon the queen, and the counteſs of Rochford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this act both Derham and Culpepper were included. They alſo paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, lord William Howard and his lady, the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine other perſons; becauſe they were acquainted with the queen's illicit amours, and did not make the neceſſary diſcovery before her marriage. Under this tyrannical government the ties of natural affection became crimes; and it was expected that relations ſhould expoſe the ſecret failings of each other. Nor were the parliament aſhamed to aſſiſt the fury and madneſs of the king. They paſſed an act, whereby it was declared, that any perſon who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, reveal it to the king or council, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, unleſs ſhe previouſly revealed her guilt to him. The people made themſelves extremely merry with this extravagant clauſe. It was pleaſantly remarked, that the king muſt, for the future, look out for a widow, as no reputed maid would ever venture to incur the penalty of the ſtatute.

Theſe acts being paſſed, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded, the twelfth of February, upon Tower-hill. The queen confeſſed her miſconduct in the former part of her life; but endeavoured to perſuade the world, that ſhe had never tranſgreſſed the rules of virtue ſince her marriage with the king. Lady Rochford found very little pity from the ſpectators: her execution was conſidered as a judgment from heaven for her having been the principal cauſe of the death of Anne Boleyn, and that of her own huſband; and this notorious inſtance of her profligate life tended greatly to clear their characters in the opinion of the world. With regard to the dutcheſs dowager of Norfolk, and the other perſons attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, Henry himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of their ſentence, for he ſoon after granted them a pardon.

Theſe domeſtic diſtreſſes would have diverted from theological diſputes the mind of any prince leſs jealous than Henry of extending his opinions. He had ſome time ſince nominated commiſſioners for aſcertaining the proper articles of belief, in order to eſtabliſh an uniformity of ſentiments in matters of faith and religion; and the parliament paſſed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which ought to be acknowledged; and in which they declared they had no other rule, either in religious or temporal concerns, than the will of their maſter. The produce of the labours of theſe commiſſioners, or rather the caprices of Henry, was a ſmall work, intituled, "The Inſtitutions of a Chriſtian Man." This book was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible ſtandard of orthodoxy, though it conſiſted partly of Catholic, and partly of Proteſtant doctrines. But Henry was not long pleaſed with his own production. He publiſhed another work, intituled, "The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man;" and this, though it differed conſiderably from the former, was eſtabliſhed as the genuine Creed of the profeſſors of Chriſtianity. It was neceſſary for the people to change their opinions as often as their ſovereign. He now retracted the permiſſion he had ſo lately given his ſubjects in general to read the Scriptures, reſtraining that conceſſion to gentlemen only; and even theſe were allowed to read in ſuch a manner, "That it be done quietly, and with good order." He alſo made alterations in the miſſal; ordained that the name of the pope ſhould be erazed or blotted out of every book where it was mentioned; and by endeavouring to ſet bounds to the ſpirit of diſputation, he increaſed the ardour of zeal, and irritated the taſte for innovation. But amidſt all the ridiculous creeds which he impoſed upon his ſubjects, he was always attentive to inculcate a paſſive obedience to his power, and held both the clergy and people in the moſt ſlaviſh ſubjection.

Henry was now determined to revenge the affront he had received from the Scottiſh monarch. He publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he reproached James with the breach of his promiſe, with having afforded an aſylum to ſeveral Engliſh rebels, and with retaining ſome territories which belonged to England. He alſo revived the old claim of the dependence of the crown of Scotland, and ſummoned James to do homage for his kingdom. The Scottiſh monarch made no anſwer to this declaration; but employed his whole attention to raiſe an army, in order to diſappoint the ambitious deſigns of Henry. His reſentment was greatly increaſed by the French ambaſſador, who had brought with him conſiderable ſupplies of men and money, and was extremely laviſh of the promiſes he made, in the name of his maſter, of effectual aſſiſtance and ſupport.

The command of the Engliſh army was given to the duke of Norfolk, who rendezvouſed his forces at Newcaſtle. The earl of Southampton was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcaſtle, univerſally regretted for his abilities as a ſtateſman, and his approved courage and prudence as a general. On the twentieth of October, the Engliſh army entered Scotland, and were met by a herald from James, who expoſtulated with the duke of Norfolk on the injuſtice of invading the kingdom before any declaration of war had been publiſhed. But his remonſtrances were in vain: the Engliſh general ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick on account of the ſeverity of the weather. The earl of Huntley had indeed been ſent by James, at the head of ten thouſand men; but his forces were ſo far inferior to the Engliſh, that he was obliged to act wholly on the defenſive.

This invaſion did not, however, terrify the Scottiſh monarch: he levied an army of fifteen thouſand men; and being joined by the earl of Huntley with a train of artillery, he determined to invade England on the weſtern ſide of the Solway Firth. James repaired thither in perſon; but as ſoon as every thing was ready for croſſing into England, he left the army under the command of his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who was hated by the Scottiſh nobility. The conſequences of ſo imprudent an action were ſoon apparent. The officers choſe to ſacrifice their king, their country, and their own honour, rather than ſerve under a perſon they deteſted. Accordingly, when Sinclair read his commiſſion at the head of the army, the nobility retired from their poſts; and the ſoldiers following their example, threw down their arms, ſo that the uproar and confuſion became general thro' the whole army. A body of five hundred Engliſh forces, under the command of Sir Thomas Wharton, who hovered round the Scottiſh camp to obſerve the motions of the enemy, perceiving the diſorder that prevailed among their ranks, attacked them with ſo much fury, that they ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight. The earls of Caſſils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners, and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

This action, or rather rout, happened at Solway Moſs, in the neighbourhood of Carliſle. James was then at Caerlaveroc, where he received the alarming intelligence of the defeat and diſſipation of his army by an handful of Engliſh forces. He could not ſupport the diſgrace: his rage and regret ſo affected his ſpirits, that he repaired immediately to his bed, and ſoon after expired, in the flower of his age. Before his death, news arrived that his queen was ſafely delivered; on which he aſked, with ſome emotion, whether ſhe had brought him a ſon or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned about in his bed, and exclaimed, "How many miſeries await this poor kingdom! Henry will be maſter of it, either by arms or by marriage."

The death of James, and the birth of a daughter, heireſs of a kingdom whoſe friendſhip was of ſo much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations in the Engliſh council. It was now determined not to drive the Scots to deſpair, by taking the utmoſt advantage of the late victory: on the contrary, a ſcheme was formed for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward prince of Wales and the young queen of Scotland. The Scottiſh priſoners were accordingly interrogated on this ſubject; and as they were well diſpoſed to encourage the contrivance, they were all ſet at liberty, on condition of their promiſing to return to London, if the project ſhould become abortive.

A. D. 1543. The Engliſh parliament meeting on the twenty-ſecond of January, were ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of Henry's arms againſt the Scots, that they granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy. They afterwards paſſed an act for permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to have Engliſh bibles, and other religious books mentioned in the ſtatute, in their houſes, for the inſtruction of their families. This act, which was procured by the influence of Cranmer, contained a clauſe, which mitigated the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of hereſy; but the king was empowered either to repeal or ſuſpend the force of the act whenever he found it expedient.

The Scottiſh priſoners, on their return, found their country involved in confuſion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was, after the infant princeſs, the next heir to the crown. He was a nobleman of a weak capacity, of a peaceable diſpoſition, and a friend to the Reformation; but not at all adapted to hold the helm of government in theſe tempeſtuous times. The friends of the reformed religion, who were now pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him, however, to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood. Arran liſtened to their importunities, and reſolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He was powerfully oppoſed by the popiſh faction, at the head of whom was Cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland; a prieſt of unpopular manners, a zealous Roman Catholic, and of a perſecuting ſpirit. He publiſhed the will of the late monarch ſoon after his death, by which that prince had left the government to him, in conjunction with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. By virtue of this inſtrument, which is ſaid to have been forged by that ambitious churchman, he took poſſeſſion of the government; and having joined his intereſt with that of the queen-dowager, ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, he obtained the conſent of the convention of the ſtates, and excluded the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

He did not, however, long enjoy the power he had uſurped. The return of the Scottiſh priſoners enabled Arran to make the moſt powerful oppoſition to the cardinal's adminiſtration; and the nation being exaſperated at his forgery, the majority of the parliament declared in favour of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to priſon. A negotiation was immediately opened with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador; and a treaty of marriage was concluded; by which it was ſtipulated, that the queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe was ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England, in order to be educated; that ſix Scotch noblemen ſhould be ſent as hoſtages to Henry; and that Scotland: notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill preſerve its laws and privileges. But Beaton, having found means to eſcape from priſon, excited the eccleſiaſtics againſt this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots againſt the Engliſh. The popiſh party were indefatigable in perſuading the people, that an union with England muſt be productive of their own ſlavery. Their endeavours had the deſired effect; the Engliſh ambaſſador was inſulted by the populace, and the regent had no longer any power to protect him. Perſuaded that theſe violent proceedings muſt occaſion a rupture between the two kingdoms, Sadler ſummoned the priſoners to return to England, purſuant to their engagements; but all of them refuſed to obey, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, who preferred his honour to his liberty. Henry was ſo pleaſed with this noble behaviour, that he received him with great marks of eſteem, loaded him with preſents, and gave him his liberty without ranſom. Beaton was not at all diſpleaſed at this refuſal of the priſoners, though it reflected diſgrace upon their country. He well knew that they muſt now depend wholly on the government for ſupport, and oppoſe the Engliſh with all their power. A war was now expected between the two kingdoms, and Francis engaged to ſupport the intereſt of Scotland.

But however deſirous the French monarch might be of aſſiſting his Scottiſh allies, the war he was already engaged in with the emperor rendered it very difficult to ſend forces ſufficient to ſupport them againſt the power of the Engliſh monarch. Matthew Steuart, earl of Lenox, was then at the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in an ancient and hereditary enmity with the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, propoſed that he ſhould viſit his native country, and join in ſupporting the cardinal and the queen-mother; promiſing, that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould be ſent after him. He was alſo flattered with the hopes of eſpouſing the queen-dowager; and in caſe of the death of Mary, the infant princeſs, of aſcending the Scottiſh throne in preference of the earl of Arran, whoſe legitimacy was liable to ſome objections. Tempted by theſe alluring proſpects, Lenox returned to Scotland, and, on his arrival, exerted all his intereſt for breaking off the marriage treaty. He aſſembled a conſiderable number of forces, in order to wreſt the young queen from the hands of the regent; who being unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. This important point being gained, the queen and the cardinal, who had now no farther occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Lenox, deſired Francis to recall him: but the earl, informed of their deſign, withdrew to his caſtle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh.

Henry, exaſperated at the behaviour of Francis, determined to join the emperor againſt him. He had, indeed, ſome grounds for complaint againſt that monarch, beſides his behaviour with regard to Scotland. He ſaid, that Francis had engaged to ſeparate himſelf entirely from the ſee of Rome, and had not performed his promiſe; and that he had refuſed to pay the ſums which were due to him. Theſe reaſons were ſufficient for Henry to abandon the alliance of Francis, and to conclude with the emperor an offenſive and defenſive league againſt France. A meſſage was now ſent to the French king, requiring him to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to make reparation for the damage the infidels had done in Chriſtendom. Francis refuſed the haughty demand, and a declaration of war was the immediate conſequence. Charles V. affected to conſider Francis as guilty of the greateſt crime, by having formed a league with the ſultan Solyman; though he ſhould have remembered, that his own ambitious projects had obliged him to court the friendſhip of the Turks.

An event happened about this time, which gave the Proteſtants ſome hopes of enjoying their religion unmoleſted. The king, on the twelfth of February, married Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer; a woman of great virtue and prudence, and well affected to the reformed religion. By this marriage Henry fulfilled the prophecy uttered in jeſt, that he would be obliged to eſpouſe a widow. But this event did not put an end to the perſecutions carried on againſt the reformers. A few days after the king's marriage, Anthony Perſonne, a prieſt; Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging-man; and Henry Fulmer, a taylor; were, at the inſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, burnt at Windſor, for reading the writings of the reformed. At the ſame time, the biſhop's own ſecretary was executed, for denying the king's ſupremacy.

The league formed between Charles and Henry threatened Francis with the loſs of his kingdom. The French monarch, therefore, took the field early, and was ſucceſsful. The duke of Cleves, an ally of Francis, opened the campaign with a victory over the Imperial forces; and Francis made himſelf maſter of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg, and afterwards of Landrecy. But Charles had no ſooner aſſembled his army in the Low Countries, than he took almoſt every caſtle in the dutchy of Cleves, and reduced the duke to ſubmit to very rigorous terms. He was ſoon after joined by ſix thouſand Engliſh, under the command of Sir John Wallop, and immediately inveſted the town of Landrecy. Francis, however, found means to throw ſuccours into the place; and the ſeaſon being far advanced, Charles was obliged to raiſe the ſiege: he, however, made himſelf ſome amends, by taking the city of Cambray.

A. D. 1544. The winter ſeaſon having put a period to military operations, Henry convoked a parliament, where the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth were reſtored to their right of ſucceſſion. But, what is very ſingular, Henry would not ſuffer the parliament to reverſe the ſtatute which declared them illegitimate. At the ſame time, he prevailed upon both houſes to inveſt him with a power of ſtill excluding them, whenever he might think proper. Two very ſingular acts were alſo paſſed this ſeſſion, and both, in the higheſt degree, diſhonourable. The firſt gave a full remiſſion to the king of the ſeveral debts he had lately incurred by a general loan exacted from his ſubjects; and even ordained, that thoſe of them who had already received payment, either in whole or in part, ſhould refund the ſums they had received to the exchequer. The other eſtabliſhed a new oath for the ſecurity of his eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions, and it was enacted, that all thoſe who had taken the former oaths to that purpoſe, ſhould be ſuppoſed to have taken the new one; an abſurdity which has, perhaps, no equal in parliamentary proceedings. Henry was, however, afraid of the uſual œconomy of the parliament, and would not expoſe himſelf to the mortification of a refuſal. But as his uſual prodigality had drained his treaſury, and as he was unable, without money, to proſecute his wars againſt France and Scotland, he exacted new loans from his ſubjects, levied a benevolence, and employed every expedient which the prerogative at that time allowed him.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, Henry ſent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near two hundred ſail, and had on board a body of ten thouſand men. Dudley, lord Liſle, commanded the navy, and the earl of Hertford the land forces. The troops were landed in the neighbourhood of Leith; and, after defeating a ſmall body that oppoſed their landing, they took that town, and thence advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which were ſoon forced; and the city, after being pillaged by the ſoldiers, was ſet on fire. The regent and the cardinal being in no condition to oppoſe ſo great a force, retired to Stirling. No oppoſition being made to the Engliſh, they continued their ravages, burnt Haddington and Dunbar, and retired into England, having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. This incurſion has been cenſured as ill-concerted: for it is ſaid, if Henry intended to ſollicit an alliance, he behaved with too much violence; and if he meant to make a conqueſt, he neglected to improve his ſucceſs. It may, however, be obſerved, that having, in conjunction with the emperor, formed the project of an invaſion of France, he was ſollicitous of employing his whole force on the continent.

The plan formed by theſe two powerful princes, was to invade France at the head of an army of above one hundred thouſand men; and it was agreed to march directly to Paris, without entering upon any ſiege, and thence proceed to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed, France would, in all probability, have been ruined; for Francis could not oppoſe to theſe formidable preparations above forty thouſand men. But fortunately for the French monarch, the emperor, at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field before Henry landed at Calais; and not to loſe time while he was waiting for his confederate, Charles ſat down before Luxembourg, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place. He thence proceeded to Cammercy on the Meuſe, which ſoon ſurrendered. Ligny met with the ſame fate; but St. Dezier on the Marne, which he next beſieged, made a brave reſiſtance, under the command of Sancerre, the governor.

While the emperor was employed in reducing theſe places, Henry landed at Calais at the head of thirty thouſand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the earls of Arundel, Oxford, and Surry; the lords St. John, Ferrers of Chartley, Montjoy, and Grey of Wilton; Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and a great number of the moſt opulent perſons in the kingdom. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe. Henry finding the emperor employed in taking places, imitated his example, and inveſted Montreuil and Boulogne. Theſe ſieges neceſſarily produced delays; and Charles finding the ſeaſon conſiderably advanced, and that the ſcheme for ſubduing France was likely to prove abortive, concluded a ſeparate peace with Francis. In conſequence of this treaty, the count de Buren withdrew his forces from the Engliſh army, and Henry was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil. He had, indeed, taken Boulogne; but this acquiſition was of little conſequence, when compared with the immenſe expence of his military preparations.

A. D. 1545. Francis, determined, if poſſible, to diſtreſs Henry, employed the whole winter in fitting out a fleet to invade the coaſts of England. They ſailed early in the month of July; and on the eighteenth, advanced towards the Engliſh fleet, then riding at St. Helens. Here a cannonade began, which laſted ſeveral hours, but with very little effect, the art of gunnery being then in its infancy, and the guns and tackle very ill adapted to the intended purpoſe. Finding their attempt to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhips abortive, they landed on the Iſle of Wight, where they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, till the militia of the country advanced againſt them, and drove them to their ſhips.

Henry now found it impoſſible to ſupport this expenſive war without having recourſe to his parliament, who granted him a ſmall ſubſidy. The clergy were more liberal; and it is remarkable, that during the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, greater ſums were always contributed by the church than the laity. Hence the emperor, when he was informed of the ſuppreſſion of the Engliſh monaſteries, and of Henry's profuſe donations of their revenues among his courtiers, is reported to have ſaid, "That he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs." But though the parliament were ſo remarkably tenacious of their own money, they were amazingly profuſe with regard to the ſubſtance of others. They now beſtowed upon Henry all the revenues of the univerſities, chapels, and hoſpitals; a liberality that regarded the property which ought, perhaps, in juſtice, to have been the laſt to have been diſpoſed of. The king, however, took care to inform the univerſities, that he meant not to encroach upon their endowments. Some idea may be formed of the proſtitution of this parliament by one of their ſtatutes, in which they acknowledge, that the king had been always, by the word of God, ſupreme head of the church of England: that the biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics, had no manner of juriſdiction, but by his royal mandate; and that he alone was inveſted with full authority to correct all manner of hereſies, errors, vices, and ſins. The king made a long and elaborate ſpeech to this parliament, in which he complained of the diſſentions that prevailed among his ſubjects with regard to religion. He told them, "That the ſeveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries againſt each other; where one preacher called another heretic and anabaptiſt, which was retaliated by the opprobrious terms of papiſt and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the uſe of the ſcriptures, not in order to furniſh them with matter for diſpute and railing, but that he might enable them to reform their conſciences, and inſtruct their children and families: that he was grieved to the heart to find how that precious jewel was proſtituted, by being introduced into the converſation of every alehouſe and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the ſpiritual and legal paſtors: and that he was ſorry to obſerve, that the word of God, while it was the object of ſo much anxious ſpeculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that though an imaginary knowledge ſo greatly abounded, charity was daily going to decay." Theſe obſervations were certainly juſt; but the example of the king, who encouraged ſpeculation and diſpute, was ill adapted to promote that charity and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the eſtabliſhed opinion he ſo ſtrongly recommended.

A. D. 1546. The ſubſidies voted by parliament enabled Henry to make new preparations for carrying the war into France; but an accident happened at the opening of the campaign, which gave very little hopes of ſucceſs to the Engliſh. The earl of Surry, who commanded the Engliſh forces in Boulogne, attempted to intercept a convoy of proviſions going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the French had built at the mouth of the port; but was obliged to return with ſome loſs, without effecting his purpoſe. This was followed by a more conſiderable defeat. The earl, not the leaſt intimidated by his late unſucceſsful attempt, attacked the Marſhal de Biez, who was conducting a much larger convoy. But Fortune again declared for the French: the Engliſh general was routed, with the loſs of about eight hundred men killed on the ſpot, and one hundred and twenty taken priſoners, among whom was Sir Edward Poynings.

Theſe misfortunes induced Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was neither violent nor perſonal, to think of liſtening to the terms which had been offered for a peace. He had ſufficiently gratified his capricious humour by the ſhort war he had carried on againſt his former ally; and having reaſon to apprehend, from his great increaſe in corpulency, and viſible decay of ſtrength, that his end was approaching, he was deſirous of finiſhing a quarrel which might prove dangerous to the kingdom during the minority of his ſon. Francis was ſtill more deſirous of a peace, and it was concluded on the following conditions:

"That the king of France ſhould pay regularly the penſion ſettled by former treaties.

"That Francis ſhould pay in eight years the ſum of two millions of golden crowns, in conſideration of the penſion, and the expence Henry had been at in reducing Boulogne."

"That the king of England ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Boulogne, together with its territories, till the whole debt was diſcharged.

"That when all the ſums ſhould be paid to Henry, Boulogne ſhould be reſtored to France, in the ſame condition as when taken by the Engliſh."

The emperor was included in this peace: and with regard to Scotland, Henry agreed, that it ſhould enjoy the ſame benefit, provided the Scots gave him no cauſe to make war upon them. Thus Henry terminated a war which had coſt him above one million three hundred and forty-three thouſand pounds ſterling; and all he acquired in return, was only a bad ſecurity for a debt which did not amount to one-third of the value. All Henry's expeditions were nearly of the ſame kind.

But neither experience nor reflection could cure Henry of the madneſs of introducing new ſyſtems of faith, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh an uniformity of opinion among all ranks of people. He had hitherto ſtrictly ordered divine ſervice to be performed in no other language than the Latin; but he now permitted the Litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and added to it one petition, "to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and from all his deteſtable enormities." Cranmer endeavoured to make ſtill farther innovations; and had probably ſucceeded, had not Gardiner, who was then at the court of the emperor, as ambaſſador from Henry, wrote to the king, informing him, that if he continued to carry his oppoſition againſt the Catholic religion any farther, the emperor would break off all commerce with him. About the ſame time, Cranmer loſt a ſincere, and one of his moſt powerful friends, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king. That nobleman was well affected to the Reformation, took every opportunity to ſupport its profeſſors, and had always maintained a cordial and ſteady friendſhip with the king. Henry was ſitting in council when he was informed of Suffolk's death, and dropped a tear to his memory; declaring at the ſame time, that during his whole life, he had never made any attempt to injure an adverſary, nor ever whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any perſon. Deprived of this ſincere and generous friend, Cranmer himſelf was expoſed to the cabals of the courtiers. His enemies, under the maſk of a zeal for orthodoxy, repreſented the primate as an encourager of hereſy. Henry ſaw their malice, and reproved them in the ſevereſt terms. He told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their envy and malevolence. Adding, that he was determined to cruſh all their cabals; and ſince gentle methods were in vain, to teach them, by the ſevereſt diſcipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice.

But though the primate himſelf was beyond the reach of his enemies, the ſpirit of perſecution was far from having ſubſided: the good and the virtuous ſtill felt the fiery hand of a bigotted zeal. Anne Aſcue, a young woman of great merit, who had entered into a ſtrict connection with the queen, was accuſed of having denied the real preſence in the ſacrament. Bonner drew from her a recantation; but ſhe qualified it in ſuch a manner as did not ſatisfy that furious prelate. She was therefore thrown into priſon; and her courage being rather rouſed than depreſſed by this ſeverity, ſhe wrote to the king, declaring, that with regard to the myſtery of the euchariſt, ſhe believed as much as Chriſt had revealed of it, and as much as the Catholic church required; but as ſhe preſumed to queſtion the king's explanation of this tenet, this declaration was conſidered as an inſult. The chancellor Wriotheſley, a perſon intoxicated with religious zeal, was ſent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies with whom ſhe had been intimate. But this ſcheme proved abortive: ſhe refuſed to diſcover any of her friends: and though ſhe was put to the torture in the moſt cruel manner, ſhe ſtill continued reſolute in preſerving an inviolable ſecrecy. She was immediately carried to the place of execution, and burnt alive, without having ſhewn the leaſt inclination to retract. Three other perſons ſuffered with her, and imitated her courage and conſtancy. All the arguments uſed by the biſhop of Saliſbury to prevail upon them to recant their errors, were urged in vain. They maintained their tenets in the midſt of the flames, and ſeemed to glory in their ſufferings.

The fidelity and ſecrecy of Anne Aſcue preſerved the queen, who had been her principal confidant; but ſhe ſoon after found herſelf in the utmoſt danger of falling a victim to the dogmatical zeal of her huſband. Henry, who was now very corpulent, and of a bad habit of body, was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, which threatened his life, and at the ſame time greatly increaſed that peeviſh and paſſionate temper to which he was always ſubject. The tenderneſs of Catherine was remarkable on this occaſion; ſhe attended him with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and uſed every method in her power to ſoothe his pains, and prevent thoſe dreadful guſts of humour ſo frequent and fatal in their conſequences. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catherine was frequently obliged to diſcuſs the more abſtruſe tenets of religion with him. Whether her arguments were too ſtrong for the king to anſwer, or whether ſhe inadvertently dropt ſome expreſſions that ſhewed ſhe was attached to the Lutheran principles, is not abſolutely known; but the king was highly provoked at her preſuming to differ from him in any theological ſpeculation. He even complained to Gardiner of the queen's obſtinacy; and that furious prelate, pleaſed at having

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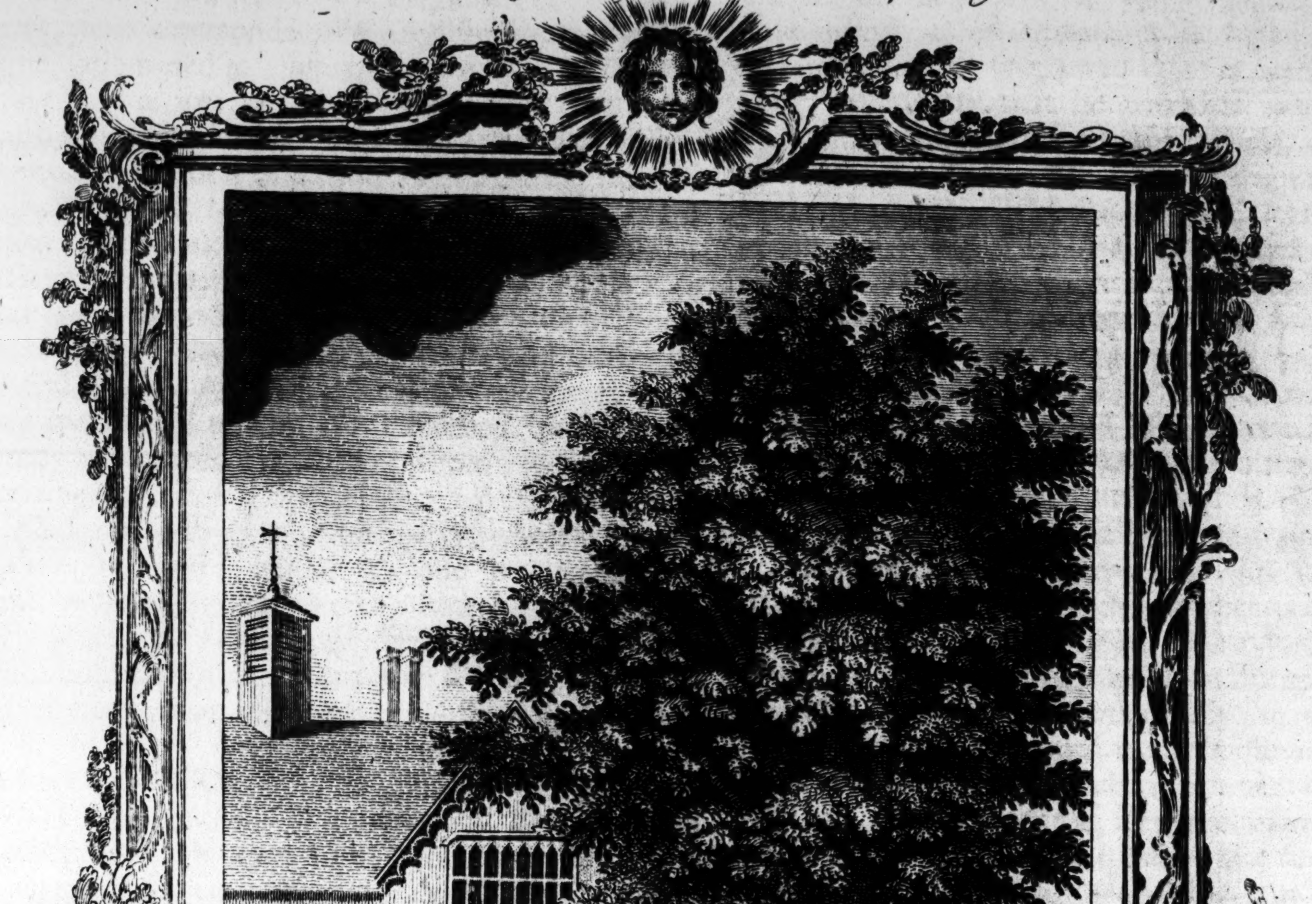
Wale del.
Walker sculp.

*Bishop Gardiner coming with a Guard to seize Catherine Parr,*
*Who was walking in the Garden with* HENRY VIII.

an opportunity of cruſhing the very head of the proteſtant party, perſuaded the king to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. The chancellor ſeconded the arguments of Gardiner, and ſoon after brought the articles to be ſigned. Fortunately for Catherine, the chancellor dropped the fatal paper, which was found by one of the queen's party, and immediately put into her hands. Senſible of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed, ſhe determined, if poſſible, to avert the ſtorm by prudence and diſcretion. She accordingly paid her uſual viſit to the king, whom ſhe found in a more ſerene diſpoſition than uſual. The converſation failed not to turn upon the ſubject of theology; and Henry challenged her to maintain her uſual arguments in divinity. Catherine told the king that ſuch profound ſpeculations were above her comprehenſion, and, in her opinion, very ill ſuited to the natural imbecillity of her ſex. She added, that though ſhe had often engaged in theſe ſpeculations, it was only to divert his pains, and profit by his inſtructions; that his elucidations had withdrawn the veil of obſcurity which ſhe had ſo long wiſhed to be removed, and to effect which ſhe had made uſe of arguments, though ſhe knew when ſhe urged them they were not concluſive. "And is it ſo ſweet-heart, replied Henry, then, by St. Mary, we are perfect friends again." At the ſame time he embraced her with great tenderneſs, and ſent her away with aſſurances of his kindneſs and protection.

The next day, while Henry and Catherine were walking in the palace garden, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who knew nothing of this reconciliation, appeared with forty of the purſuivants, to ſeize the queen, and commit her to the Tower. The king no ſooner ſaw the prelate approach, than he took him aſide, and was obſerved to ſpeak to him in a very angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed, eſpecially on overhearing the terms knave, fool, and beaſt frequently repeated. The prelate retired in great confuſion, and the queen generouſly interpoſed to mitigate the paſſion of the king, who replied, "Poor ſoul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour." The queen was very careful for the future not to offend the petulant humour of her huſband; and Gardiner was never able to recover the good opinion of the monarch.

A. D. 1547. This attempt of Gardiner and Wriotheſley exaſperated the king and the catholic party, and the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the earl of Surry, ſoon felt the weight of his reſentment. The duke of Norfolk was, by his birth, allied to the throne; and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a long ſeries of ſervices to the ſtate. He was uncle to two of Henry's queens, and always conſidered as the greateſt ſubject in the kingdom. He was an implacable enemy to the reformation, and had taken every opportunity to enforce the laws againſt them. The earl of Surry, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was a young nobleman of great merit, but of very little diſcretion. Hurried away by his ambition, and exaſperated by ſome affronts he had lately received, he very imprudently irritated the peeviſh humour of Henry by ſome menacing expreſſions; and the king, perſuaded that he entertained views of marrying the princeſs Mary, determined to prevent the great power of his family from becoming formidable to the government during his ſon's minority. Both Norfolk and Surry were accordingly arreſted, and ſent to the Tower. Surry was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians, who were ſuſpected to be ſpies ſent by his holineſs; and of carrying on a correſpondence with cardinal Pole, becauſe one of his domeſtics had paid a viſit to that prelate in Italy: and becauſe the earl quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor upon his eſcutcheon, he was ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown; though it was well known that both himſelf and his anceſtors had openly, during many years, and even by the approbation of the heralds, maintained that practice. But however frivolous theſe accuſations may now appear, they were then thought ſufficient to find him guilty. He was condemned by the lord chancellor, who preſided at his trial, and beheaded upon Tower-hill on the nineteenth of January.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was ſtill more apparent, though his dutcheſs, and Elizabeth Holland his miſtreſs, gave information of all they knew againſt him. The greateſt crime of which he was accuſed was that of having ſaid, that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out a long time, and that the kingdom would fall into diſorders on account of the diverſity of religious opinions. Henry well knew, that all the accuſations he could alledge againſt him would not be ſufficient to find him guilty in a trial before his peers, and had therefore recourſe to the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. He ordered a bill of attainder to be preferred againſt him, and he was declared guilty of high-treaſon, without being heard in his own defence. Cranmer, though a friend to the Reformation, and well knew, that Norfolk was a ſworn enemy to all innovations in religion, refuſed to have any ſhare in a tranſaction that muſt reflect diſgrace on all that were concerned in it. He was therefore no ſooner informed that the commons had paſſed the bill, than he retired to his ſeat at Croydon, and appeared no more at court, till he was ſent for to aſſiſt the king in his laſt moments.

Though the attendants of Henry had for ſome time perceived that the hour of his diſſolution was at hand, no perſon had the courage to inform him of his dangerous ſituation. An act had been paſſed in his reign, which rendered it capital for any perſon to foretel the king's death, leſt, in the violence of his paſſion, he ſhould cauſe the law, in all its rigour, to be executed on the author of ſuch friendly intelligence; eſpecially as his late treatment of the Howard family had demonſtrated his cruelty did not ſubſide as the ſprings of life decayed. At length Sir Anthony Lenny ventured to diſcloſe the fatal ſecret, and exhorted the king to prepare for that awful change which was ſo near at hand, as his legs were already mortified. Henry, contrary to all expectation, thanked him for the information, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but before the archbiſhop arrived, the king was ſpeechleſs. The prelate beſeeching the king to give him ſome ſign of his truſting in God, through the merits of our Redeemer, he ſqueezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately after expired, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

A few days before his death Henry had iſſued his royal mandate for the execution of the duke of Norfolk; but expired the night before the day appointed for that purpoſe; and it was thought improper to ſtain with blood the commencement of the new reign, eſpecially as the ſentence was conſidered as unjuſt and tyrannical.

The king, about a month before his death, had made his will, in which, purſuant to the power given him by the parliament, he had ſettled the ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the following manner: Firſt, upon the prince of Wales and his poſterity. Secondly, upon the children of his preſent queen, or thoſe of any future marriage he might contract. Thirdly, upon the princeſs Mary and her iſſue, but with this expreſs condition, that ſhe ſhould marry with the conſent of the executors of his will. Fourthly on the princeſs Elizabeth, with the ſame proviſo. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his ſiſter, the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, on the lady Eleanor Brandon, younger ſiſter to Frances. Laſtly, in failure of all theſe, upon the next lawful heir. By another clauſe in his will he named the following ſixteen executors: The archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the earl of Hertford, uncle to young Edward; the lord St. John; the lord Ruſſel; the lord viſcount Liſle; Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown; Sir Edward Montague; the chief-juſtice Bromley; Sir William Paget; Sir Anthony

Denny; Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Watton; and his brother Dr. Watton. To the lords who were his executors, he left five hundred marks, and to the commoners three hundred, and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but ſtrictly charged him to be ſubject to the advice of his council till he was eighteen years of age. He left three thouſand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thouſand pounds addition, as their whole fortune, if his executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thouſand pounds in plate and jewels, and a thouſand pounds in money. Another clauſe in his will ſufficiently ſuggeſted, that he was far from being ſettled with regard to his notions in religion: he left money for maſſes to be ſaid for delivering his ſoul from purgatory; and though he had deſtroyed all thoſe inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors and others, for the benefit of their ſouls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith he publiſhed during the latter years of his reign, yet he was determined to take care of the future repoſe of his own ſoul, by adhering to the ſafer ſide of the queſtion.

Perhaps a more difficult taſk cannot be impoſed upon an hiſtorian, than that of giving a ſummary of Henry's qualities. Lord Herbert very juſtly remarked, That his hiſtory is his beſt character and deſcription. He was abſolutely different and inconſiſtent with himſelf, in different periods of his life. While the natural modeſty of youth reſtrained the violence of his turbulent paſſions, his government was the admiration of foreigners; and he was almoſt adored by his people; but in his more advanced age, his conduct was entirely changed. He became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and ſo cruel, that he ſeemed to delight in ſhedding the blood of his ſubjects. The grand object of all his purſuits was the gratification of his own brutal appetites: to this he ſacrificed every obligation of juſtice, every dictate of conſcience, every feeling of humanity: the cruel fate of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn will fix an eternal mark of infamy on his character. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that with all his vices, follies, and imperfections, Henry poſſeſſed many great and agreeable qualities. He was not only liberal and indulgent to his court and family, but alſo to ſtrangers. He was at once a lover and encourager of the arts and ſciences, and his court was fuller of learned men than many of the univerſities; he made them his companions as well as his counſellors, and advanced them to the higheſt dignities both of church and ſtate. He was particularly careful of the education of his own children, and his authority induced the nobility to follow his example. The treatment he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his ſuperſtitious ſubjects, ſeemed to require the moſt extreme violence. He laid the foundation of Engliſh liberty by delivering the Engliſh church from her ſlaviſh and diſgraceful ſubjection to the ſee of Rome; though he was perhaps actuated more by his unruly paſſions, than by the motives of conſcience and religion. Foreign nations reſpected his power, his own ſubjects forgot his vices, and it is hiſtory only that regards him as a monſter.

Henry had the following iſſue. By his firſt wife, Catherine of Spain, he had two ſons and one daughter, viz.

Henry, born Jan. 1, 1511, and died on the twenty-ſeventh of February following.

Another ſon, who died ſoon after his birth, which happened the latter end of the year 1514.

Mary, born February the elventh, 1516, and who aſcended the throne on the death of her brother Edward.

By his ſecond wife, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth, and a male child ſtill-born.

By his third wife, Jane Seymour, he had a ſon named Edward, who ſucceeded him immediately in the throne.

He had no iſſue by his three laſt wives, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr.

By Elizabeth, widow of Sir Gilbert Taillebois, he had a natural ſon named Henry Fitz-Roy, created duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and afterwards made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The beauty of his perſon, the quickneſs of his parts, his expertneſs in all kinds of military exerciſes, his excellent diſpoſition, and the uncommon endowments of his mind, gained him the character of the fineſt youth of the age, and raiſed the expectations of the people very high in his favour. Theſe accompliſhments, the honours he had received, and the extraordinary fondneſs which Henry always expreſſed for him, occaſioned an opinion, that, in defect of legitimate male iſſue, the king would have found a way to raiſe this natural child to the throne. But whatever deſigns he had formed in his favour, they proved abortive by the death of this youth, which happened in the eighteenth year of his age.

Henry VIII. ſummoned ten parliaments, and twenty ſeſſions were held, though the whole time which they ſat during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The abſolute will of the king being the law of parliament, and the members being deſirous of returning as ſoon as poſſible to their country ſeats, buſineſs was ſoon diſpatched; a motion was made and generally carried without the leaſt oppoſition. Hence thes many abſurd and tyrannical laws, which multiplied crimes and puniſhments during the reign of Henry VIII. Had theſe, indeed, been ſtrictly executed, every man without exception muſt have been obnoxious to the penalty of high-treaſon. For example, it was treaſonable for any perſon to aſſert the validity of Henry's marriage either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn; and it was equally criminal to ſay any thing to the diſparagement of the princeſs Mary and Elizabeth, the deſcendants of thoſe marriages. Even a profound ſilence upon theſe topics might be dangerous; for when the marriages were declared illegitimate by ſtatute, it was alſo enacted, that whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was ſubject to the pains of death. In order, therefore, to find a perſon a traitor, it was only neceſſary to interrogate him concerning the legality of either of the king's former marriages. If he was ſilent, he was a traitor; and if he anſwered either in the negative or affirmitive, he was equally guilty. Thus the ſubjects were oppreſſed under the authority of laws, which ought to have been the guardians of their happineſs and ſecurity.

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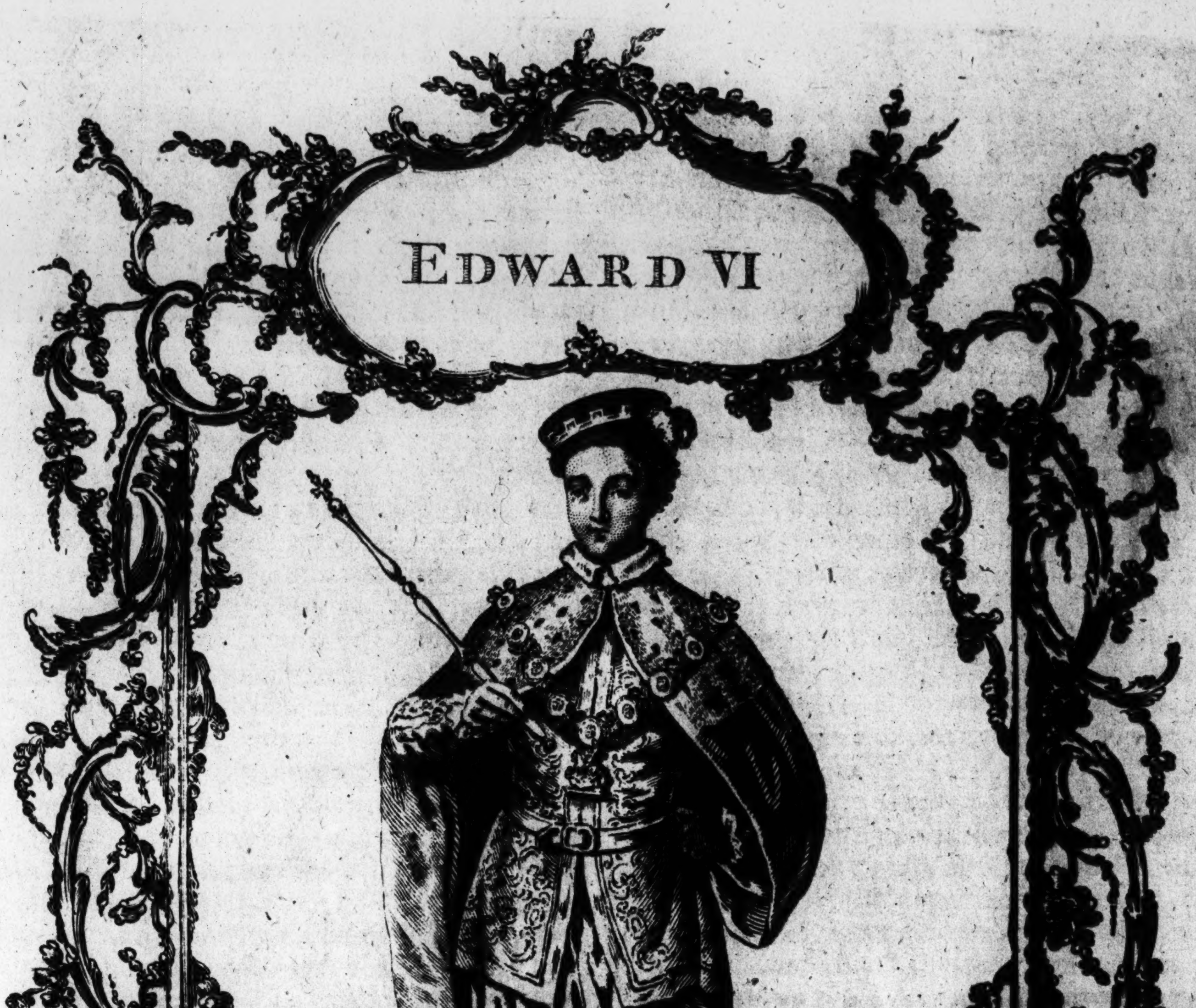

EDWARD VI
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

# E D W A R D VI.

A. D. 1547. THE late king was perſuaded that he had fixed the government, during the minority of his ſon, on ſo firm a baſis, that it could not be ſhaken. But he ſhould have remembered, that his power would ceaſe with his exiſtence; and that the commands of the moſt abſolute monarchs are diſregarded, when, by their deaths, they have ceaſed to inſpire terror. Accordingly, the regents had no ſooner ſettled the form of government agreeable to Henry's will, than a change was propoſed. It was obſerved, that it would be very troubleſome for the people, and particularly for foreign miniſters, to be obliged to apply to fourteen perſons of equal authority; and, to remove this difficulty, it was moved, that one ſhould be choſen as their preſident, with the title of protector of the king's realm, and governor of his perſon: but though he ſhould enjoy all the exterior ſymbols of the royal dignity, he ſhould yet be bound, in the exerciſe of power, to follow the opinion of the executors.

This change, however reaſonable, and even neceſſary, it might appear to the majority, was ſtrongly oppoſed by Wriotheſley the chancellor, a perſon at once very ambitious and very active. He had no ſuperior in the council, except the primate; and Cranmer having little inclination to mix in public affairs, he flattered himſelf that the chief direction of the buſineſs of the kingdom would fall into his hands. He ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, that they had no power to depart from the tenor of the late king's will, authoriſed by an act of parliament. His remonſtrances, however, had no effect on the council; they determined to chuſe a protector, in order the more effectually to provide for the public tranquillity. No difficulty occurred with regard to the perſon proper for this exalted ſtation. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, and the more intereſted in his preſervation, as he had himſelf no pretenſions to the crown, was appointed to fill this dignified ſtation, and immediately created duke of Somerſet. At the ſame time, the chancellor was created earl of Southampton. But this mark of favour was far from ſatisfying the ambition of that turbulent miniſter; he determined to oppoſe all the meaſures of the protector, and render him uneaſy in his high ſtation.

In order to this, he reſolved to devote his whole time to the affairs of the cabinet; and as his office of chancellor neceſſarily engroſſed a conſiderable part of his attention, he ventured, without any warrant from the king, protector, or regency, or any other authority than his own, to put the great ſeal in commiſſion; and appointed four lawyers to execute, in his abſence, the office of lord high chancellor of England. A meaſure ſo replete with arrogance and preſumption could not fail of giving umbrage to the government; and it was determined to ſuppreſs the haughty ſpirit of the ambitious chancellor. The judges being conſulted on this occaſion, declared, that the commiſſion he had granted was contrary to the laws of England; and that the earl of Southampton, for taking ſuch an unconſtitutional ſtep, had not only forfeited his high office, but alſo rendered himſelf obnoxious to the ſevereſt puniſhment. A council was now ſummoned, and the chancellor ordered to attend. But he was ſo far from making any ſubmiſſion, that he defended his own power in the moſt haughty manner, and with very indecent language. He called the authority of the council and protector in queſtion, and told them he would not ſubmit to any ſentence they might pronounce againſt him. He was therefore deprived of the ſeals, and committed a priſoner to his own houſe, where he continued till the twenty-ninth of June, when he entered into a recognizance of four thouſand pounds to pay whatever fine they ſhould think proper to impoſe upon him. The Catholic party loſt a powerful friend by his removal; he was at once an able advocate, and a zealous defender of the Romiſh religion.

The fall of Southampton increaſed the ambition of the protector: he now thought himſelf at full liberty to engroſs the ſole management of the affairs of government. He accordingly procured a patent from the young king, by which he was enabled to overthrow all the appointments of Henry. It inveſted him, under the title of protector, with the whole regal authority. He appointed a council, conſiſting of all the former members, except Southampton; but he enjoyed the power of chuſing other counſellors, and to conſult with ſuch only as he thought proper. With this council he was enabled to execute any meaſure that might be thought ſerviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture, inflicted by any law, ſtatute, or ordinance, whatſoever. No reſiſtance was made to this uſurpation of power, though it was ſufficiently evident that the protector was, in effect, abſolute maſter of the kingdom. Perhaps the people, habituated by cuſtom to the tyrannical government of Henry, might prefer a ſingle perſon to a council of regency, and think the public tranquillity would be much better ſecured by the excluſion of parties from the government.

While the Engliſh were thus employed in ſettling the government, Francis I. king of France, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by Henry II. a prince of vigour and ability, but leſs ready in his reſolutions than his predeceſſor, and leſs enflamed with animoſity againſt the emperor Charles V. He was, in a great meaſure, governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen-dowager of Scotland; and being zealous champions for the papal authority, and the Roman Catholic religion, they determined to prevent the intended marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. Accordingly they perſuaded Henry to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and to reject the late treaties which had been concluded with Henry by Francis I. This perfidious behaviour did not, however, intimidate the protector: he determined, if poſſible, to execute the dying injunctions of his late maſter, relative to the marriage between thoſe infant ſovereigns, and by that means unite the two kingdoms. But before he proceeded to carry this deſign into execution, he thought it neceſſary to provide for the tranquillity of the public, and place the Reformation on ſo firm a baſis, that it might be able to baffle all the attempts of its open and concealed enemies.

The attachment of Somerſet to the reformed religion was open and declared. Young Edward had imbibed the ſame principles. Many of the counſellors having profited by the deſtruction of the monaſteries, were now diſpoſed to plunder the ſecular clergy; and others were animated againſt them by the prejudices of opinion, rather than the proſpect of intereſt. Cranmer, who was a Proteſtant as well as the protector, being conſulted on the ſubject of advancing the reformation, recommended moderate meaſures. He obſerved, that it would be very dangerous to introduce a change of religion by violence and perſecution; that reaſon rather than force was the proper inſtrument for convincing mankind of their errors; and that the people ſhould be conducted to a change in religion by gradual and inſenſible innovations. He was alſo deſirous of letting the enthuſiaſm of the reformers grow weaker by time; becauſe the fervors of a new ſect always lead to ſuperſtition, and to a devotion too pure and ſpiritual to be adopted. The primate had already procured ſeveral of the beſt books written by the German divines againſt popery, to be tranſlated and publiſhed in England. The queen dowager, Catherine Parr, not only aſſiſted in publiſhing, but tranſlated great part of the paraphraſe of Eraſmus on the New Teſtament.

Cranmer's plan was readily adopted; and the protector, by virtue of a proclamation, to which the parliament had given the force of a law, ſuſpended, for a time, the exerciſe of the epiſcopal power, and appointed a general viſitation to be made of all the dioceſes in England. But thoſe who were charged with this duty were enjoined to proceed with the greateſt caution and prudence. The viſitors conſiſted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had ſix circuits aſſigned them. They were enjoined to correct immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, wherever they were found; to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, and to bring the diſcipline and worſhip ſomewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. At the ſame time they were enjoined to retain, for the preſent, all images which had not been abuſed to idolatry; and to inſtruct the people not to deſpiſe ſuch ceremonies as were not yet abrogated; ſome particular ſuperſtitions only were to be retrenched, ſuch as the ſprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or uſing of bleſſed candles, in order to drive away the devil. By purſuing ſuch gentle methods the reformation proceeded without tumult or confuſion; the people were convinced of their errors without being ſeized with the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; and parted gradually with their ancient ſuperſtitious practices, without throwing the government into convulſions. This viſitation was the firſt attempt to execute the deſign already formed for completing the reformation, which was only begun in the preceding reign.

The greateſt difficulty experienced by the viſitors, conſiſted in correcting the zeal of the catholic preachers, among whom were ſeveral old monks, who inveighed with all the force of bigotted and diſappointed zeal againſt the reformation. Orders were therefore iſſued to reſtrain them in the topics of their ſermons: twelve homilies were publiſhed, which they were enjoined to read to the people; and they were prohibited from preaching any where but in their own pariſh churches. In the mean time the proteſtant divines enjoyed an unbounded liberty by virtue of ſpecial licences, which were eaſily obtained. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtrongly oppoſed theſe innovations, and particularly the homilies, which he repreſented as very improper, becauſe the delicate and myſterious points of juſtification and grace, were defined with the moſt metaphyſical preciſion. The knowledge of theſe tenets he aſſerted to be far above the comprehenſion of the vulgar, and therefore ſuperfluous to the generality of Chriſtians. One of the Calviniſtical writers is very angry with Gardiner for this oppoſition; he calls him "an inſenſible aſs, and one that had no feeling of God's ſpirit in the work of juſtification." It was a general opinion at this time, among the proteſtants, that they could penetrate into the depths of theſe profound myſteries; and therefore entertained a ſovereign contempt for all who confeſſed their ignorance of them. But though Gardiner oppoſed the homilies in particular, his objections were not ſolely confined to them: he remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the great imprudence of making perpetual innovations, and on the neceſſity of adhering to ſome ſyſtem. "'Tis a dangerous thing, ſaid he, to uſe too much freedom, in reſearches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to flow farther than you intended. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a ſtop to the people's demands, nor govern their indiſcretions at pleaſure." His remonſtrances had, however, no effect, the viſitors proceeded with great prudence in demoliſhing the ancient ſuperſtitions.

The whole attention of the protector was now turned towards proſecuting the war with Scotland. He aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, and the other loaded with ammunition and proviſions. The command of the fleet was given to lord Clinton; while he himſelf, aſſiſted by the earl of Warwick, lead the land forces. Alarmed at this powerful armament, the French ambaſſador applied, by orders from his court, to the regency, deſiring that a negotiation might be opened, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore peace between the two kingdoms, without the effuſion of human blood. The requeſt was complied with, and Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Rowe, were appointed to meet the Scottiſh commiſſaries at Newcaſtle, where the conferences were opened on the fourth of Auguſt. But the Engliſh plenipotentiaries refuſing to proceed in the negotiation, unleſs the marriage between the two ſovereigns was previouſly ſettled, and the Scottiſh commiſſioners declaring they had no power to conſent to the marriage, the negotiations became abortive, and the protector entered Scotland on the ſecond of September.

But before he commenced hoſtilities he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he recapitulated the reaſons that induced the Engliſh to have recourſe to arms, and urged, by a variety of arguments, the expediency and even neceſſity of the marriage of the young queen of Scots and Edward being immediately concluded. Theſe arguments were drawn from the ſituation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by ſurrounding them by the ocean, ſeemed to have deſigned for one empire; from the ſimiliarity of the inhabitants in their laws, language, cuſtoms, and manners, whereby they were naturally adapted to be united, and to become one people; from the equality of the young king and queen, with regard to age and fortune; from the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually expoſed from the hoſtile attempts of a richer and moſt powerful neighbour; and from the many advantages that muſt reſult to the inhabitants of both kingdoms from living in a ſtate of peace and ſecurity. The protector added, that excluſive of theſe conſiderations, poſitive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform, what their intereſt and ſafety ſo ſtrongly demanded.

This manifeſto, however, produced not the intended effect: all the protector's remonſtrances were rendered abortive, by the arts and intrigues of the queen dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the intereſt of France, and the Roman catholic religion. Somerſet therefore found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to arms, in order to compel the Scots to adopt a meaſure which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace. He accordingly continued his march towards Edinburgh without meeting with any oppoſition, except from a few caſtles, which were eaſily reduced.

The Scottiſh government had not, however, been idle; the earl of Arran had collected the whole force of the kingdom, and his army, which was double to that of the Engliſh in numbers, had taken poſt at Muſſelburgh, on a very advantageous ſpot of ground, ſecured by the banks of the river Eſke, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; while the Engliſh lay encamped at Preſton-Pans. In this ſituation ſeveral ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the light troops of each army, but without any thing deciſive; and Somerſet, finding it impoſſible to draw the Scots to an engagement

ment, and fearing he ſhould ſoon be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſent an herald to Arran, offering to abandon his enterprize, and to pay all the damages the Scots had ſuffered from his troops, provided he would give his promiſe, that the young queen ſhould not be given in marriage to any foreign prince, till ſhe reached the age of chuſing a huſband for herſelf. Theſe moderate terms induced the Scots to imagine that the Engliſh were intimidated, and that, if the enemy was attacked, the victory would be certain. The prieſts and monks, who had come to the camp in great numbers, laboured aſſiduouſly to propagate this opinion; adding, that they had now an opportunity of inflicting vengeance on their heretical enemy. A movement made by the Engliſh towards their ſhips, confirmed them in this opinion; and that the protector was going to embark his forces. Elated with this idea, and determined to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, croſſed the river Eſke, and advanced, with great precipitation, into the plain, where the Scottiſh regent drew up his army in three diviſions: the firſt, which conſiſted of the beſt troops, was commanded by the earl of Angus; the ſecond by the regent himſelf; and the third by the earl of Huntley. The earl of Argyle headed a body of Highland archers, who formed a guard to the artillery.

The protector was greatly pleaſed when he ſaw the Scots leave their advantageous camp; as he ſhould now have an opportunity of bringing on a deciſive action. He drew up his troops in two lines; the earl of Warwick commanded the firſt, and the protector himſelf the ſecond. The lord Grey of Wilton lead a reſerved body of cavalry, and had orders to fall upon the flank of the van of the Scottiſh army, as ſoon as they were engaged in cloſe fight with the firſt line of the Engliſh.

Such was the diſpoſition of both armies, when the Scots advanced to the charge; but a dreadful fire from the cannon of the ſhips threw the Highland archers into great confuſion, and even the whole van began to ſtagger. Lord Grey perceived the ſituation of the enemy, and could not reſiſt the opportunity of attacking them before they recovered from their ſurprize. But he ſoon perceived he had acted with too much precipitation. The ſpot occupied by the enemy was fallow land, broken ridges, and ſeparated from him by a ſlough and a ditch. Theſe impediments rendered the ſhock of his body of horſe feeble and irregular; and the Scottiſh infantry ſtanding firm, he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; he himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; lord Edward Seymour, ſon to the protector, was unhorſed; and the Engliſh ſtandard in danger of being taken. But the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerſet advanced with ſo much celerity to ſupport the Engliſh horſe, that they ſoon formed behind the infantry, and the battle now became general. The Engliſh artillery, planted on a neighbouring eminence, played full on one of their flanks, while the cannon of the ſhips galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with ſo much fury, that their firſt line gave way, and an orderly retreat was begun: but the Highland archers betaking themſelves to flight, ſpread a panic through the whole army; the retreat was changed into a precipitate flight, and the whole became one general ſcene of confuſion, terror, and conſternation. The braveſt of the Scots were put to the ſword, and the route and ſlaughter became ſo general, that from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the whole ground was covered with the dying and the dead. The prieſts and monks received no quarter, for having engaged in an enterprize ſo foreign to their profeſſion. Few victories have been more deciſive or more complete. Above ten thouſand periſhed in the engagement and purſuit, and about fifteen hundred ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The Engliſh loſt not more than two hundred men. This action: which is known in hiſtory by the name of the Battle of Pinkey; from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood, ſeemed to have put a period to oppoſition, and deſtroyed for ever the French intereſt in Scotland.

The regent fled with the queen dowager to Sterling-caſtle, and the Scottiſh army was ſo entirely diſſipated, that Arran found the utmoſt difficulty of checking the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. The protector marched directly to Leith, which made no oppoſition; but he failed in his attempt againſt Edinburgh caſtle. He, however, plundered the town; while the fleet under lord Clinton, burnt all the places on the ſea coaſts, and took all the ſhipping in the frith of Forth. Had the duke purſued all the advantages of his late victory, he might have given law to the conquered. But a cabal having been raiſed againſt him at London, he haſtened his return, leaving Warwick with full powers to negociate a treaty with Arran, who had deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners for that purpoſe. The latter, however, meant only to gain time till ſuccours could arrive from France; and accordingly no Scottiſh commiſſioners appeared at the place appointed for the conferences.

When the protector arrived at London, he found that his brother Thomas, who had married Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, and had lately been created lord high-admiral of England, was become his greateſt oppoſer. He had not only joined in the cabals of his enemies, but alſo made ſeveral vigorous efforts to ſupplant him in the high poſt he enjoyed. He had already gained ſuch an aſcendancy over Edward, that he had perſuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the houſe of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's perſon. Though this attempt ſtruck at the foundation of the protector's greatneſs, he ſtill endeavoured to reclaim his brother by gentle and munificent methods; but finding he was ſtill determined to purſue his ſcheme, Somerſet found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, as the only authority that could ſupport him againſt the machinations of his brother.

But before the ſeſſion was opened he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and which he propoſed to lay before the houſe at the meeting of the parliament. The council were alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſeveral lords were deputed to diſſuade the admiral from purſuing a ſcheme which might involve the government in diſtreſs, and ultimately terminate in his own deſtruction. But he continued firm to his purpoſe, till the council threatened to deprive him of all his poſts, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the ſtatute which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe menaces awakened his attention; he ſaw the conſequences that might reſult from his diſobeying the council, and thought proper to abandon his enterprize; but he was never thoroughly reconciled to his brother.

The late victory over the Scots had greatly raiſed the reputation of the protector, who now obtained a patent, appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench, on the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges which had uſually been poſſeſſed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the kings of England. Theſe honours were invidious to the old nobility, and created the duke many powerful enemies. But if the protector diſcovered his vanity and weakneſs in aſſuming ſo much ſtate and grandeur, he merited the higheſt applauſe on account of the laws, enacted through his influence in this ſeſſion of parliament; for by theſe the rigour of former ſtatutes was greatly mitigated, and ſome ſteps taken for ſecuring the liberties of the people. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the limits aſſigned it by the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third; together with all laws enacted during the late reign, for extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt the Lollards or heretics; and the bloody ſtatute of the ſix articles: no perſon was to be accuſed of words but within a month after they were ſpoken. That ſtatute which gave the force of laws to the king's proclamations, was alſo repealed. Thus were ſome of the moſt ſevere laws ever enacted in England totally abrogated, and the people began to flatter themſelves with the hopes of enjoying ſome ſhare of religious and civil liberty. Hereſy, however, ſtill continued to be a capital crime, and puniſhable by fire. But as there now remained no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be aſcertained, it entirely depended upon the rigour or lenity of the judges.

Several laws were enacted, which greatly contributed to promote the Reformation. The cup was reſtored to the laity; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the king was inveſted with the power of creating biſhops, without any election of the chapter; and all proceſſes in the biſhops courts, thoſe of Canterbury excepted, were to be carried on in the king's name, and ſealed by his ſeal, as in the courts of common law. But the moſt remarkable bill paſſed by this parliament, was that which gave the revenues of chauntries and colleges to the crown. The preamble to this ſtatute premiſes, that theſe funds ſhould be employed to good and godly uſes, in erecting grammar ſchools, in farther augmenting the revenues of the univerſities, and in making better proviſion for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courtiers had already, in their imaginations, devoured the prey; and it was not long before it was ſhared out among them. Cranmer, and ſeveral other prelates, were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of tythes, and other methods of alienation, were already too much reduced. The primate, therefore, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, and was joined by the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter: but notwithſtanding this oppoſition, it was paſſed into a law. By this act no fewer than two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chauntries, colleges, and other religious foundations, fell to the crown.

A. D. 1548. Several alterations were now made in the ceremonies of the church. which increaſed the diſcontents of the Catholics. Orders were iſſued that candles ſhould not be carried about upon Candlemas-day, nor aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, nor palms on Palm-Sunday; that no images ſhould be ſuffered to remain in the churches; that auricular confeſſion ſhould be left free, and conſidered as indifferent. Theſe particulars ſtruck at the root of the Catholic religion; but ſtill the progreſs of the Reformation was greatly obſtructed among the people, by the ſermons delivered by the clergy of oppoſite ſentiments. Several attempts were made to remove this inconvenience; but theſe proving ineffectual, a total ſilence was impoſed upon all preachers in general, which put an end to all the polemics of the pulpit. But this reſtraint, from the very nature of things, could only be temporal. The protector reflected not, that in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip were retrenched, the people became the more deſirous of ſermons, which alone could ſupply the place of ſenſible objects. The Proteſtants in particular, who were fond of being addreſſed from the pulpit, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this injunction; and it was thought expedient to eſtabliſh a practice, which ſeems eſſentially connected with the very ſpirit of Chriſtianity.

Several of the Catholic party oppoſed theſe alterations in religion with all their power. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was at the head of this oppoſition, and defended his opinions with great boldneſs before the council. He laid before them the reaſons on which his oppoſition was founded with all the force of eloquence; and concluded his ſpeech in the following manner: "For my part, my ſole concern is to manage the third and laſt act of my life with decency, and to make a handſome exit off the ſtage. Provided this point is ſecured, I am not ſollicitous about the reſt. I am already, by nature, condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this ſentence, nor ſo much as procure me a reprieve. To ſpeak my mind freely, and to act as my conſcience directs me, are two branches of liberty I can never part with. Sincerity in ſpeech and integrity in action are entertaining qualities; they will ſtick by a man when every thing elſe takes its leave, and I muſt not reſign them upon any conſideration. The beſt of it is, if I do not throw them away myſelf, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myſelf, and deſerve to loſe all my preferments." This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was committed to the Tower; an act of ſeverity which intimidated the Popiſh party, and no farther oppoſition was made to the new ordinances.

The Scots having ſent no commiſſioners to the conferences for a peace, the war was renewed, but without force or vigour. Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, was ſent into Scotland, to command the Engliſh forces, in the character of lieutenant-general. In the mean time, the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which made him maſter of the moſt fruitful part of Scotland, and whence he made excurſions to the very gates of Edinburgh. The Scots were in no condition to oppoſe the Engliſh, till the ſuccours from France landed at Leith about the beginning of June.

Theſe troops, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, under the command of Deſſé, revived the courage of the Scots, and the ſiege of Haddington was immediately undertaken. The Scots, who were only formidable in a deſultory war, were very unfit for this undertaking: even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they deſpaired of taking the place by aſſault, and depended entirely for ſucceſs upon the hopes of ſtarving the garriſon. They, however, repulſed ſeveral ſallies made by the beſieged, and ſhut them up cloſely within their fortifications.

While the army was employed in the ſiege of Haddington, the parliament were deliberating on the moſt proper method of preventing their young queen from falling into the hands of the Engliſh, as her marriage with Edward muſt be productive of an union between the two kingdoms. The earl of Huntley, who at firſt was diſpoſed to favour the propoſal of Somerſet, but had changed his opinion by the late violent meaſures purſued by the Engliſh, ſaid pleaſantly, "That he was not averſe to the match, but that he diſliked the manner in which the princeſs was courted." Several weighty reaſons were, however, urged, both for and againſt the marriage; but at laſt it was determined to ſend their young queen to France; and, what was underſtood to be the neceſſary conſequence, to marry her to the dauphin. She was accordingly embarked on board the French gallies, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived ſafely at Breſt; whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin. This event was a fatal blow to the projects of the protector, who now ſaw, that the marriage he was ſo deſirous of completing was now impoſſible.

The ſiege of Haddington was ſtill continued; and the Scots had the good fortune to ſurpriſe and cut off a party ſent to its relief, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer. But on the approach of the earl of Shrewſbury, at the head of twenty-two thouſand men, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired with great precipitation. Shrewſbury, however, made no attempt to diſtreſs the enemy; he contented himſelf with reinforcing the garriſon, and leaving a large ſupply of proviſions and ammunition in the place. This was effected without the leaſt oppoſition, and the earl immediately returned to England.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the protector was indefatigable in completing the

Reformation. The public offices of the church were reviewed, a new catechiſm was publiſhed by Cranmer, and a new liturgy was received by the convocation, though not without a long and ſtrenuous debate. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of November, and confirmed all the orders of council iſſued for the reformation of religion. Prieſts were permitted to marry, though the preamble to the act paſſed for that purpoſe expreſsly declared, that it were better for the prieſts and miniſters of the church to live chaſte, and without marriage; and it were much to be wiſhed they would of themſelves abſtain. The new liturgy, drawn up by a ſelect committee of biſhops and divines, was confirmed, and ordered to be uſed in all churches and chapels in the kingdom. This liturgy was nearly the ſame with that at preſent uſed in the Church of England.

But the attention of the protector was now diverted from promoting the progreſs of the Reformation. His brother had renewed his former practices, and carried them to a much greater length. The queen-dowager, his wife, had ſome time ſince died in child-bed; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth, who was then in her ſixteenth year, and ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man poſſeſſed of every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from the ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded, that he propoſed to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. He endeavoured to ſeduce the young king and the courtiers into his intereſt; he inveighed openly againſt his brother's adminiſtration; and he drew to him a great number of partizans from all the claſſes of the people. He could depend upon the attachment of ten thouſand of his ſervants and retainers, and had provided arms for their uſe.

A. D. 1549. The protector, informed of theſe particulars, attempted to bring him back to his duty and allegiance by gentle methods; but his attempts were in vain; he rejected every offer, and ſet his brother at defiance. Somerſet now laid the whole affair before the council; and a charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up againſt him, and he was committed to the Tower. Dudley, earl of Warwick, ſon to the obnoxious miniſter of Henry VIII. was a perſon of great talents, which qualified him to ſhine both in the cabinet and the field. But all his virtues were obſcured by ſtill greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an inſatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of juſtice. Warwick happening to riſe to eminence on the ruin of the two brothers, determined to widen the breach between them; and engaged Somerſet to proceed with the utmoſt violence againſt his brother, lord Seymour. Commiſſioners were now ſent to interrogate him in priſon; but he refuſed to anſwer the captious queſtions that were put to him; deſired that his trial might proceed in the legal method; that the witneſſes might be confronted with him, and that the heads of his accuſation ſhould be laid before him. Theſe demands, however reaſonable in themſelves, were denied; the laws had long ſince yielded to force, and it was in vain to expect that the method of proceeding would now be altered. A bill of attainder was preferred againſt him, and paſſed without any material oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords. The Commons were more ſcrupulous: ſome of the members objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder paſſed in the abſence of the accuſed; and required that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. This oppoſition alarmed the miniſtry. A meſſage was ſent from the king, requiring them to proceed; and offering, that the ſame narratives which had ſatisfied the lords ſhould be laid before them. This conceſſion produced the deſired effect; the bill paſſed in a very full houſe: near four hundred voted for it, and not above nine or ten againſt it. The royal aſſent was ſoon after given to the bill, and the admiral was beheaded. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was very undaunted; and he perſiſted, with his laſt breath, in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended to commit, any act of treaſon againſt the government. The protector was greatly blamed for proceeding in this manner againſt his brother, and denying to grant him a fair and impartial trial. But arbitrary judgments were become ſo common, that it is ſomething ſingular that the leaſt ſhadow of evidence ſhould be ſought for to juſtify the condemnation of thoſe who oppoſed either the court or the miniſter.

The new liturgy, though received and approved of by all that wiſhed well to the Reformation, yet met with very great oppoſition from the Catholic party. They were unwilling to abandon the tenets of their ancient religion, and exerted their whole intereſt to raiſe diſturbances in the nation. A great variety of opinions prevailed, and all attempts to reduce them to an uniformity were frivolous and vain. The government appointed commiſſioners to enquire after and examine the enemies to the new ritual; and if theſe were obſtinate, and refuſed to be converted, they were ordered to be delivered over to the ſecular arm, and puniſhed for their opinions. Several were proſecuted for their hereſy, but the greater part of them recanted, and were pardoned. A woman, named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who denied the incarnation of Chriſt, perſevered in her error, and was condemned to the flames. Cranmer, though of a mild diſpoſition, thought it neceſſary to puniſh her; and having engaged Edward to ſign her ſentence, the young monarch told him, with tears in his eyes, that if any wrong was done, the guilt ſhould be entirely on his head. Cranmer uſed every argument to reform the woman; but finding all his attempts abortive, he ſuffered the ſentence to be executed, and ſhe periſhed in the flames. Soon after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, was condemned for having embraced the hereſy of Arius, and ſuffered with ſo much reſolution and fanatical zeal, that he embraced with tranſport the faggots which conſumed him. But theſe ſeverities were ill calculated for removing the evil; they tended rather to increaſe than exterminate hereſy. They produced, however, a temporary effect; a conformity to the new liturgy was eſtabliſhed, and the murmurs againſt the late innovations ſeemed to be lulled aſleep on the couch of forgetfulneſs. The princeſs Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and abſolutely refuſed to admit the reformed modes of worſhip.

During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, an act had paſſed the Houſe of Lords, for giving licence to every perſon to incloſe his own grounds, but had been thrown out by the Commons. Irritated at this oppoſition, the nobility determined to carry the project into execution, notwithſtanding their bill had proved abortive in parliament. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent among the lower claſs of people, who were perſuaded that a ſcheme was now formed for reducing them to an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery. Extreme indigence, to which they had been reduced by various cauſes, contributed to ſpread the flame of civil commotion into divers parts of the kingdom. The ſuppreſſion of the abbies and monaſteries, though doubtleſs of the utmoſt advantage to the nation in general, tended greatly to promote the oppreſſion of the poor and indigent. It not only deprived the idle of a reſource, but the peaſant and the farmer loſt a ſure market for the fruits of their labour. Beſides, the nobility, who were now become the owners of the church-lands, not only raiſed the rents of the farms, but alſo diſtreſſed the tenants by every method that avarice could invent. The woollen manufacture was carried to a great height in the Netherlands; and the large quantity of bullion imported from America, enabled the grandees of Spain to purchaſe the fineſt pieces of their cloth at very high prices. Hence the Engliſh wool found a ſure and advantageous market among the Flemings. The natural conſequence of this was, that the nobility turned their farms into paſture lands, and agriculture, which required the labours, and therefore afforded ſubſiſtence, to the huſbandmen, was neglected. Hence the tenants and labourers were conſidered as a burden; and a multitude of people were reduced to beggary. The poorer claſſes of men could neither maintain their cattle nor themſelves. What contributed ſtill farther to oppreſs them, was the adulteration of the coin, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. and continued by Somerſet to anſwer the neceſſities of the ſtate. In conſequence of this impolitic meaſure, the good coin was either hoarded up or exported; baſe metal only circulated, and the poor became unable to provide bread for their families. An alarming ſtagnation of commerce took place, and the loudeſt complaints reſounded from every part of England.

The protector, dreading the conſequences of this univerſal diſcontent, exerted himſelf to quiet the minds of the people. He publiſhed a pardon, even after the inſurgents had committed overt-acts of rebellion, and appointed commiſſioners to enquire into and redreſs their grievances. In conſequence of this, many of the incloſures were thrown down, and the nobility were exaſperated againſt the protector, while the people received very little mitigation of their ſufferings. The evil was of too complicated a nature to be eaſily redreſſed. The inhabitants of almoſt every county of England gave indications of their being ready to take up arms, and procure by open violence the neceſſaries of life, which they could not obtain by their labour. In Devonſhire and Norfolk, the ſpirit of rebellion threatened the moſt fatal conſequences.

A prieſt of Stamford-Courtney, had the addreſs to give the diſturbances in the weſt of England, a religious turn, and fed the flame of diſcontent by every artifice which a miſguided zeal could inſpire. This artful change of the ſubject from temporal to religious objects, increaſed the number of the inſurgents, and many of the gentry, particularly Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, joined the populace. They were now formed into a kind of regular army, amounting to near ten thouſand men. Lord Ruſſel, who commanded a ſmall body of forces in Devonſhire, being unable to meet the rebels in the field, had recourſe to negotiation. But they inſiſted on the moſt extravagant articles, declaring that they would never lay down their arms till they were granted. They demanded, that all the general councils and ancient canons of the church ſhould be obſerved: that the law of the ſix articles ſhould be executed: that the maſs ſhould be ſaid in latin, and the prieſt alone receive the euchariſt: that the hoſt ſhould be elevated and worſhipped, and that thoſe who refuſed to perform that adoration ſhould ſuffer as heretics: that the ſacrament ſhould be only adminiſtered to the people at Eaſter, in one kind: that baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered at all times, and at any ſeaſons: that holy bread, holy water, and palms, ſhould again be uſed, and all the images reſtored, together with all the ancient ceremonies: that the new liturgy ſhould be laid aſide, and both the old offices and the proceſſions, be reſtored: that all preachers before their ſermons, and prieſts in their celebrating maſs, ſhould pray for the ſouls in purgatory: that the people ſhould be forbid to read the bible: that every gentleman ſhould be reſtrained from having more than one ſervant for every hundred marks of yearly income: and that half the abbey-lands ſhould be taken from the preſent poſſeſſors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbeys in each county.

Theſe demands were received by the regency with that contempt they deſerved; and as ſoon as the rebels found they were rejected, they determined to have recourſe to arms in order to force a compliance from the government. Accordingly they marched directly to Exeter, carrying before them croſſes, banners, holy water, candleſticks, and other implements of the ancient ſuperſtition; together with the hoſt, placed on a canopy. The ſiege of the city was formed on the ſecond of July; but as the rebels were wholly deſtitute of cannon, they were repulſed in every attempt to take the place by ſtorm. The citizens were, however, ſoon reduced to extremity; but they held out till they were relieved. The lord Grey having joined the lord Ruſſel with a conſiderable body of forces, they advanced againſt the rebels, who were totally routed. Many of the inſurgents were executed by martial law. Arundel, and the other leaders were ſent to London, where they ſuffered for their crimes. The prieſt of Stamford-Courtney was hanged on the top of his own tower, dreſſed in the popiſh robes of his order, and a chaplet of beads ſuſpended at his girdle.

But this defeat did not in the leaſt intimidate the rebels in Norfolk. They were headed by one Ket, a tanner, who exerciſed his authority with the utmoſt inſolence and outrage. They were more numerous than the weſtern rebels, their number being at leaſt twenty thouſand. Intoxicated with power, Ket made the moſt exhorbitant pretenſions. He demanded that the gentry ſhould be ſuppreſſed; that new counſellors ſhould be placed about the king; and that the ancient rites of religion ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. Theſe demands being rejected, the inſurgents marched to Norwich, and took poſt at Mouſhold-hill, which overlooks the city. Here Ket, who affected great auſterity, and regularity of conduct, erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation. Here he iſſued his ordinances, and committed a thouſand enormities, under pretence of redreſſing ſome abuſes.

Somerſet endeavoured to heal theſe diſorders by lenient methods; but the rebels having refuſed, with the moſt provoking inſolence, a pardon which was offered them, it was determined to reduce them by force. The marquis of Northampton was accordingly ſent againſt them, with about a thouſand Engliſh infantry, and a body of Italian horſe. But the marquis advancing to Norwich, contrary to his orders, his forces were routed with the loſs of about an hundred men, among whom was John lord Sheffield. This defeat alarmed the government, and the king propoſed to ſend Somerſet at the head of a powerful army, in order to cruſh the rebels before their numbers increaſed to a more formidable number. But the protector, who affected popularity, choſe not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels; but diſpatched the earl of Warwick, at the head of ſix thouſand men levied for carrying on the war againſt Scotland. Warwick marched with the utmoſt expedition, and came up with the inſurgents at Duſſingale. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the rebels were totally defeated, and above two thouſand of them ſlain on the ſpot. Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich caſtle, his brother on the top of Windham ſteeple, and nine of his principal followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation. This defeat intimidated the rebels of Yorkſhire, where a conſiderable party were already in arms. The ſucceſs of Ket had animated them to purſue the ſame meaſures for obtaining redreſs of their grievances; and his defeat ſtruck them with deſpair: they threw down their arms and obtained a pardon.

But though the royal authority acquired ſtrength by the ſuppreſſion of theſe rebellions, they proved very detrimental to the king's affairs in foreign countries. The forces deſtined for Scotland were detained in England; and M. de Thermes landing there with freſh ſuccours from France, he had leiſure to reduce the diſtracted ſtate of that unhappy country to ſome order. He took the caſtle of Boughtry, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Haddington, however, held out againſt all his efforts, and it was determined to reduce the place by famine. But this was not eaſily effected, ſupplies were continually thrown into the place during the ſummer, ſo that all his efforts proved abortive. At laſt winter effected what his whole power could not perform. The inclemency of the weather was an obſtacle not to be ſurmounted by the Engliſh. The earl of Rutland, warden of the Eaſt Marches, received orders to diſmantle the place. He accordingly marched thither at the head of a ſtrong body of forces, demoliſhed the fortifications, and brought off the garriſon. Nothing was now left to the Engliſh of all their conqueſts in Scotland, except the caſtles of Lauder, Douglas, Eymouth, and Roxburgh.

Nor were theſe all the ill conſequences that reſulted from the late commotions. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the inteſtine troubles of England, made an effort to execute his favourite ſcheme of recovering Boulogne. The court had for ſome time been apprehenſive that he had formed that deſign, and ſent over ſecretary Paget to the court of Charles V. in order to conclude an alliance with that powerful monarch. But Charles having formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of a champion for the catholic religion, liſtened not to the advances made by the court of England for entering into a ſtrict confederacy. In the mean time Henry II. entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of a numerous army, took ſeveral caſtles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a deſcent on the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; but a ſquadron of the Engliſh ſhips being immediately fitted out, fell upon the enemy, and drove them from the iſlands with the loſs of above a thouſand men.

Diſappointed in receiving the expected aſſiſtance from the emperor, Somerſet was deſirous of concluding a peace with France and Scotland; eſpecially as he was in no condition to ſupport the neceſſary expences, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attended miniſters in demanding and raiſing new ſubſidies: at the ſame time, he was determined to complete the great work of the Reformation ſo ſucceſsfully begun. He therefore determined to ſacrifice Boulogne, in order to gain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Henry. But when he propoſed the reſtitution of that place in the council, he met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from his enemies; who knowing he was in no condition to carry on the war, were determined, for that very reaſon, to oppoſe every meaſure that had any tendency to procure a pacification, and to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered for depriving him of his dignity.

The unbounded authority enjoyed by Somerſet expoſed him to danger. The haughtineſs of his carriage, his ambition, the contempt he expreſſed for all thoſe who refuſed to be directed by his ſentiments, joined to the conſideration of his limited and inferior capacity, irritated daily the diſcontented. Warwick, the moſt powerful, and therefore the moſt dangerous of his enemies. formed a very formidable party againſt him. He had provoked the nobility and gentry by the preference he had ſhewn the people with regard to the incloſures, and the commotions that followed: they even dreaded a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had created a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the benefit of the poorer claſs of people, and readily embraced every meaſure calculated to promote their intereſt and ſafety. But tho' Somerſet courted the affections of the people, his power among them was not conſiderable: the popiſh party, which ſtill formed a principal part of the illiterate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and readily embraced every opportunity to condemn his conduct. All his actions were miſrepreſented; he was reproached with the execution of his own brother; a crime ſo unnatural in the eyes of mankind in general, that he was repreſented as a monſter rather than a human being. Add to this the great parade he made of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, which ſtill bears his name; the pariſh church of St. Mary, and three biſhops houſes, having been pulled down, to furniſh ground and materials for that ſtructure. Theſe imprudent and impolitic actions had given Somerſet's enemies too many advantages over him; they magnified all his imprudences into crimes.

After ſeveral complaints, diſputes, and fruitleſs treaties for an accommodation, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counſellors, met, on Sunday the ſixth of October, at Ely-Houſe, where the earl of Warwick reſided; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London; and after arraigning the protector's conduct, and charging him with the moſt enormous crimes, commanded them to obey no orders but ſuch as were iſſued by themſelves. Informed of this ſeparate meeting, the king ſent ſecretary Petre to know the reaſon for ſo uncommon a proceeding. He was very readily admitted, but not ſuffered to depart till they had deliberated on the ſtate of the nation.

Somerſet, on being informed of this defection of the counſellors, removed the king from Hampton-Court to Windſor-Caſtle; and arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed determined to defend himſelf againſt his enemies. But finding that Cranmer and Paget were the only perſons of rank that adhered to him, that he was abandoned by his partizans, and that the people did not ſeem to intereſt themſelves in his favour, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and offered to ſubmit to the deciſions of the council, provided they would promiſe to treat him with candour. This was promiſed him. He was, however, ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and adherents; among whom was Cecil, afterwards ſo famous in the reign of queen Elizabeth. On the fourteenth of October, he was brought before the council, and articles of accuſation exhibited againſt him, of which the following were the chief: That he had not obſerved the conditions on which he had been made protector: that he had treated with ambaſſadors, without notifying it to the council; and had, by his own authority, diſpoſed of governments and biſhoprics: that he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe: that he had debaſed the coin: that he had iſſued proclamations in the affair of incloſures, contrary to the opinion of the whole council: that he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections; but had, on the contrary, ſupported and encouraged them: that he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſions and ammunition: that he had endeavoured to inſtil into the king a bad opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him they intended to deſtroy him: that he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors: that he had maliciouſly, not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, but thrown him into a dangerous diſeaſe: that he had armed himſelf and his ſervants; and that he intended to fly to Guernſey or Jerſey.

As the duke had received no previous notice of theſe articles, he was not prepared to give his anſwer, and was therefore remanded back to the Tower. The marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth, were appointed governors of the king's perſon; and the principal adminiſtration of the government entruſted with the earl of Warwick, but without any title that might give him the leaſt authority over the other counſellors. A revocation of the protector's power was alſo publiſhed under the great ſeal. But all the arts of Warwick could not perſuade the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either againſt the king or the conſtitution of his country: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed intereſt of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs; and therefore willingly engaged in meaſures for removing him from the ſeat of power, as well as for excluding him from ever regaining it for the future.

The Catholic party greatly exulted at the fall of the protector. They flattered themſelves that Warwick, who was always conſidered as a friend to the

Romiſh religion, would reſtore the ancient faith and mode of worſhip; but they were miſtaken. Warwick always made religion ſubſervient to his intereſt; and knowing that the king had imbibed a ſtrong attachment to the Proteſtant doctrines, he was reſolved not to oppoſe his inclinations, nor forfeit his own power by purſuing any violent meaſures. He accordingly declared his intention to promote the Reformation; and ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the meaſures of Southampton, who was conſidered as the head of the Catholics, that he retired from court in diſguſt, and ſoon after died of vexation. Several other changes were alſo made in the council; but they all tended to convince the Romaniſts, that they had nothing to expect for their having been inſtrumental in the fall of the duke of Somerſet. The earl of Warwick was made lord-high-admiral of England; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltſhire, and made treaſurer, in the room of the duke of Somerſet; Wootton, ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Smith; Ruſſel was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, beſides the office of chamberlain of the houſhold, obtained the two large manors of Stepney and Hackney, which had been torn from the ſee of London.

Somerſet wanted ſpirit to ſupport his diſgrace with dignity; and he was prevailed upon to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited againſt him; a ſubmiſſion that diſgraced him in the eyes of the nation. The parliament deprived him of all his offices, and condemned him in a large fine. But Warwick thinking he had now ſufficiently humbled the haughty Somerſet, and that his abject behaviour had effectually deſtroyed the ſmall remains of his authority, he readmitted him into the council; and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerſet.

A. D. 1550. But though Warwick and his aſſociates had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a peace with France when propoſed by Somerſet, they changed their opinion when they had no longer the ſame motives for their oppoſition: they were now convinced that a peace was abſolutely neceſſary, and a negotiation was accordingly entered into with Henry's miniſters. But the French king, even at the opening of the conferences, declared, that he would not pay the penſions ſtipulated by his predeceſſor, being determined not to be tributary to any monarch upon earth. He, however, offered to pay a ſum of money for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and it was accordingly agreed to ſurrender the place for four hundred thouſand crowns; one half to be paid immediately, and the other at the end of ſix months. Scotland was included in this treaty; and it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhould reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

This peace was celebrated with great rejoicings, though it was very far from being agreeable to the people. The reſtitution of Boulogne, which had been conſidered as ſo great a crime even to have propoſed it, in the duke of Somerſet, opened the eyes of the people: they were now convinced, that the ambition of the courtiers, not any regard for the glory of the king and the welfare of the nation, had raiſed the ſtorm that had ſwept Somerſet from the ſeat of power. The murmurs became general, and ſoon reached the ears of the aſpiring Warwick, who, to divert the public attention, and prevent their reſentment from proving fatal to the adminiſtration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain miſdemeanors of thoſe who had been intruſted with the management of the public money, ſome of whom were ſeverely puniſhed.

Warwick had already declared his deſign to complete the Reformation, and he now began to carry his promiſe into execution. Several biſhops, though they had extended their complaiſance very far with regard to the meaſures of the court, were ſtill friends to the tenets of the Roman church, and it was now determined to ſeize their revenues. The proſecution was begun with the famous Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, in ſeveral inſtances, had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the adminiſtration. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and confeſs the juſtice of his confinement; to own that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer-book was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the ſtatute of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The biſhop made no difficulty of ſigning all theſe articles, except the firſt. He maintained, that his conduct had always been inoffenſive; and declared, that he would never own himſelf guilty of faults he had not committed. But the council, who never intended to accept of any acknowledgment, multiplied articles in proportion to his ſubmiſſion. At laſt, the prelate, from a dread of totally diſhonouring his former conduct by mean compliances, determined to act with vigour. He refuſed to ſubſcribe any articles they might preſent to him, and was depoſed from his ſee by a commiſſion appointed for that purpoſe. Several other biſhops, much leſs ſuſpected and obnoxious than Gardiner, underwent the ſame fate; as Day, biſhop of Chicheſter; Heathe, of Worceſter; and Vaiſy, of Exeter.

Nor were theſe plunderers of the church contented with the revenues of the prieſthood; they extended their rapacity to objects of much ſmaller importance. The council iſſued an order for purging the libraries of all ſuperſtitious books, and all that were plated with gold and ſilver were condemned for their ornaments. If they were books of literature, they were deſtroyed, as uſeleſs; if of mathematics, geometry, or aſtronomy, they were ſuppoſed to be infected with magic. The libraries of Oxford ſuffered the utmoſt outrage; nor had the univerſity power to oppoſe theſe barbarous violences; they even feared that their revenues would attract the rapacity of the earl of Warwick. The princeſs Mary herſelf was expoſed to the utmoſt danger: ſhe was required to change her religion, or at leaſt to read St. Auguſtin and the ancient fathers, who would convince her of the errors of popery. But Mary was inſenſible to all theſe remonſtrances. She was, however, alarmed for her own ſafety, and formed a plan for making her eſcape to the court of Charles V. but her deſign was diſcovered, and prevented. The emperor, however, made ſtrong repreſentations in her behalf: he even threatened to commence hoſtilities, if liberty of conſcience was refuſed her. His remonſtrances had the deſired effect: it was not thought adviſeable to plunge the nation into a war on ſo ſlight an occaſion; and Edward, who had imbibed the utmoſt deteſtation for the idolatrous worſhip of the Catholics, lamented with tears the obſtinacy of his ſiſter, and his own misfortune in being obliged to tolerate her errors.

A. D. 1551. The ſweating ſickneſs, which now raged in England, ſwept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Several of the nobility alſo felt the dreadful effects of this alarming contagion; among whom were the duke of Suffolk and his brother. By the death of theſe two noblemen, the title of duke of Suffolk became extinct in the family of Brandon, which was next in ſucceſſion to the crown after the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Warwick, who ſeems already to have formed the deſign of placing his own family on the throne, immediately procured Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet, to be created duke of Suffolk. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, having been attainted on account of the ſhare he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection, during the late reign, the title was extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick, therefore, procured for himſelf thoſe ample poſſeſſions which lay in the north, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. Lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created marquis of Wincheſter, and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; William Cecil was knighted, and made ſecretary of ſtate, and Sir Robert Dudley, one of Northumberland's ſon, was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen of the king's bedchamber.

Several excellent regulations were now made for the benefit of commerce, and reſtoring the coin of the kingdom to its proper ſtandard. Almoſt the whole commerce of the realm had hitherto been carried on by ſtrangers. Henry the third had created into a corporation, and inveſted with particular privileges, all the merchants of the Hanſe towns; and the council, ſenſible of the prejudices done by this means to the national induſtry, ſuppreſſed the grant; and all foreigners whatever, from this period, being obliged to pay the ſame duties, the Engliſh turned their attention to commerce, and a ſpirit of induſtry began to appear in the kingdom. But all theſe pleaſing attempts were in danger of being rendered abortive by the civil commotions, excited by the unbounded ambition of the duke of Northumberland, who conſidered all increaſe of titles or poſſeſſions, either to himſelf or his adherents, only as ſteps to farther acquiſitions; and perceiving the duke of Somerſet, though deprived of his dignity, and even greatly leſſened in the public eſteem by his late puſillanimous conduct, ſtill preſerved a conſiderable degree of popularity, he reſolved to ruin a man, whom he conſidered as the chief obſtacle to his ambitious projects.

The alliance ſo lately concluded between their families had been productive of no cordial union; it only afforded Northumberland an opportunity of effecting, with more eaſe and certainty, the deſtruction of his rival. He began his infamous deſign by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he repreſented as a very dangerous ſubject: he ſpread a report, that Somerſet had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in ſeveral counties, and that he was preparing an armed force to make himſelf maſter of his majeſty's perſon. At the ſame time he continually offered him freſh inſults, in order to provoke him to commit imprudent actions; and had gained over many of the friends and ſervants of that unfortunate nobleman to his intereſt. Thus provoked, the unguarded Somerſet let fall ſome menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland, and his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word that dropped from him; they even revealed the ſchemes which they themſelves ſuggeſted. The king was informed of theſe pretended diſcoveries, and by too readily believing the ſlanderous tales, he abandoned his uncle, and conſented to his being put under arreſt.

The treacherous and hypocritical Northumberland having thus obtained his majeſty's permiſſion, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all apprehended the ſame night, and committed to priſon. The next day the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her two favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Patridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Baniſter, and others, were taken into cuſtody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a ſpy upon the duke's actions, charged him with having formed a deſign "to excite a rebellion in the north; to attack the horſe-guards on a muſter-day; to take poſſeſſion of the Tower; and to raiſe an inſurrection in London." But the only accuſation that ſeemed to have ſome truth for its foundation was, that he had formed a deſign to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, at an entertainment that was to be made for them at lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to the laſt ſcheme; and it appears that ſome raſh deſign of that nature had been propoſed, though no regular plot had ever been formed, nor any meaſures taken for its execution.

The duke's trial came on before his peers at Weſtminſter-hall, on the firſt of December, the marquis of Wincheſter preſiding as high-ſteward. He denied the charge, and demanded to be confronted with his accuſers; but this requeſt, however equitable, was denied, and the court proceeded to the trial. The depoſitions of the witneſſes as given before the privy-council, were delivered in to the jury, but they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner. The duke's defence was, however, ſo ſatiſfactory with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour; but they found him guilty of the other part of the charge, and he was condemned to ſuffer as a felon, purſuant to a ſtatute paſſed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any perſon to form a deſign of killing a privy-counſellor.

A. D. 1552. The behaviour of Somerſet, from the time he received his ſentence, was calm, reſigned, and unaffected; he employed his time in reading and compoſing exerciſes of devotion. He made decent application to the king in favour of his wife and family, and on the twenty-ſecond of January he was carried to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he was to ſuffer. He was attended on this melancholy occaſion by Dr. Cox; and after performing ſome devotions, he addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the people, in which he declared his innocence with regard to the king, and his fidelity to his country: he ſubmitted to his ſentence, becauſe awarded by the law: he profeſſed his zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion, and a ſincere ſatiſfaction in what he had done to promote it. He expreſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon of the king; he exhorted the people to pay both him and the council the moſt implicit obedience: declared he died in peace with all mankind; aſked pardon of all whom he had offended; and requeſted the prayers of all preſent. On finiſhing his ſpeech, he adjuſted himſelf with the utmoſt calmneſs on the block, where he received the blow which put a period to his life.

A dreadful groan ran through the whole audience when the fatal ſtroke was given. Many ruſhed in and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they preſerved as a precious relic; and ſeveral of them, when Northumberland, ſome time after, met a ſimilar fate, upbraided him with this cruelty, and diſplayed before his eyes theſe ſymbols of his crime. Somerſet certainly deſerved a better fate. He was a perſon of great virtues, eminent for his piety; courteous and affable, ſincere and candid in all his tranſactions, a patron of the poor and oppreſſed; but a much better general than a counſellor. The faults he committed were owing to weakneſs, not to any bad intention. He was never accuſed of perſonal vices, nor guilty of falſhood, of perverting juſtice, of cruelty, or of oppreſſion.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old ſoldier, and Sir Miles Patridge were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates; but ſtrenuouſly denied, in their laſt moments, the crime for which they ſuffered. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy of Somerſet, was deprived of his office, and condemned to pay a fine of ſix thouſand pounds; and lord Rich, lord high chancellor, was alſo deprived of the ſeals, for having ſent a letter to Somerſet, informing him of the deſigns of the council.

The parliament, which met on the twenty-third of January, paſſed ſeveral bills both of a civil and religious nature; but the moſt remarkable was that which regarded the crime of treaſon; to which the commons annexed a clauſe of infinitely more conſequence than the bill itſelf. It was declared, "That none ſhould be attainted of treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould make a voluntary confeſſion; and that none ſhould be queſtioned for any thing ſaid or written againſt the king or government, but within three months after it was done." This equitable and conſtitutional clauſe was ſtrongly oppoſed by all Northumberland's faction, as it totally condemned their late proceedings in the caſe of the unfortunate duke of Somerſet; but notwithſtanding all their arts, it paſſed both houſes, and has ever ſince remained one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, both on account of his learning and abilities, and the unblemiſhed integrity of his life. He had always oppoſed by his vote and influence, all the late innovations in religion; but they were no ſooner eſtabliſhed, than he had readily ſubmitted, and conformed himſelf to every ſyſtem of doctrine which was eſtabliſhed by authority. He juſtly concluded, that all private opinions ought to be ſacrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity. But neither his obedient and tractable conduct, nor the unimpeached rectitude of his life and morals, could ſecure him againſt the rapacious deſigns of Northumberland, who had formed a deſign of appropriating to himſelf the ample revenues of the ſee of Durham, and of acquiring a principality in the northern counties. But before this deſign could be executed, it was neceſſary to deprive Tonſtal of his biſhopric. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the houſe of lords, where it paſſed with only two diſſenting voices, Cranmer and lord Stourton. But when the bill was ſent down to the commons, they inſiſted that witneſſes ſhould be examined, in order to prove the charge againſt him; that the biſhop ſhould be confronted with his accuſers and be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence. Theſe equitable demands were refuſed, and the commons nobly exerted the power with which they were intruſted, and threw out the bill. This oppoſition of the commons, ſo unuſual in that age, convinced Northumberland that he had nothing to hope for from their condeſcenſion, and every thing to fear from their oppoſition. It was therefore reſolved to diſſolve the parliament, which had ſubſiſted from the beginning of the preſent reign.

A. D. 1553. The utmoſt pains were taken to procure a parliament more ſubſervient to the adminiſtration than the laſt. Accordingly the king wrote circular letters to all his ſheriffs, requiring them to return ſuch members as would ſerve the court; an example of the moſt fatal tendency, as the freedom of elections was a very eſſential part of the national liberty. The labours of the court were not in vain; the parliament anſwered all the expectations that were formed of it; no oppoſition was made to the meaſures of the adminiſtration. Tonſtal had, during the receſs of parliament, been depoſed by lay commiſſioners, and the ſentence was now confirmed by the parliament, who divided the ſee of Durham into two biſhoprics; but the dignity of an earl palatine was veſted in the king, who gave it to Northnmberland. They alſo gave the miniſtry another mark of their attachment; they granted the king two ſubſidies and two fifteenths. Edward himſelf was a great œconomiſt; but the rapacity of his courtiers was ſo inſatiable, that notwithſtanding the plunder of the churches, colleges, and hoſpitals, the fall of the many manors that belonged to them, and the four hundred thouſand crowns received from France, for the reſtitution of Boulogne, the debt of the crown amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

During the ſpring of the preceding year Edward had been ſeized with the meaſles, and afterwards with the ſmall-pox, but paſſed through both without any dangerous ſymptoms, and his health had ſome time been fully re-eſtabliſhed, when he was ſeized with a cough, which ended in a conſumption. It was, however, hoped that the king's youth, the approach of ſpring, and the medicines adminiſtered by his phyſicians, would by degrees get the better of his diſorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature, and increaſed ſo faſt, that when the parliament met in the beginning of March, both houſes were obliged to attend him at Whitehall, to hear the reaſons for their being called together.

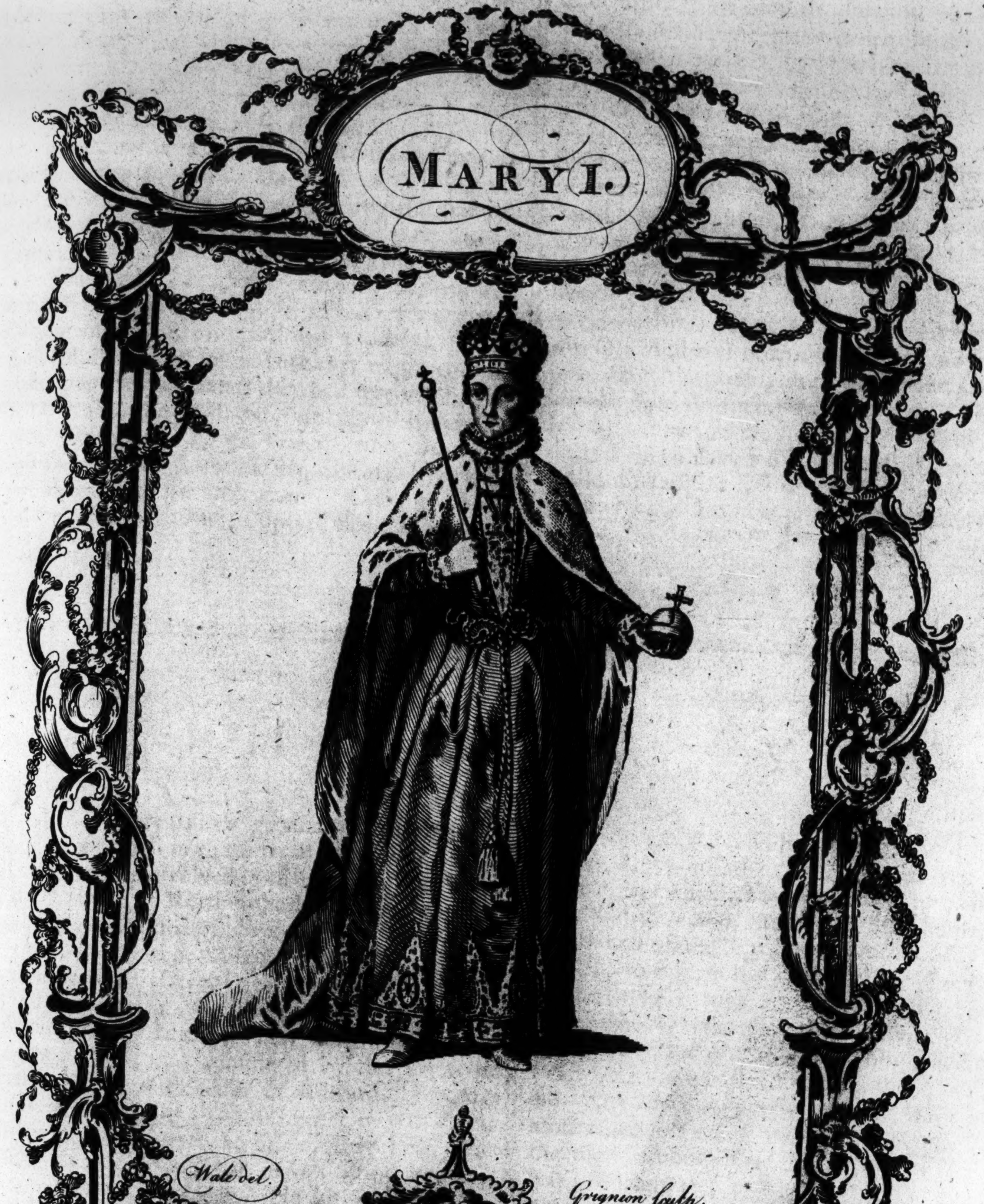
Northumberland perceived that it was now neceſſary to complete the deſign he had formed for placing his own family on the throne of England. He therefore ſuffered none but his own creatures to approach the royal perſon. At the ſame time he affected the moſt anxious concern for the young monarch's health and recovery. By theſe hypocritical expreſſions of duty, he ſoon gained the firſt place in the affections and confidence of young Edward. This point being gained, the next was to prevail upon the king to alter the ſucceſſion. Edward, who was ſincerely attached to the proteſtant religion, had often expreſſed his dread of the fatal conſequences that would inevitably attend its profeſſors, if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ever aſcend the throne. Northumberland improved theſe melancholy reflections, and artfully inſinuated, that the only method of averting thoſe dreadful misfortunes from the profeſſors of the new religion, conſiſted in changing the ſucceſſion. He added that the king poſſeſſed the ſame power with his father, and might therefore transfer the crown from the princeſs Mary to the lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter to Frances Brandon, now dutcheſs of Suffolk. Obſerving, at the ſame time, that the princeſs Elizabeth muſt inevitably ſhare the fate of her ſiſter; becauſe the only pretence they could uſe againſt Mary was her illegitimacy, which equally affected Elizabeth, the marriages both of Catherine and Anne having been declared unlawful by the legiſlature.

Edward, whoſe prevailing paſſion was the intereſt of the reformed religion, was pleaſed with this expedient. He knew the lady Jane to be a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed for the accompliſhments of her mind and perſon: ſtrongly attached to the reformed religion, a friend to virtue, and a lover of her country. He therefore determined to leave the crown to that accompliſhed princeſs; eſpecially as her mother had been expreſsly mentioned in the will of Henry VIII. as heir to the throne after his own children.

It was now neceſſary for Northumberland to finiſh the other part of his political fabric, in order to ſettle the crown on his own family. This was effected by perſuading the duke of Suffolk to give his daughter the lady Jane Gray, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guildford Dudley. Suffolk, who owed all his preferments to Northumberland, heſitated not to form the offered alliance. This being effected, Northumberland determined to ſtrengthen his intereſt by other marriages, and accordingly brought about a match between the lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and the lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke; and beſtowed his only daughter Catherine, upon lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon. Theſe marriages were celebrated with ſuch remarkable pomp and feſtivity, that the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing their indignation in the warmeſt terms, at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, while their beloved monarch was languiſhing on the bed of ſickneſs.

Nothing now remained to complete the deſign of Northumberland, but the execution of the change which Edward had determined to make in the ſucceſſion. On the eleventh of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the Common-pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the judges, the attorney and ſollicitor-general, attended the council, in obedience to a ſummons they had received for that purpoſe, and Edward gave them the minutes of an intended deed for altering the ſucceſſion, with orders to draw them up in the form of a patent. They

were


MARY I.
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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were aſtoniſhed, and deſired leave to conſult together on a ſubject of ſo much importance to the kingdom in general, and themſelves in particular. After ſome time, they returned, and declared, that they could not obey the king's orders. They juſtly obſerved, that the ſettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. was made purſuant to an act of parliament; whereas this not only wanted that authority, but, by an act paſſed in the beginning of the preſent reign, it was declared to be treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders and abettors, to attempt to change the order of ſucceſſion. The duke of Northumberland was ſo incenſed at their refuſal, that he behaved in the moſt indecent manner; it was even feared he would proceed to violence againſt their perſons. The king declared, he intended to ſummon a parliament, in order to obtain their ratification of the deed; but in the mean time, commanded them, on their allegiance, to draw the letters patent in the legal form. At the ſame time, the judges were informed by the council, that their refuſal would ſubject them to the pains of high-treaſon. At laſt it was determined that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be paſſed by the king and council, commanding the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould be granted them for any offence they might commit in executing the commands they had received. The patent was accordingly drawn, and ſigned by all the judges, except Sir James Hales, who, though a ſincere friend to the Reformation, obſtinately refuſed to put his name to the inſtrument. Cranmer alone, of all the officers of ſtate, oppoſed this ſcheme, and laboured aſſiduouſly to perſuade Edward not to alter the ſucceſſion. He alledged, that he could not, without perjury, ſign the patent, as he had already ſworn to the obſervation of Henry's will; but, at Edward's earneſt intreaty, and Northumberland's authoritative inſtances, he ſigned the inſtrument.

The health of Edward now declined viſibly every day, and all hopes of his recovery vaniſhed. The people had not ſcrupled, for ſome time, to impute the diſorder of Edward to the practices of Northumberland; and an incident which now happened tended to confirm them in their opinion. His phyſicians were all diſcharged by an order of council procured by Northumberland, and the king committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged, by the help of her noſtrums, to reſtore him, in a ſhort time, to his former health and vigour. But unfortunately for the peace of England, her promiſes were never performed. The ſymptoms were every day aggravated; his cough increaſed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became pale and livid, and he reſigned his breath at Greenwich on the ſixth of July, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

Edward was almoſt idolized by his ſubjects. He was of a mild and ſweet diſpoſition, and ſcrupulouſly attached to the principles of equity and juſtice. His learning was far ſuperior to his years. He loved the liberal arts before he knew them. Had he been indulged with a longer life, there is all the reaſon in the world to ſuppoſe he would have made his people happy by a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration.

# MARY.

A.D. 1553. A Civil war is the general conſequence of a breach in the order of ſucceſſion. England had now been involved in that dreadful calamity, had not the duke of Northumberland, the ſole author of this ambitious attempt, been hated by the people. Mary was known to be a bigotted Catholic; but her title to the crown, after the death of her brother, admitted of no diſpute; for the objections ſtated by the friends of lady Jane were new, and unknown to the nation. Mary was conſidered by the people in general as the legal ſucceſſor of Edward. But the ambition of Northumberland was not to be reſtrained; he determined to ſupport the title of lady Jane, tho' he could not be ignorant that he was acting contrary to the opinion of the people. He knew the oppoſition would be powerful, and therefore determined to act with caution. He concealed the king's death for ſome days; and prevailed upon the council to requeſt the attendance of the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, under pretence of the bad ſtate of health of their brother, who deſired the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company.

Ignorant of the treacherous deſign, Mary readily obeyed the ſummons, and was arrived within half a day's journey of the capital, when ſhe diſcovered the ſnare that was laid for her deſtruction. She received a letter from the earl of Arundel, informing her of the death of the king, of the ſettlement of the crown upon lady Jane, and of the deſign of Northumberland to ſeize her perſon. She was now convinced of the neceſſity of immediately providing for her own ſafety. The ſudden death of one of her ſervants, who was ſuppoſed to have died of the plague, furniſhed her with an excuſe for a precipitate return. Nor did ſhe think herſelf ſafe till ſhe reached Framlingham, in Suffolk; whence ſhe wrote, in character of queen, to the council and nobility, demanding to be acknowledged and proclaimed.

Northumberland finding it in vain to diſſemble any longer, threw off the maſk, and reſolved to act in a more open manner. He engaged the council to depute him, and the earl of Suffolk, to Sion-houſe, a ſeat on the banks of the Thames, where the lady Jane then reſided, to inform her that ſhe had been appointed by the deceaſed king to ſucceed him in the throne. Jane, who was nearly of the ſame age with Edward, had received her education with him; and could perſonal merit have entitled her to the crown, ſhe had enjoyed it without oppoſition. She was a lady of the moſt amiable perſon, the moſt engaging diſpoſition, the moſt accompliſhed parts. The ſtudy of the learned languages was at once her employment and her delight; and ſhe preferred the leſſons of Plato to the amuſements of the court. She was a ſtranger to ambition; ſhe deſired not to diſturb the tranquillity of her country. She had hitherto been unacquainted with the ſecret diſpoſitions of Edward in her favour; ſhe never imagined ſhe was deſtined to the throne. Struck with ſurprize and conſternation at the meſſage, ſhe refuſed the offer; alledging the preferable right of the two princeſſes; and warning them of the fatal conſequences that would, in all probability, attend ſo dangerous, and, in her opinion, ſo criminal an enterprize; begging they would let her continue in the private ſtation ſhe had hitherto enjoyed. She wiſhed to refuſe a ſceptre to which ſhe had no right, and which ſhe conſidered as a burden.

Every argument was uſed by her father-in-law, her father, and her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, to combat this reſolution; and ſhe at laſt yielded to their importunities, but with ſo much reluctance, that her conſent was rather extorted than given. She was immediately conducted to the Tower, where it was then cuſtomary for the new monarchs to reſide ſome days before their coronation. The council, who found themſelves, in effect, Northumberland's priſoners, were obliged to attend. They iſſued orders for proclaiming the lady Jane; but ſo thoroughly were the ambitious ſchemes of Northumberland deteſted, that they were obſerved only in the capital: the injuſtice of that nobleman had effectually effaced the merits of the lovely victim of her family's ambition. The news of this revolution was received with ſilent ſurprize by the people; nor were any of thoſe acclamations heard, which are uſual on ſuch occaſions: even the heralds ſeemed to perform their office with regret.

During theſe tranſactions, Mary exerted all her intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns of Northumberland, and to aſſert her own title to the crown. She was attended by great numbers of the neighbouring inhabitants; and, by poſitively promiſing to leave religion in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it, reſerving nothing more than a liberty to profeſs her own, ſhe fixed the people in her intereſt; and though ſtrongly attached to the Reformation, they promiſed to ſupport her with their lives and fortunes. She was now joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry; particularly by the earls of Bath and Suſſex, Sir Thomas Mordaunt, Sir John Wharton, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and Sir Henry Jernegar, who all repaired to her ſtandard, and brought her a ſtrong reinforcement. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered by the government to levy troops for the ſervice of lady Jane, deſerted to Mary, at the head of four thouſand men. Even the fleet which had been ſent by Northumberland to cruiſe on the coaſt of Suffolk, in order to prevent either the eſcape of Mary, or the landing of foreign forces to her aſſiſtance, ſubmitted to that princeſs.

Theſe unexpected events alarmed Northumberland, who ordered the army in the neighbourhood of London to march immediately towards Newmarket, under the command of the duke of Suffolk. But the counſellors perſuaded Northumberland to head the army in perſon; obſerving, that his known valour, his ſuperior military acquiſitions, and the dread of his name, already terrible in Norfolk by his victory in the late reign, would ſtrike the inſurgents with fear. He followed their advice, and joined the army, which amounted to ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe.

The approach of Northumberland alarmed ſeveral of Mary's friends, and they adviſed the princeſs to retire to the continent. Had the duke advanced with that expedition which the cauſe he had undertaken to ſupport demanded, the advice had, probably, been followed; but he marched in ſo ſlow and deliberate a manner, that Mary's friends had time to recover from their fears, and to join her ſtandard with all their forces. When Northumberland reached Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deſerted, and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from London before he could advance againſt Mary's army.

The departure of Northumberland gave the counſellors an opportunity of leaving the Tower, where they had been in ſome meaſure confined by that ambitious nobleman, under pretence of attending upon the perſon of lady Jane till her coronation. They aſſembled at Baynard's Caſtle, a houſe belonging to the earl of Pembroke, and invited thither all the noblemen whom they conceived to be well affected to Mary. A conſiderable number attended; and the conference was opened by the earl of Arundel, who inveighed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt "the cruelty and injuſtice of Northumberland, his inſatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal deſign he had formed for altering the ſucceſſion, and the wickedneſs in which he had involved the whole council: and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance, which they owed their lawful ſovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen, as the only method they could now take to preſerve the tranquillity of the ſtate, and recover their own honours."

Pembroke ſeconded the motion; and laying his hand upon his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight any man who ſhould preſume to oppoſe ſo ſalutary a meaſure. But there was no occaſion for employing force: the majority expreſſed their approbation of the propoſal: the lord-mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend immediately; and Mary was proclaimed on the nineteenth of July, in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter. Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the event celebrated with great rejoicings by the populace. Even the duke of Suffolk himſelf, who commanded in the Tower, finding all reſiſtance would be in vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and declared for queen Mary. Lady Jane again deſcended to a private ſtation; which ſhe would never have left, had not the ambition of her relations forced her to graſp a ſceptre which belonged to another.

Orders were now diſpatched to the duke of Northumberland to diſband his army; but before they reached his hands, he had been deſerted by his troops, and endeavoured to gain the favour of the queen by an early ſubmiſſion: he proclaimed her queen with all the external marks of joy and ſatisfaction. But Mary was not to be deceived by the hypocritical behaviour of Northumberland; ſhe knew him to be an inveterate enemy to her whole family, and that his expreſſions of loyalty and zeal for her ſervice were wholly extorted by fear. She therefore immediately ſent the earl of Arundel to arreſt that ambitious nobleman, his ſons and accomplices. The haughty Northumberland loſt at once both his hopes and his courage. Arundel no ſooner informed him of the purport of his viſit, than he fell at his feet, and, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, begged his favour. This abject behaviour, ſo peculiar to fallen inſolence, excited the contempt, rather than the pity of Arundel. He told the duke the queen's orders muſt be obeyed; and Northumberland, together with two of his ſons, and his principal accomplices, were ſent to London, and committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane, and lord Guilford Dudley, were alſo taken into cuſtody.

All oppoſition being thus deſtroyed, Mary, attended by vaſt numbers of people, and a long train of courtiers, ſet out from Framlingham for London, where ſhe was met by the princeſs Elizabeth, with a body of two thouſand men. She had raiſed thoſe forces as a defence for her own perſon during the troubles which ſeemed to threaten the kingdom with all the horrors of a civil war; but on being informed of her ſiſter's ſucceſs, and the entire ſubmiſſion of Northumberland's party, ſhe proceeded, at the head of her little army, to join her ſiſter; and had the addreſs to gain her confidence, by aſſuring her that theſe men were raiſed for her ſervice.

Mary made a very pompous entry into London; and proceeding immediately to the Tower, where the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner ever ſince the death of her father; Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubject to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; the three prelates, Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the Catholic religion, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. She embraced them all in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaying to the conſtable of the Tower, "Theſe are my priſoners;" ordered them inſtantly to be ſet at liberty, and admitted them to her confidence and favour. The prelates were reſtored to their ſees; Courtney was created earl of Devonſhire, and Gardiner made lord high chancellor of England.

Notwithſtanding the promiſe Mary had made to continue the religion eſtabliſhed by Edward, ſhe was determined to make promiſes, oaths, juſtice, and even intereſt itſelf, give way to her favourite project of reſtoring the religion of the church of Rome. She granted, indeed, a kind of general amneſty, and remitted the ſubſidy voted to the late king. But theſe were vain and fallacious appearances; they were ſoon followed by all the rigours of tyranny. The queen, naturally ſolemn, melancholy, and opinionated, was ſo much the more ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of falſe zeal, as ſhe had been brought up in the moſt profound ignorance; and while her head was diſturbed about her religion, her heart was the more ſeverely ſet againſt the Proteſtants. From theſe ſources her whole reign became a ſcene of miſery, and the kingdom was deluged with the blood of its inhabitants.

Her firſt care, after ſecuring the perſons of thoſe from whom ſhe expected the greateſt oppoſition, was to conſult with her friends the beſt method of extirpating the reformed religion. She was ſo determined to keep no meaſures with the Proteſtants, and force the kingdom to join immediately in what ſhe called the Union of the Catholic Church, that had it not been for the more artful counſels of Charles V. and biſhop Gardiner, ſhe had ſent directly for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the biſhop of Rome. But they both diſapproving of a ſtep of ſuch dangerous tendency, the queen was, with great reluctance, prevailed upon to ſuſpend her reſolution for the preſent, and to content herſelf with publiſhing a liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion.

This declaration, which was made by the queen in council on the twelfth of Auguſt, was rendered as public as poſſible, and the partizans of Mary magnified it as a noble inſtance of the queen's generoſity. The Proteſtants, however, conſidered it in a very different light: they were alarmed for their religion; and their fears were ſoon confirmed by the confidence of the Catholics, who made no ſcruple of inveighing, in the moſt bitter terms, againſt the tenets of the Proteſtants. Bourne, one of the chaplains of biſhop Bonner, in a ſermon preached before that prelate in the cathedral of St. Paul's, uſed the moſt indecent invectives againſt Edward's adminiſtration, particularly with regard to the Reformation. But he ſhould have remembered, that the memory of Edward was ſtill dear to the people who were alarmed for their religion, and it could not be ſuppoſed they would part with it eaſily. Accordingly a furious tumult was excited: ſome of the audience reproached him in the harſheſt terms; others pelted him with ſtones; and one of them threw a dagger with ſuch dexterity at the preacher, that it narrowly miſſed his face, and ſtuck faſt in the wood of the pulpit behind him. At laſt the people grew ſo furious, that Bourne would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent Proteſtant miniſters, interpoſed, and conveyed him, by a private door, out of the church, to a neighbouring houſe.

So glaring a proof of the people's diſlike to popery ſhould have been a caution to the adminiſtration not to proceed too zealouſly in favour of ſuperſtition: but it produced the contrary effect; they determined to have recourſe to more violent meaſures. The Proteſtants were filled with terror: they plainly perceived that religion and the laws of their country would ſoon ſuffer a violent change, and that thoſe who refuſed to adhere to the new ſtatutes would be conſidered as rebels. The city of London ſhewed, on this occaſion, ſome dawnings of the ſpirit of liberty; they made no enquiries into the tumult excited againſt Bourne in the cathedral. The government ſuſpecting the magiſtrates were not ſufficiently aſſiduous in the cauſe of ſuperſtition, inſiſted on their declaring whether they were able, by their own authority, to prevent all public tumults; and if they thought themſelves incapable of effecting ſo neceſſary a deſign, the lord mayor was ordered to ſurrender the ſword of juſtice into the queen's hand, that ſhe might herſelf uſe it for the good of her people.

Mary's reign had not yet been ſtained with any ſanguinary act; but it was now thought neceſſary to open the ſluices of ſeverity, which ſoon deluged the land with blood. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, and arraigned for high-treaſon. After the indictment was read, the duke deſired permiſſion to propoſe two queſtions to the peers who were appointed to decide his fate: firſt, Whether any perſon could be guilty of treaſon for having obeyed orders given him by the council, under the great ſeal? Secondly, Whether thoſe who were equally guilty with himſelf could ſit as his judges? The high-ſteward anſwered, That the great-ſeal of an uſurper had no authority; and that thoſe peers who had neither been impeached nor convicted, were innocent in the eye of the law, and therefore might be admitted on any jury. Theſe anſwers, though far from being uncontrovertible, ſufficiently convinced the duke, that it would be abſolutely uſeleſs to make any objections: he therefore pleaded guilty to the indictment. His example was followed by the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were tried at the ſame tribunal, and were all condemned to ſuffer as traitors. Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing the duke of Somerſet to the block during the late reign, pleaded guilty, and received the ſame ſentence.

The character of the queen, and the preſent ſituation of affairs, left Northumberland no hopes of favour. He was, indeed, deteſted by all parties, and his death was conſidered as a neceſſary act of juſtice. On the ſcaffold, he profeſſed himſelf a member of the Catholic religion; and lamented his having plundered the effects of the church, eſpecially as it was not now in his power to make reſtitution. But whether theſe were his real ſentiments, or whether he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family, cannot now be known. However that be, the people who had ſincerely lamented the duke of Somerſet, beheld with joy the puniſhment of his oppreſſor. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, ſuffered with him. The reſt were thought proper objects of the royal clemency, as they pleaded conſtraint as an excuſe for their treaſon. Suffolk himſelf was pardoned, and recovered his liberty; an indulgence which he owed, in a great meaſure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. Sentence had been pronounced againſt the lady Jane, and her huſband the lord Guilford Dudley, but without any deſign of carrying it at preſent into execution.

The troubles occaſioned by the ambitious Northumberland being entirely appeaſed, the adminiſtration applied themſelves to execute the queen's favourite deſign, the re-eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion in England. They began with ſilencing all preachers, under pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence from Gardiner; and it was eaſily foreſeen that none but Catholics would be favoured with ſuch a privilege. Bradford, one of the two Proteſtant miniſters who had reſcued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, was committed to priſon, and his companion, Rogers, was confined to his own houſe. Judge Hales, who alone, of all his brethren, had refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray, was ſent to priſon, where he was treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he fell into a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. Sir Edward Montague, who was alſo a Proteſtant, was deprived of his office, and fined a thouſand pounds, for having aſſiſted in drawing up the ſettlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and his poſt given to Sir Thomas Bromley, a bigotted Papiſt, though he had been equally concerned in drawing up that deed, and alſo ſigned it without heſitation. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, were impriſoned, for daring to preach without a licence from Gardiner. Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, was alſo confined to his own houſe, for the ſame crime. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, ſuffered ſo many indignities and inſults from the enemies of the Reformation, that he was obliged to leave his chair, and retire for protection to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. Some zealous Catholics moved, that he might be committed to priſon; but Gardiner oppoſed their attempts with his whole authority. He pleaded that the profeſſor had come over in conſequence of a particular invitation from the government, and was therefore protected from perſecution by every precept of equity, and even by the laws of nature and nations. Theſe reaſons had the deſired effect; and Gardiner generouſly furniſhed him with ſupplies for his journey.

Bonner, the ſworn enemy of Cranmer, had induſtriouſly propagated a report, that the archbiſhop had promiſed the queen to make a public recantation of his errors, and to return into the boſom of the Roman church. This report ſo exaſperated the good old prelate, who perceived that Bonner's ſole intention in propagating ſo baſe a calumny, was to delude the people into a compliance with popery under the ſanction of his name, that he thought it incumbent on him to draw up ſome public teſtimony againſt this aſperſion. He accordingly wrote a declaration, in which he called the queen herſelf to witneſs that he never made any ſuch declaration as his enemies alledged; and offered, with the aſſiſtance of Peter Martyr, and four or five others whom he would name, to defend, againſt any number of catholic divines, in a public diſputation, the liturgy, doctrines, and every part of the reformation, and to prove the whole to be agreeable to the tenets and practice of the primitive church, and warranted by the holy ſcriptures. He added, "that as the devil was a liar from the beginning and the father of lies, ſo he had, at this time ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion: that the lying ſpirit now endeavoured to reſtore the latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effectuate his purpoſe, had falſely made uſe of Cranmer's name and authority." This inflammatory paper raiſed the fury of the catholics, and the rather as they well knew the abilities of the proteſtant divines he mentioned, and did not chuſe to enter the liſts with ſuch able diſputants. Cranmer was, therefore, committed to priſon, tried for the part he had acted in oppoſſing the queen's acceſſion, and ſentence of high treaſon was pronounced againſt him. The ſentence was not, however, executed; Cranmer was reſerved for a more cruel puniſhment. He had been doomed to deſtruction the moment Mary aſcended the throne, though the apology he publiſhed haſtened his impriſonment. Mary ſhould have remembered that Cranmer had done her many good offices with her father; it was owing to his interpoſition that the ſevere prejudices that monarch had entertained againſt her were mitigated; but being the perſon who pronounced her mother's divorce, and the author of the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in England, he became the object of her moſt inveterate hatred.

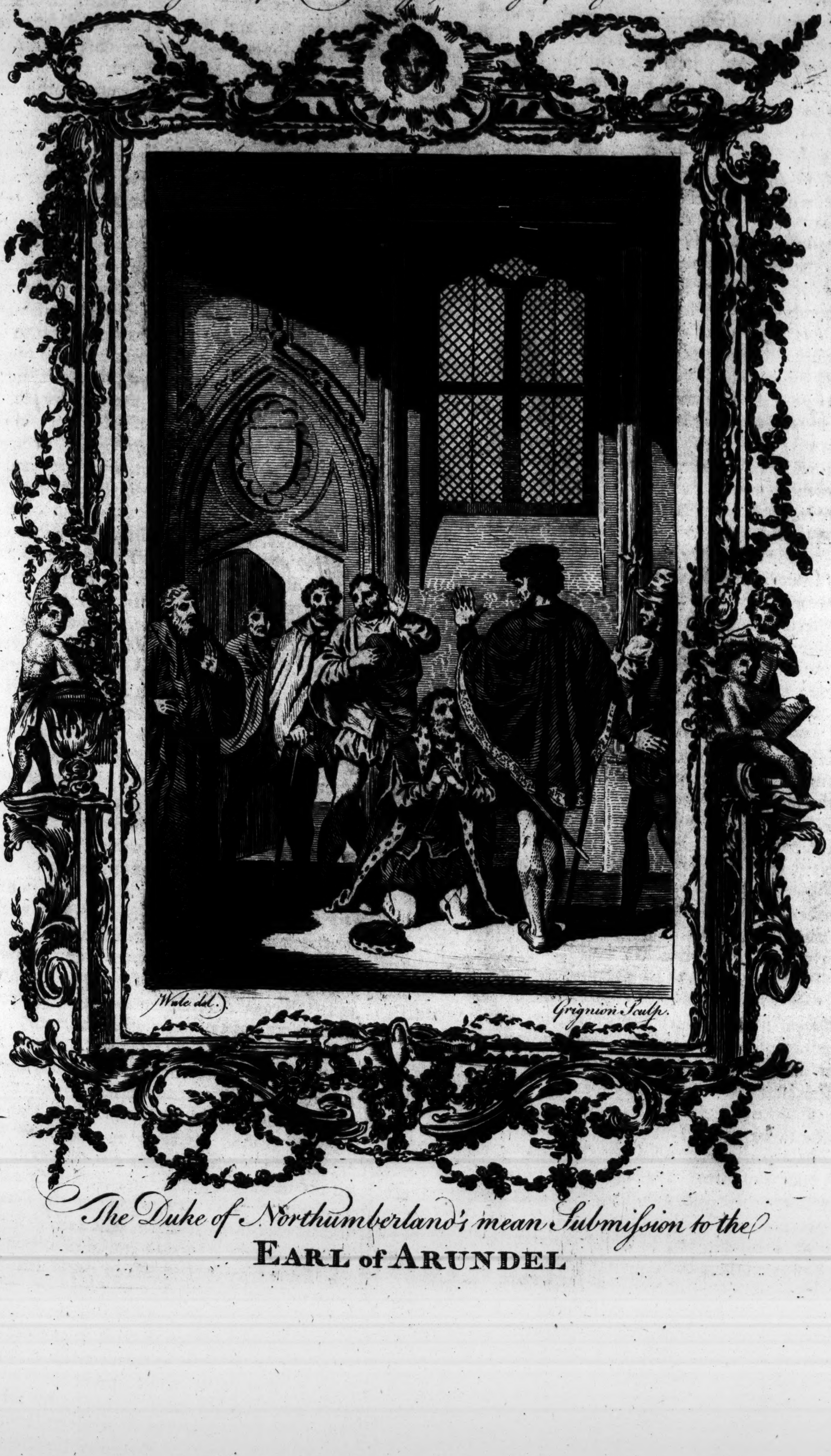
The impriſonment of the primate was followed by that of biſhop Latimer. Nor was there hardly a biſhop, or even a preacher who had ſignalized himſelf in eſtabliſhing the tenets of the Reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond the ſeas, that eſcaped either deprivation or impriſonment. John a Laſco, a Pruſſian nobleman and miniſter of the German proteſtant church in Auſtin-friars, with all the other reformed preachers, who were foreigners, were baniſhed the kingdom. Theſe were followed by a great number of Engliſh families, who had embraced the Reformation. They foreſaw that the deſtructive hand of bigotry would ſoon light the flames of perſecution in their unhappy country, and were unwilling to behold the miſeries of their fellow-ſubjects.

The people had now no hopes of redreſs but from the parliament, which was ſummoned to meet on the fifth of October. But they ſoon found that the commons had now loſt that ſpirit they exerted in the caſe of Tonſtal. It was barely neceſſary to ſpeak the word, and the national religion was changed. The nobles knew it was their intereſt to ſupport the queen, and the commons were moſt of them papiſts. Mary was well informed of this, and therefore ordered a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to be performed in latin, with all the ancient ceremonies, before both houſes of parliament, on the firſt day of opening the ſeſſion, though directly contrary to an act of parliament. Dr. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, biſhop of Hereford, nobly ſupported the laws of their country: they refuſed to kneel, and were immediately thruſt by violence out of the houſe. This violation of the laws of Edward was followed by an act that aboliſhed them. Thus, by bringing things back to the ſtate in which they were at the death of Henry the eighth, the maſs was eſtabliſhed, and Mary continued in poſſeſſion of the title of ſupreme head of the church. Here it was thought ſhe would have ſtopped, and it was pretended, that the other abuſes of popery, which were chiefly grievous to the nation, would never be revived. But it ſoon appeared that this was only the firſt ſtep towards eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in England. The parliament, however, paſſed an act of a popular nature. They aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon which was contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony which did not ſubſiſt before the firſt year of Henry VIII.

But however ready the parliament might be in gratifying the queen with regard to the affairs of religion, they were determined to follow their own judgment in other articles. Among thoſe her choice of a huſband appeared of ſo much importance to the intereſt of the nation, that they reſolved not to ſubmit tamely, in that reſpect, to her will and pleaſure. The ambitious Charles V. having by his deſpotiſm and diſregard to the principles of natural juſtice, occaſioned a revolt in the empire, and been obliged to ſubmit to articles of peace, which ſecured the independency of Germany, was very deſirous of retrieving his loſſes by acquiring the crown of England to his family. His ſon Philip was a widower; and the emperor immediately on the death of Edward, ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to the queen. Mary, who was very deſirous of being united with a houſe from whence ſhe derived her origin, and which might afford her aſſiſtance in the execution of her deſigns with regard to the catholic religion, embraced the offer with great ſatisfaction. The negotiations were carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy and ſucceſs. But the commons were no ſooner informed of this intended marriage, than they made it known to the whole nation. The parliament were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of an alliance which they conſidered as prejudicial to their country; they could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing a Spaniard on the throne of England, eſpecially one who had already patronized the inquiſition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood of the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, Naples, Sicily and Milan. The commons now ſhook off their ſubmiſſion to the court, and boldly remonſtrated on this delicate ſubject. Mary expected not ſuch ſpirited meaſures, and the next day diſſolved the parliament.

Gardiner was charmed at the boldneſs of the commons, and adviſed the queen to ſuſpend the progreſs of the eccleſiaſtical innovations till after the marriage was completed, as he foreſaw that the aſſiſtance of Spain would be neceſſary to complete the intended deſign. He added, that as great pains had been taken to prejudice the nation againſt the Spaniſh alliance; and if that point was urged, at the ſame time with the further innovations in religion, it would poſſibly occaſion a general revolt and inſurrection. The queen had ſome time before deſired pope Julius III. to reconcile herſelf and her kingdoms to the holy ſee; and requeſted that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office. The nomination of Pole to perform this ceremony was not agreeable either to the emperor or Gardiner. The cardinal, though more ſincere in his religious opinions, was leſs guided by maxims of civil policy than the Engliſh prelate. Pole was therefore ſtopped by order of the emperor at Dillinghen, a town on the

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*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*The Duke of Northumberland's mean Submiſsion to the*
**EARL of ARUNDEL**

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Danube, and Charles afterwards obtained Mary's conſent for this detention.

But however cogent the reaſons of Gardiner might be with regard to ſuſpending the eccleſiaſtical innovations, they were not ſufficient to reſtrain the furious zeal of Mary; ſhe cauſed the new ſtatutes to be carried into execution with the utmoſt rigour. The maſs was univerſally reſtored. Celebacy was exacted of the prieſthood, and vaſt numbers of the clergy were deprived of their benefices, for having availed themſelves of the indulgences of their late beloved monarch. A viſitation was appointed in order to reſtore more perfectly the ancient rites. The viſitors were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy from being taken by the clergy on their promotion to any benefice; notwithſtanding the laws of Henry VIII. were ſtill in force. So contradictory are generally the actions of bigotted enthuſiaſm.

A. D. 1554. The Spaniſh marriage was at laſt concluded, and that it might give as little diſguſt as poſſible, the articles were drawn up very favourable and even advantageous to England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be ſolely in the hands of the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, or privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſands pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on her as a jointure; that the male iſſue of the marriage ſhould inherit together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die, and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

The publication of theſe articles, inſtead of pleaſing the Engliſh occaſioned a general diſcontent. They diſtruſted, with reaſon, the artful emperor, and ſtill more his ſon, who was equally inclined to ſuperſtition and tyranny. They were ſhocked with the idea of thoſe barbarities which had torn in pieces the old and new worlds. The inquiſition diſplayed itſelf in all its horrors; and the moſt ſpecious advantages ſeemed only intended to veil the moſt hideous ſlavery. The ſpirit of revolt ſpread itſelf through the kingdom, and the people ſeemed determined to maintain their independence or periſh in the attempt.

Sir Thomas Wyat, a Kentiſh gentleman, very conſiderable on account of his ample fortune, and ſtill more ſo by the opinion the world entertained of his virtues and abilities, engaged to arm the inhabitants of Kent, while Sir Peter Carew, a gentleman of great intereſt in the weſt of England, undertook to aſſemble the inhabitants of Devonſhire. The duke of Suffolk alſo engaged in this inſurrection, and promiſed to raiſe the Midland counties. Carew, prompted either by his impetuoſity or his apprehenſions, took up arms before the day appointed. In conſequence of this raſh action, his troops were ſoon diſperſed by a body of the queen's forces, and he himſelf obliged to take refuge in France. Suffolk was more unfortunate; he was diſappointed in his hopes of raiſing the inhabitants of the Midland parts of the kingdom, committed himſelf to the care of a ſervant, who betrayed him to the earl of Huntingdon, and he was ſent a priſoner to London.

Wyat was at firſt ſucceſsful. He ſummoned his friends to meet him in the field on the twenty-fifth of January, and was immediately joined by Sir Henry Iſley, Sir George Harper, the two Knevets, Sir Thomas Colepepper, the two ſons of lord Cobham, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction in Kent. Proper perſons were immediately diſpatched into different parts of the county, to riſe the people, while he himſelf, with ſome of his principal followers, retired to Rocheſter, took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and fortified the eaſtern part of the city, which he intended as a rendezvous for his army. At the ſame time he ordered a maniſeſto to be publiſhed at Maidſtone, and other places, againſt the queen's marriage, and invited every well wiſher to his country to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the inſolent and tyrannical government of a haughty foreigner. The people were ſoon alarmed at their danger, and flocked to Wyat's ſtandard in conſiderable numbers.

This rebellion threw the queen and her council into great conſternation. They were incapable of making any vigorous efforts againſt the force of a diſcontented people. The inclemency of the ſeaſon rendered it very difficult to raiſe a number of forces, and thoſe that had been collected to eſcort Mary to the capital, were diſbanded. It was therefore determined to ſend an herald to Wyat, with aſſurance of a full pardon; but the herald not being ſuffered to deliver his meſſage, the duke of Norfolk was diſpatched againſt the rebels, at the head of ſix hundred of the trained-bands, and the queen's guards. The two parties ſoon met, but the very inſtant the duke's artillery began to play, the Londoners deſerted and joined the inſurgents. This treacherous action threw the duke into the utmoſt conſternation. The ranks of his little army were thrown into confuſion, and it was with great difficulty that he himſelf and Sir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guards, were ſaved by a precipitate flight. Thus the rebels, without ſtriking a blow, became maſters of the field, the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of braſs cannon.

Animated by this ſucceſs, Wyat led his army towards the capital, perſuaded that the Londoners would open their gates, and declare in his favour. At Dartford he was met by lord Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who promiſed him, in the queen's name, every reaſonable ſatiſfaction he ſhould require. This conceſſion raiſed the preſumption of Wyat; he now thought himſelf invincible, and had the inſolence to demand poſſeſſion of the tower, and of the queen's perſon, with authority to change the council at his pleaſure. Haſtings could not bear to hear ſuch ſhameful conditions with any degree of patience; he defied Wyat, and returned immediately with Cornwallis to court.

The demands of Wyat increaſed the conſternation of the council. The queen repaired to Guildhall, acquainted the citizens with the inſolent anſwer of the rebels, aſſerted ſhe had done nothing in the marriage treaty, without the advice of her council, and declared her reſolution to throw herſelf upon the protection of the faithful city of London. Pleaſed with this condeſcenſion in their ſovereign, the citizens reſolved to oppoſe the rebels. They ordered the bridge to be ſtrongly barricadoed, and every precaution to be taken that had any tendence to render the efforts of the inſurgents abortive, ſhould they attempt to force a paſſage into the city.

Wyat, who was ignorant of theſe reſolutions, advanced as far as Southwark, in order to croſs over the bridge into the city; but finding it would be difficult, if not impoſſible to force a paſſage, he determined to croſs the Thames at Kingſton; but found on his arrival, that the bridge was broken down. This obliged him to halt ſome time till the bridge was repaired. By theſe delays, the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt. He entered Weſtminſter indeed without reſiſtance; but no perſon of note joining him, his men became diſpirited, and inſenſibly forſook their leader, who was at laſt taken priſoner near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkley. The principal leaders were alſo taken, and the ſcene cloſed with the moſt bloody executions. Above ſeventy perſons ſuffered for this rebellion. It had been induſtriouſly reported, that Wyat on his examination, had accuſed the princeſs Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire, as accomplices in this inſurrection. But Wyat took occaſion to declare on the ſcaffold, before all the people, that they had no ſhare whatever in his rebellion.

Several attempts had been made to accuſe the princeſs Elizabeth of ſome deſign againſt the peace of the government, and ſhe was in the utmoſt danger of falling a ſacrifice to the malevolence of her ſiſter. Her being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, her attracting, by her ſuperior qualities, the regard of the nation, and her engaging the affections of Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who was allied to the crown, and on whom the queen had matrimonial views, were crimes which the gloomy ſoul of Mary could never forgive. She was ſhut up in the Tower, and all acceſs to her denied. But the declaration made by Wyat rendered it impoſſible to prove any thing againſt her; and ſhe made ſo good a defence before the council, that there was not a ſingle pretence left for keeping her in confinement. She was therefore reſtored to her liberty; but on refuſing an offer of marriage made her by the duke of Savoy, ſhe was again committed to cuſtody, under a ſtrong guard, at Woodſtock. The earl of Devonſhire experienced the ſame ungenerous treatment: he was equally innocent with the princeſs; nothing could be proved againſt him; but he was committed priſoner to Fotheringay caſtle.

Mary, who was incapable of generoſity, and to whom the virtue of clemency was unknown, determined to remove every perſon from whom the leaſt danger might be apprehended. Lady Jane Gray and her huſband had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the queen's acceſſion, and it was now determined to finiſh the diſmal tragedy. Fakenham, abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſent to the Tower to denounce the fatal meſſage. Lady Jane received the tidings of death with great compoſure: ſhe had long expected it; and the innocence of her life, as well as the long train of calamities ſhe had ſuffered, rendered the paſſage through the valley of the ſhadow of death not unwelcome. During three days, the Romiſh prieſts were perpetually diſturbing her with religious controverſies; but even in theſe melancholy circumſtances, lady Jane had preſence of mind ſufficient to baffle all their attempts: ſhe defended the tenets of the Reformation with great learning and eloquence. She alſo wrote a letter, in the Greek language, to her ſiſter Catherine, exhorting her to maintain, in every circumſtance of life, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the morning of her execution, her huſband deſired permiſſion to ſee her, but ſhe refuſed her conſent: ſhe feared the tenderneſs of a parting interview would overcome the fortitude of both, and render them incapable of finiſhing the period of life with that conſtancy which was neceſſary in their melancholy circumſtances. "Our ſeparation (ſaid ſhe) will only be for a moment; we ſhall ſoon rejoin each other in the regions above, where our affections will be for ever united, and where the ſtorms of adverſity, and even death itſelf, can never afflict us more." She beheld, from the window of her priſon, with ſteadineſs and compoſure, her huſband carried to execution, and his headleſs trunk brought back to the Tower. And being informed that he met death with great tranquillity, ſhe expreſſed an eagerneſs to follow him.

It was at firſt intended to have executed them both on the ſame ſcaffold erected on Tower-hill; but the council fearing that the compaſſion of the people, ariſing from their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, might excite ſome dangerous commotion, it was thought proper to alter the reſolution, and orders were accordingly iſſued that lady Jane ſhould be executed within the walls of the Tower. When ſhe entered the ſcaffold, Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, begged her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep in perpetual remembrance of her. She gave him her table-book, wherein ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, one in Latin, and the other in Engliſh. At the moment of execution, without complaining of any one, ſhe acknowledged that her puniſhment was juſt, for having, though contrary to her own inclinations, ſubmitted to become the inſtrument of the ambition of others. She added, that her example might be of ſome uſe to poſterity; and teach the world, that without perſonal guilt, we may be juſtly puniſhed for circumſtances which tend to the prejudice of the ſtate. Thus fell, in the bloom of life, the lady Jane Gray, whoſe innocence merited a much better fate. She was only in the ſeventeenth year of her age; but her beauty, ſpirit, ſenſe, and virtue, did honour to her country; and her happineſs, had ſhe been left to the indulgence of her own ſtudious inclinations, would have been more to be envied than that of princes: but the fatal ambition of her family cropt the lovely flower before it was expanded in its full luſtre.

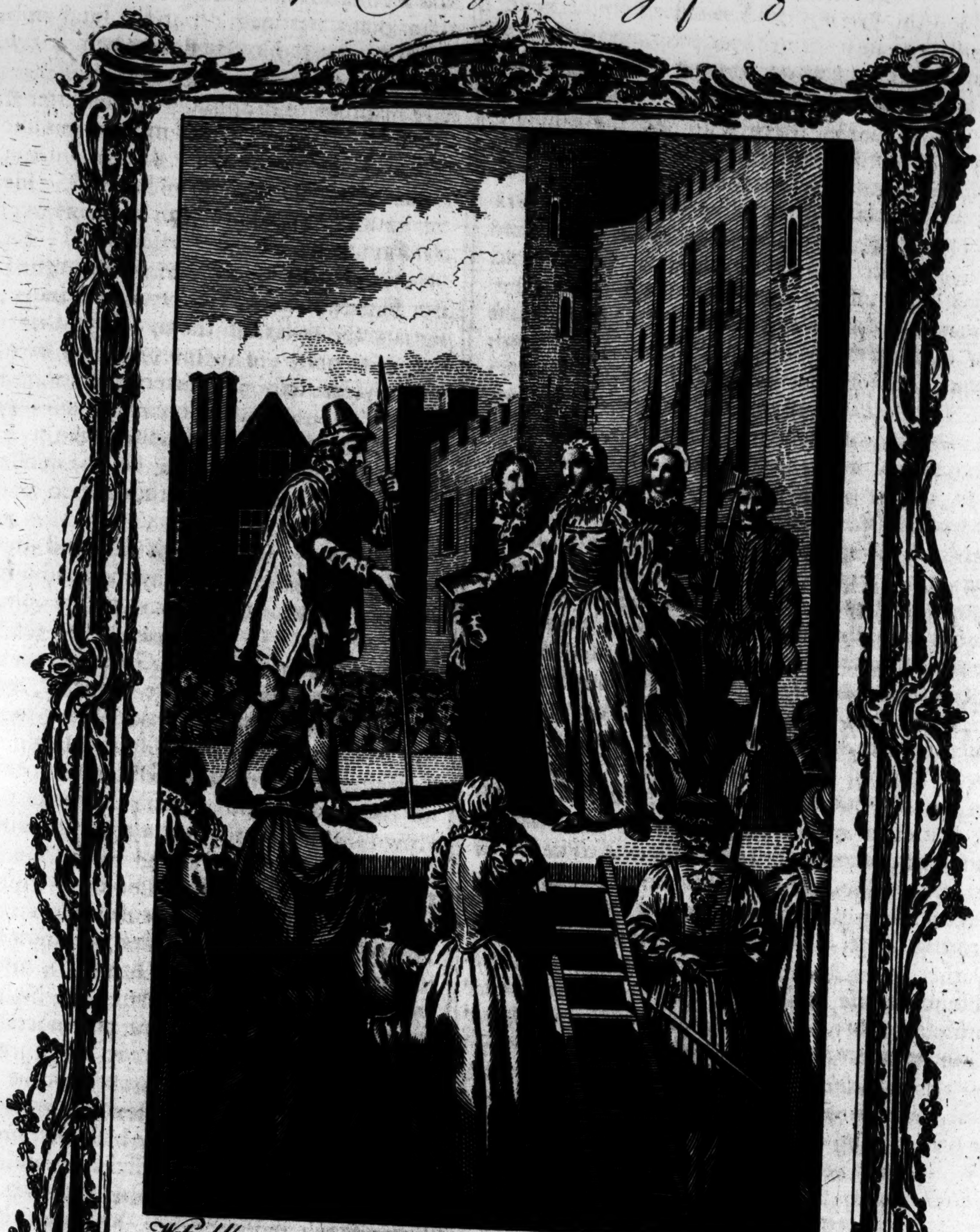
The duke of Suffolk was ſoon after tried and executed. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was alſo impeached, but owed his deliverance to the amazing ſpirit and abilities he diſcovered on his trial. He challenged the court to bring proof of any one overt-act of the treaſon of which he was indicted; and no poſitive proof being produced, he was acquitted by his jury. But ſo great was the power of the judge, and ſo malignant the ſpirit of the miniſtry, that the jury, for daring to obey the dictates of their own conſciences, were proſecuted, and ſeverely fined. John Throgmorton experienced the effect which ſuch ſevere and deſpotic proceedings produce on the human mind. Though equally innocent, he was condemned on the ſame proofs which were thought ſo weak in the caſe of his brother.

By theſe perverſions of law and juſtice, the government became every day more odious; and it was thought neceſſary to diſarm the people, to prevent inſurrections. In the mean time, the queen ſummoned a parliament; and Gardiner, who had received vaſt remittances from the emperor, employed the money in corrupting the members to a degree till that time unprecedented in England. The biſhop, as chancellor, opened the ſeſſion in a ſpeech; in which he maintained the queen's hereditary title to the crown; affirmed ſhe had a right to chuſe a huſband for herſelf; obſerved the good uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, ſprung from the houſe of Burgundy; mentioned the poſterity of Henry VIII. of whom there were now ſurviving but the queen and the lady Elizabeth; and added, that in order to prevent the calamities which might reſult from the claims of different pretenders to the crown, it would be neceſſary to grant the queen a power of naming her ſucceſſor; a power, ſaid he, which ought not to be conſidered as a new thing in England, becauſe it had been formerly beſtowed on Henry VIII.

The parliament were ſufficiently inclined to gratify the queen in all her reaſonable deſires: but when the liberty, the independence, and even the very being of the nation, were expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, they could not by any means be perſuaded to comply. They were no ſtrangers to the inveterate hatred the queen bore to the lady Elizabeth, nor to her ſtrong attachment to the houſe of Auſtria. They remembered her bigotry and ſuperſtition, which prompted her to prefer the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion to all conſiderations of juſtice and national intereſt. They obſerved that Gardiner, in his ſpeech, had carefully avoided giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's ſiſter, and thence inferred, that a deſign was formed of declaring her illegitimate. They apprehended, that Mary, if inveſted with the power ſhe demanded, would bequeath the crown to her huſband, and, by that means, render England a province of the Spaniſh monarchy. They were the more inclined to entertain theſe ſuſpicions, when they heard that Philip's deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter was carefully traced and explained, and that he was repreſented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

Convinced of their danger, and determined never to part with their independence, the parliament reſolved

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*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DEATH of LADY JANE GRAY

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ſolved not to intruſt the queen with the power ſhe demanded. They ſaw the precipice, and were deſirous of keeping at a ſecure diſtance from its brink. They could not refuſe confirming the articles of the marriage, becauſe they were extremely advantageous to England; but they abſolutely refuſed to agree to any ſuch law as was recommended by the chancellor. They would not even declare it treaſon to attempt the death of the queen's huſband while ſhe was alive; and a bill being brought in for that purpoſe, it was rejected at its firſt reading. At the ſame time, in order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exerciſe any authority in England, they enacted a law, by which it was declared, "That her majeſty, as their only queen, ſhould ſolely, and as ſole queen, enjoy the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the realm, or by any other means."

Nor was the ſpirit of the parliament, notwithſtanding all the corrupt practices of Gardiner, confined to the queen's marriage: they oppoſed the meaſures of the court in other inſtances. Bills were brought in for ſuppreſſing the many dangerous and erroneous opinions contained in books publiſhed by the reformers; for reviving the ſtatute of the ſix articles; with thoſe againſt the Lollards, and thoſe againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching; but they were all thrown out by the Commons. A ſufficient proof, that however inclinable the parliament might be to gratify the court in ſome points, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in others. Provoked at theſe repeated oppoſitions, Mary thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

Philip was not in haſte to embark for England; and the queen, conſumed by impatience, expected him with a degree of anxiety that affected her health. At length he arrived at Southampton on the nineteenth of July. Philip, on his firſt landing, drew his ſword, and carried it for ſome time naked in his hand; and when the magiſtrates preſented him with the keys of their town, he received them without ſpeaking a ſingle word. The queen met the prince at Wincheſter, where the marriage ceremony was performed, with great pomp and ſplendor, by biſhop Gardiner. Philip was not formed to attract the affection of the Engliſh: his cold, reſerved, imperious air, and the vexatious ceremony, that, in a manner, cut off all acceſs to his perſon, rendered him obnoxious to the people. Mary, however, loved him, even for the ſame qualities that acquired him the hatred of others. The only way to Philip's heart was to gratify his ambition.

Gardiner had been ſome time employed in influencing the elections for members to ſerve in the enſuing parliament. No endeavours to obtain this neceſſary acquiſition were neglected: bribery, corruption, promiſes and menaces, were employed by the chancellor's emiſſaries. By theſe meaſures, a parliament was ſecured, that were ready to ſignalize their zeal for the Romiſh church, whenever the court thought it neceſſary to introduce any bill for that purpoſe. At their meeting, the king and queen rode together on horſeback, in their robes, to the parliament-houſe, two ſwords of ſtate and two caps of maintenance being borne before them. The firſt act of the ſenate was to ſecure the admiſſion of cardinal Pole, inveſted with the dignity of legate; and in order to this, the late act of attainder paſſed againſt him was annulled; and the queen, by her prerogative, diſpenſing with long eſtabliſhed ſtatutes, he was empowered to act in his office of legation. On his arrival at London, he exhorted the parliament to be reconciled to the holy ſee: upon which the two houſes expreſſed their regret at being ſeparated from the Church, and their reſolution to annihilate every thing that ſchiſm had attempted againſt it. They requeſted abſolution in the moſt humble manner. This the cardinal readily granted; and, in the name of the ſovereign pontiff, removed all cenſures. It was with equal ſurprize and joy that Julius III. received this important intelligence. But the ſubmiſſion would never have been made by the nobility who were in poſſeſſion of the church-lands, had not meaſures been prudently taken to aſſure them that their eſtates ſhould not be taken from them. The parliament accordingly confirmed their poſſeſſion; and they, in return, did not heſitate to come into all the meaſures of the court: they readily ſacrificed their liberty, and the exerciſe of their reaſon, at the altar of ſuperſtitious bigotry: they ſhewed the utmoſt indifference with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow-ſubjects; and renewed the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics which had been aboliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. and once more lighted up the piles for conſuming all who thought differently from the Roman church. Such, however, was their rooted averſion to Spain, that though the queen laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to procure her huſband to be declared preſumptive heir to the crown, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſhe failed in both attempts: ſhe could not even prevail upon the parliament to agree to his coronation, nor obtain from the Commons a ſubſidy for aſſiſting the emperor in his war againſt France.

Conſcious of the general odium under which he laboured, Philip altered his conduct, and endeavoured to obtain the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had been confined in conſequence of the jealouſy or reſentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her ſiſter, and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. He well knew, that if this princeſs fell a ſacrifice to the malevolent diſpoſition of the queen, Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, was the next in the order of ſucceſſion, and conſequently, that England would be annexed to that crown. To prevent an incident of ſuch importance to his own tranquillity, Philip affected a generoſity little conſiſtent with his real character.

A. D. 1555. But even thoſe acts of clemency could not procure him the favour of the Commons; they firmly refuſed to grant him any power in the adminiſtration; and the queen perceiving that it would be in vain to make any farther attempts, diſſolved the parliament. A ſplendid embaſſy was ſoon after ſent to Rome, to inform his holineſs of all that had been tranſacted in the Engliſh parliament; and to make tenders of ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee in the name of the king, queen, and three eſtates of England. But before their arrival, Julius III. was dead, and St. Peter's chair filled by Paul IV. a proud, haughty, inſolent eccleſiaſtic. He was ſo far from receiving the Engliſh ambaſſadors with that kindneſs they had reaſon to expect, that he refuſed to give them audience, becauſe Mary had ſtiled herſelf queen of Ireland, as well as England; a title which neither herſelf, nor any of her predeceſſors, had received from the holy ſee. In conſequence of this, they were obliged to wait till a bull was expedited for inveſting Mary with that title, and then they were admitted to an audience. The pope appeared aſtoniſhed when the ambaſſadors expreſſed their hopes that he would confirm to the laity the poſſeſſion of the church-lands. He blamed Pole for exceeding his commiſſion; and wondered how any perſon could preſume to harbour a thought, that he would grant any confirmation to acts in themſelves iniquitous and ſacrilegious. He even iſſued a bull, denouncing the ſevereſt anathemas upon all who ſhould with-hold from the church, or the religious orders, any part of their property. He alſo demanded Peter-pence, which had been ſo long aboliſhed. The nobility heard of theſe determinations of the pontiff without emotion: the thunder of the Vatican had loſt its force in England, except among a few enthuſiaſtic bigots who ſtill trembled at the threatenings of the holy father. Among theſe was the queen herſelf, who, notwithſtanding the meaſures purſued at the commencement of her reign, thought herſelf obliged to give up ſuch church-lands as remained in her poſſeſſion, and to found new monaſteries till the treaſury was exhauſted. It was in vain that the council repreſented to her the intereſt of her crown; "I prefer (ſaid ſhe) the ſalvation of my ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England."

In the mean time, the miniſtry was chiefly engaged in conſulting the methods proper to be purſued for re-eſtabliſhing the ancient religion. Cardinal Pole, and biſhop Gardiner, were the two churchmen moſt in favour, and between theſe a very important queſtion was frequently debated before the queen and council, namely, Whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be executed in their full extent and rigour, or ſhould only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations. Pole, ſincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and virtuous from principle, was for moderation and indulgence. Gardiner, who had politically complied with all the caprices of Henry VIII. and who would have been equally complaiſant to his ſucceſſor, had he not been driven to extremities, a zealot from intereſt, indifferent by principle, was for violence and puniſhment. The legate maintained, that nothing could be more contradictory to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity than religious perſecutions; that while they puniſh an error as a crime, they overturn at once ſociety and its laws: at the ſame time, they give the moſt convincing reaſon to ſuſpect, that thoſe who employ them are by no means convinced of the truth of the doctrines they are ſollicitous to eſtabliſh, becauſe they ſeem afraid of ſubmitting their cauſe to be decided by fair and impartial argument. He added, that ſuch treatment could only make hypocrites, or, what is ſtill worſe, outrageous fanatics; and that experience had ſufficiently proved, that inſtead of producing uniformity in religion, it uſually increaſes the progreſs of hereſy, by irritating the zeal of ſectaries, who gain proſelytes by the exemplary patience of their martyred brethren. On the other hand, a prudent indulgence extinguiſhes the zeal of ſects, prevents the ſpirit of cavilling and revolting; the attachment to any particular tenets gradually decays; the common occupations and pleaſures of life ſucceed to the acrimony of diſputation; and the ſame perſon who would before have ſet flames and tortures at defiance, is engaged to change his religion from the ſmalleſt proſpect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more faſhionable in his principles.

Gardiner oppoſed theſe arguments urged by the legate with reaſons more adapted to the gloomy, malevolent mind of the queen and her huſband. He aſſerted, that this political conduct had nothing to do with religion. "If the Divinity (ſaid the chancellor) has thought proper to reveal certain principles to mankind, it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that he has not given a criterion by which they may be aſcertained; and a prince who knowingly allows theſe principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permiſſion to the vending poiſon, under the form of bread, to his ſubjects. No human motive can ſtand in competition with the cauſe of heaven. The more ſevere the puniſhment, the ſooner hereſy will expire, and the more effectually will the public utility be conſulted. Have not even the Proteſtants themſelves made uſe of the ſame puniſhments? Did not Calvin cauſe Servetus to be burnt at Geneva? And did not Cranmer bring Arians and Anabaptiſts to the ſtake? If terror makes hypocrites, children at leaſt, who are brought up in orthodox principles, will not imitate the hypocriſy of their fathers; they will preſerve the precious pledge of faith, though obtained, perhaps, by the diſſimulation of their parents."

Theſe reaſons, however inconcluſive in themſelves, were adopted by the bigotted Mary; but willing, at the ſame time, to pay ſome regard to the counſels of Pole, ſhe ordered him to take upon himſelf the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating the Proteſtant religion. It was now determined to execute the laws againſt hereſy in their full force; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror, which has ever ſince rendered the Catholic religion the object of general deteſtation. We could wiſh, indeed, for the honour of humanity, that the mantle of oblivion could be drawn over theſe deteſtable actions; but the pen of hiſtory muſt not diſſemble the exceſſes and dreadful conſequences of bigotted zeal. The horrid ſcenes which muſt be diſplayed furniſh an important, though a melancholy, leſſon to mankind.

The two firſt victims of religious fury were Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's; both eminent for their learning, their piety, and their virtue. But Gardiner's plan was firſt to attack men of that character; vainly imagining, that terror would force them to ſubmiſſion; and that their example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally influence the multitude. Rogers had preſerved the life of Bourne, the popiſh preacher at St. Paul's, at the hazard of his own; and therefore deſerved ſome favour at the hands of Gardiner, who was no ſtranger to that circumſtance: but no regard was ſhewn to this eminent preacher; the dictates of juſtice and humanity had loſt their force. Rogers was even denied the favour of ſeeing his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved. But this denial could not ſhake his conſtancy: the ties of nature gave way to the influence of religion; and he went with chearfulneſs to the ſtake, and periſhed in the flames with unſhaken conſtancy.

Hooper behaved with all the fortitude of a primitive martyr, and ſhewed a noble contempt for all the inſults he received. He was tried with Rogers in London, but ſent down to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance, which was contrived to ſtrike a greater terror into his flock, was a ſource of ſatisfaction to Hooper, who ſincerely rejoiced in having an opportunity of giving teſtimony, by his death, to the doctrine he had formerly inculcated from the pulpit. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, a ſtool was placed before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, and which it was ſtill in his power to merit by his recantation. But life, on ſuch conditions, was deſpiſed: he ordered it to be removed, and chearfully prepared himſelf to ſuffer the ſentence pronounced againſt him by his enemies. His death was attended with every circumſtance that could heighten its ſeverity. The wind, which was very ſtrong, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not eaſily take fire; all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were affected; one arm dropped off, while he continued to beat his breaſt with the other. He was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of the agony, ſtopped his ſpeech. He was full three quarters of an hour in torture, but bore the whole with a conſtancy that was truly aſtoniſhing.

About the ſame time, Mr. Laurence Saunders, miniſter of Allhallows, Bread-ſtreet; and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were delivered over to the ſecular arm, and ſealed the truth of the doctrines they had taught with their blood. Saunders ſuffered at Coventry, and was alſo indulged with the offer of a pardon; but he rejected it with diſdain, and embraced the ſtake, crying out, "I ſalute thee, O croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, O life eternal!" Taylor was executed among his ancient friends and pariſhioners; and repeated, in the midſt of the flames, a pſalm in Engliſh. On which one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. Another, ſtill more violent, ſtruck him on the head with his halbert, and the blow put a period to his life.

Theſe inhuman executions, merely for the ſake of opinion, enflamed the nation, and Gardiner began to be under apprehenſions for his ſafety. Perhaps the dictates of conſcience, or the ſoft whiſpers of humanity, might alſo have ſome place in cauſing him to wiſh he had never engaged as a principal in theſe barbarous executions. But however that be, he refuſed to act any longer, and devolved his odious commiſſion on Bonner, biſhop of London; a man of the moſt profligate and abandoned morals, and, at the ſame time, of ſo ſavage and cruel a diſpoſition, that he ſeemed to delight in the torments of thoſe unfortunate perſons whom his iniquitous ſentences committed to the flames.

The retreat of Gardiner did not, however, abate the fury of perſecution. Human nature appears not, on any occaſion, ſo deteſtable, and, at the ſame time, ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. It would be uſeleſs to multiply inſtances of this kind; the ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſimilar in all. A few more will, therefore, be abundantly ſufficient.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen. He appealed to cardinal Pole, but it was not regarded, and he received the crown of martyrdom. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, the old biſhop of Worceſter, were burnt at Oxford. They were both celebrated for their learning and virtue, and both periſhed in the ſame flames. They mutually exhorted each other to patience; and, when faſtened to the ſtake, Latimer cried out, "Courage, my brother! we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." Thomas Hawkes, when bound to the ſtake, told his friends, that if he found the torture ſupportable, he would give them a ſign, and failed not to do it. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered ſo amazingly ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his hands, the ſignal agreed upon, and in that poſture expired.

The paſſion for martyrdom, infuſed by theſe examples, communicated itſelf to the young as well as to the old, and even to women. One of the ſex, whom they executed, was pregnant, and near the time of her delivery when ſhe ſuffered. The excruciating tortures excited the pains of labour, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards, more merciful than the reſt, ſnatched the helpleſs infant from the fire; but a barbarous magiſtrate commanded it to be thrown back into the flames, ſaying, that the offspring of an heretical parent ſhould not be ſuffered to live.

Theſe unhappy people, though condemned to tortures ſhocking to humanity, were not always convicted of having inculcated tenets contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: they were taken up merely on ſuſpicion, and condemned on refuſing to ſign certain articles. Hence they excited the concern and admiration of their own party, and a general hatred againſt the government. Philip perceived the whole nation was agitated; and, by an artifice ſuitable to his character, endeavoured to throw the whole odium of theſe barbarities on the Engliſh biſhops. He ordered friar Alphonſo, his confeſſor, to diſclaim theſe ſanguinary proceedings from the pulpit. The eccleſiaſtic obeyed; and, in a ſermon preached before their majeſties, he exclaimed againſt all religious perſecution, and accuſed the biſhops of all the barbarities that had been inflicted on the Proteſtants. Alarmed at this charge, Bonner himſelf refuſed to be any longer concerned in ſuch ſanguinary proceedings, unleſs others, as well as himſelf, were involved in the odium. The fires of perſecution ceaſed for a time, and repeated orders were ſent from the council to quicken their diligence. At laſt the court threw off the cloak of diſſimulation, and acted in an open manner. A kind of inquiſition was eſtabliſhed, by appointing commiſſioners to take an exact account of all hereſies; to puniſh all neglects of the Catholic worſhip in churches and chapels; to proceed againſt the clergy who did not preach the doctrine of the euchariſt; to puniſh every perſon who did not hear maſs, who did not aſſiſt at the ſervice of the church, who did not receive the euchariſt, or uſe the holy water. The juſtices of the peace were ordered to appoint ſpies over the conduct of the people: to ſummon the accuſed, without diſcovering the accuſer, and to put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons who would not confeſs. Nor did the tyranny of the court terminate here; a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all who were poſſeſſed of heretical books, to burn them without reading or ſhewing them to others: and declaring that all who refuſed to pay an implicit obedience to theſe orders ſhould be deemed rebels, and executed immediately by martial law.

England was now reduced to a more deplorable condition than ever Spain itſelf, where the inquiſition is eſtabliſhed with all its horrors. But ſtill the proteſtants ſupported their tenets with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and the doctrines of the reformation increaſed ſurprizingly amidſt theſe complicated ſcenes of horror and diſtreſs. The iron rod of tyranny was diſplayed in vain; every martyrdom was equivalent to a thouſand ſermons againſt popery; and the aſhes of the ſufferer, like ſeed diſſeminated in a fertile ſoil, produced an hundred fold. The proteſtants were far more numerous at the cloſe, than in the beginning of this bloody reign, though it is computed, that in the ſpace of three years, no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were burnt for hereſy, among whom were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women and four children.

The execution of archbiſhop Cranmer, filled up the meaſure of iniquity in this atrocious reign. He had been long confined in priſon, and it was now determined to puniſh him as a heretic. He was tried before Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, a commiſſioner from the pope. Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, accuſed him of being twice married, of keeping a wife ſecretly in the reign of Henry VIII. and openly in the reign of his ſucceſſor; of publiſhing books againſt, and forſaking the doctrines of the Roman church; and of denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. He owned the facts, and they cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, though they knew it was impoſſible, as he was then their priſoner. He was, however, on not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirley, biſhop of Ely, were ſent down to Oxford to degrade him. The former performed his office with his uſual inſolence, uſing the moſt bitter railleries and invectives againſt the priſoner, during the ceremony, while Thirleby melted into tears. The primate's behaviour was uniform and becoming his unfortunate circumſtances. He ſaid he was not ſorry to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from his relation to the ſee of Rome; but thought it great injuſtice to condemn him for not going to that capital, when they kept him cloſe confined in priſon. At the ſame time he denied the pope's authority over him, and appealed from his ſentence to a free general council.

Though the queen was ſatisfied that Cranmer would periſh eternally, ſhe was deſirous of augmenting the weight of his misfortune, by ruining his honour and conſigning his name over to infamy. Perſons were accordingly employed to attack him, not by reaſon and argument, againſt which they knew he was too well prepared, but by the moſt artful flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs. They diſplayed before him, in the moſt faireſt point of light, the dignities and honours to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation: they flattered him with long enjoying theſe powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the courſe of his proſperity; and the great advantages that might yet reſult to ſociety by his labours. Theſe inſinuations ſhook the firmneſs of the primate, who influenced by that love of life ſo deeply engraven in the human heart, and terrified at the proſpect of thoſe dreadful tortures he was condemned to ſuffer, permitted, in an unguarded hour, the feelings of nature to over power his reſolution; he agreed to ſign a paper, acknowledging the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. The queen, whoſe perfidy was exceeded only by her cruelty, reſolved that this recantation ſhould not ſave his life. She ſent orders that he ſhould acknowledge his errors in the church before the whole congregation, and thence be led immediately to execution.

But the malevolence of Mary was for once diſappointed. Cranmer had now reſumed his proper dignity, had ſincerely repented of his weakneſs and apoſtacy, and determined, inſtead of the declaration they expected, to ſpeak the real ſentiments of his heart without diſguiſe. He accordingly began his addreſs to the audience with obſerving, that he was ſufficiently acquainted with the obedience he owed to his ſovereign, and the laws of his country; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever puniſhment they might inflict upon him; that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to maintain the truth on all occaſions, and not to abandon, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind; that there was one error in his life, which, above all others, filled him with the moſt unfeigned ſorrow and repentance, the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he chearfully embraced the preſent opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine which he verily believed to be revealed from heaven; and that as his hand had erred in betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, and by a ſevere, but juſt ſentence, firſt expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the inſtrument of committing.

Exaſperated at their diſappointment, his enemies dragged him from the church, and conducted him to the ſtake amidſt the ſhouts and inſults of the catholics. But having now collected the whole force and vigour of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſurprizing courage: he ſtretched out his right-hand, and without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, held it in the flames till it dropt off. His mind ſeemed to be wholly poſſeſſed with reflecting on his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim ſeveral times, "This unworthy hand has offended." Satiſfied with that atonement, he re-aſſumed a wonderful compoſure and ſerenity of countenance: and when the fire ſurrounded his body, he ſeemed to be entirely inſenſible of all his outward ſufferings, and by the force of hope and chriſtian fortitude, to have raiſed himſelf above all bodily ſenſations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames. Cranmer was a man of the moſt amiable character; equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety and learning, and poſſeſſed of candour, ſincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almoſt every virtue that could render him the object of public eſteem and veneration. His death was lamented by the ingenuous of all parties; and he is conſidered as the hero of the proteſtant faith. Cardinal Pole ſucceeded him in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury; and ſincerely diſapproved of the violent meaſures of the court, but wanted power to oppoſe its ſanguinary proceedings.

It is not at all ſurprizing that Mary ſhould be guilty of theſe ſhocking cruelties, as ſhe was almoſt deſtitute of education, extremely bigotted to her own reſolution, and of a gloomy, malevolent diſpoſition; but it is aſtoniſhing, that, conſidering the ſtate of the kingdom at that period, when the number of proteſtants greatly exceeded that of the catholics, ſhe was ſuffered to ſurvive one moment the commiſſion of ſuch horrid barbarities. It was not, however, long before ſhe felt the effect of the public hatred. The miniſtry became extremely unpopular; and every thing bore the marks of diſguſt and averſion. Mary's ill temper was increaſed by ſeveral mortifications. She had flattered herſelf with an imaginary pregnancy; and when ſhe found her miſtake, ſhe fell into a profound melancholy. Philip, diſguſted with a wife who was extremely jealous, without being in any reſpect amiable, made preparations for returning to the continent. The choler which conſumed her, ſhe diſcharged upon the proteſtants, by daily enforcing the perſecutions, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects, by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be hated.

Philip had received an invitation from the emperor, together with a declaration of his intentions of reſigning to him his dominions. He therefore took this opportunity of retiring to Flanders, and met his father at Bruſſels. Here the emperor inſtructed him in the art of government; and recommended to him the following maxims for his conduct, which Philip took no care to obſerve: "To think himſelf rich, when his ſubjects were ſo; and wiſe when he had wiſe counſellors; to govern his ſubjects rather by love than by fear; to let a ſmall fault paſs unpuniſhed, rather than condemn an innocent perſon; to avoid the curioſity of ſearching into things done in private; to leave the ſecrets of men's hearts and thoughts to God, and the chaſtiſement of interior offences to the divine vengeance; ſince, what the eyes of man could not ſee, it was not fit for their hands to puniſh. Had Charles himſelf directed his conduct by thoſe maxims Germany and the Netherlands had not been deluged with blood, nor Europe been filled with widows and orphans. But the cool reflections of age had now diſcovered to him the emptineſs of his former purſuits; and he found that the vain ſcheme of extending his empire, had been the ſource of endleſs oppoſition and diſappointment, had kept himſelf, his neighbours, and his ſubjects in perpetual inquietude, and had fruſtrated the ſole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care.

The parliament met on the twenty-firſt of October, but with viſible diſcontent at the late proceedings. They indeed confirmed the queen's reſignation of the firſt-fruits and tenths, but were ſo fearful of reſtoring to the clergy an authority ſo odious to the nation, and ſo highly offended at the queen's giving up the church lands, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they granted a moderate ſupply. Mary therefore ſoon diſſolved a parliament ſhe found ſo untractable. This ſudden change in the temper of the houſe of commons, is, perhaps, with juſtice, attributed to the death of Gardiner, who paid the debt of nature on the twelfth of November. By the death of this prelate, the queen was deprived of her ableſt counſellor, and the only perſon in the miniſtry who had any great authority in the parliament. He was a perſon of a ſelfiſh character; a profound diſſembler, and of a proud, vindictive and cruel diſpoſition. He underſtood the canon and civil law as well as moſt of his time; he wrote latin with eaſe and purity, and few of his cotemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. He is ſaid to have felt ſome remorſe in his laſt moments for the cruel perſecutions he had carried on againſt the proteſtants, and to have exclaimed, "I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter!"

A. D. 1556. The refuſal of the parliament to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for ſatisfying the demands of Philip, ſo highly exaſperated the queen, that ſhe had recourſe to every method in her power to extort money from her people. She levied a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds, upon a thouſand perſons, whom ſhe was aſſured would not refuſe to aſſiſt her; but that ſum being inſufficient to anſwer the end propoſed, ſhe exacted a general loan of an hundred pounds a piece of all perſons poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year; ſhe extorted ſixty thouſand marks from ſeven thouſand yeomen, who had not contributed to former loans; and exacted ſixty thouſand pounds from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refuſed, having advanced her large ſums already. But Mary was determined not to be diſappointed, and having received advice that they had ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, ſhe ſeized both ſhips and cargo, laying upon them a new ſubſidy of twenty ſhillings for each piece of cloth, by an arbitrary ſtretch of the royal prerogative; nor could they procure this impoſition to be aboliſhed, till they had agreed to advance forty thouſand pounds, and to engage to pay twenty thouſand more in a limited time. All theſe violent and oppreſſive meaſures were purſued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and when Mary herſelf had no other occaſion for money than to ſatisfy the exhorbitant demands of a huſband, who was equally regardleſs of her love and her generoſity, and attended to nothing but his own intereſt.

The power of Philip now roſe to the higheſt pitch by the retreat of Charles V. his father, who, though ſtill in the vigour of his age, had determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happineſs he had ſo ardently purſued in vain amidſt the tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. He accordingly embarked on board a fleet, ſailed immediately to Spain, and took his journey to St. Juſt, a monaſtery in Eſtramedura, which being ſituated in a happy climate, and amidſt the greateſt beauties of nature, he had choſen for the place where he intended to end his days in ſolitude and contemplation. He was ſoon convinced that the homage he had received, had been paid to his fortune rather than to his perſon. He, however, purſued his deſign with undaunted reſolution, and ſhut himſelf up in his retreat. Being thus ſecluded from the world, he amuſed himſelf in examining the religious controverſies which had ſo much agitated Europe in his reign, and in imitating the works of celebrated mechanics. Among the reſt the conſtruction of clocks and watches engaged his attention, and never being able to make two go in a perfect equality of time, he concluded from thence that it was impoſſible for men to agree exactly in the articles of faith; and that it was unjuſt to puniſh them for their opinions. This concluſion proved, at leaſt, that he had changed his own. Notwithſtanding the ingratitude of his ſon Philip, who no ſooner ſucceeded than he neglected him, he endeavoured to make him maſter of the empire, with all the other vaſt eſtates of the family. But Ferdinand the brother of Charles, who had been elected king of the Romans, would not come into his views; and the houſe of Auſtria was divided into two branches. Paul IV. refuſed to crown Ferdinand, alledging, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in caſe of a reſignation, the right devolved to the holy ſee, and conſequently it belonged to the pope alone to name an emperor.

That turbulent pontiff was a ſworn enemy to the houſe of Auſtria, and accordingly engaged Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain. Philip was not fond of war; his object was to govern by political reſources, and flattered himſelf by that means alone to riſe ſuperior to all his enemies, and extend, at once, his authority and dominions. But being obliged to take up arms, he endeavoured to engage the Engliſh in his cauſe againſt France. Had the deciſion depended entirely upon the queen, he would have found no difficulty in his application; ſhe was incapable of refuſing the demands of a huſband ſhe ſo tenderly loved; but ſhe had little influence in the council, and ſtill leſs among the people: her government was hardly able to ſupport itſelf in the midſt of a profound peace.

A. D. 1557. Philip returned to England on the twentieth of March; and the nation was ſoon after alarmed with accounts that a rebellion was broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom. Thomas Stafford, a lineal deſcendant from the late duke of Buckingham, and conſequently poſſeſſed of a diſtant claim upon the crown, had for ſome time taken refuge in France, where he had been joined by ſeveral other diſaffected perſons; and, unhappily for themſelves, miſtaking the diſcontents of the people for an indication of their readineſs to take up arms againſt the government, they attempted to excite an inſurrection. About the latter end of April they landed in Scotland, marched directly to Scarborough, and ſeized the caſtle. Stafford now aſſumed the title of protector of the kingdom, and publiſhed a manifeſto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England. But he ſoon found the people, however oppreſſed with regard to religion, were too cautious to join his ſtandard. The earl of Weſtmoreland marched againſt him, defeated his little army, and took him priſoner. Perſuaded that this attempt to diſturb the internal peace of the kingdom was owing to the inſtigations of the French king, a reſolution was taken in the council to declare war againſt that monarch, which was accordingly performed, with great ſolemnity, about the middle of June.

Having thus procured the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, Philip paſſed over to the Low Countries; while his general, the duke of Savoy, ſtrengthened with the junction of a body of Britiſh forces, entered Picardy, and St. Quintin. As the place was but poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garriſon, he hoped in a few days to compel it to ſurrender: but the governor, admiral Coligny, thinking it his duty to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into the town, with a few battalians of French and Scots, and by his exhortations and example, encouraged the ſoldiers to make a vigorous defence. In the mean time he ſent an expreſs to his uncle, the conſtable Montmorency, then at the head of the French army, requeſting a reinforcement. That general accordingly advanced towards St. Quintin, at the head of his whole army, in order to facilitate the attempt of throwing a body of forces into the town.

The duke of Savoy, one of the greateſt generals of his age, informed of the conſtable's deſign, fell upon the reinforcement with ſuch irreſiſtable fury, that not more than five hundred men entered the place. Animated by this ſucceſs, he attacked the conſtable, routed his whole army, and took him priſoner. Two thouſand five hundred of the enemy fell on the field of battle, among whom were ſeveral princes and noblemen of the firſt diſtinction.

This defeat filled France with conſternation: and the duke of Savoy, to improve the advantage he had gained over the enemy, diſpatched the duke of Bedford, and the count of Egmont, at the head of four thouſand men, to make an inroad into France. They obeyed their inſtructions, and ravaged the country to the diſtance of two and twenty miles, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. The inhabiatnts of Paris were ſo terrified, that they began to fortify their city with the utmoſt expedition; and had the duke of Savoy marched directly to the capital, he had, in all probability, made himſelf maſter of the place; but he continued the ſiege of St. Quintin, which, by the bravery of the admiral, held out ſeventeen days, when it was taken by ſtorm, and that gallant officer, with his brother, and all who had ſurvived of the garriſon, were made priſoners. The noble defence made by the admiral, ſaved France. The Spaniards loſt the favourable opportunity of puſhing their conqueſts, till the advanced ſeaſon obliged them to go into winter quarters.

A. D. 1558. The French, in the mean time, recovered from their fears, and made the neceſſary preparations for rendering abortive any attempts of the enemy. They even formed an attempt for reducing Calais, a fortreſs conſidered as impregnable, eſpecially during the winter. Among the papers of the

French admiral, taken priſoner at St. Quintin, ſome obſcure hints of this deſign were found; and Philip failed not to inform Mary of the diſcovery he had made, and offered to ſupply her with troops to defend the place. But the Engliſh council conſidering this intimation as a ſtratagem of Philip to get poſſeſſion of Calais, not only declined the offer, but neglected to put the place in a poſture of defence, notwithſtanding the repeated ſollicitations of the governor.

The duke of Guiſe, lately created lieutenant-general of France, not content with fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom, reſolved, even in the depth of winter, to attempt the reduction of Calais; an enterprize which France, during her greateſt ſucceſs, had always conſidered as impoſſible, and therefore ſeldom attempted. The place was commanded by lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer; but the garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred ſoldiers, and about two hundred townſmen. The Engliſh having, at the end of autumn, drawn off a great part of the garriſon, with an intention to replace them in the ſpring, when their attendance was thought abſolutely neceſſary. Guiſe knew this, and determined to take advantage of his diſcovery.

Calais was ſurrounded by moraſſes on the land ſide, and could only be approached by a dyke, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newenham, about a quarter of a mile from the town. Near this fort was another, called St. Agatha; and the entrance of the harbour was defended by a caſtle, termed the Ryſbank. Such was the ſituation of Calais when Guiſe ſat down before it, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. It was not even imagined that the French could be able to undertake any enterprize of conſequence, ſo ſoon after the dreadful defeat they had ſuffered at St. Quintin.

When the duke of Guiſe began his march towards Calais, a fleet of French ſhips was ſent into the channel, under pretence of cruiſing on the trading veſſels of the Engliſh, but in reality to aſſiſt the land forces in their attempts upon a place deemed impregnable. The firſt operation of the French was againſt Fort Agatha, which the Engliſh, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. The garriſon, however, threw themſelves into Fort Newenham, which was immediately inveſted by the enemy. At the ſame time, the French ſhips cannonaded the Ryſbank, and both forts ſoon became untenable. Wentworth ſaw the neceſſity of abandoning theſe caſtles, as the greater part of his garriſon was employed in defending them: he therefore gave orders for their capitulating with the enemy, and joining him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was in no condition to defend. The garriſon of Newenham followed his inſtructions, and were permitted to retire into the town: but thoſe in the Ryſbank were not ſo fortunate; the French admiral refuſed to ſign any capitulation; and the garriſon were ſoon after obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

All acceſs to Calais was now totally cut off; and the duke of Guiſe formed, with prodigious labour, a road, conſtructed with pitched hurdles, through the moraſs, by the help of which a large detachment of his army lodged themſelves behind ſome heights, near the walls of the town. Here they erected a battery of fifteen pieces of large cannon againſt the caſtle, in which a practicable breach was ſoon made. D'Andelot, brother to admiral Coligny, was now ordered to draw the water out of the ditch, and ſucceſsfully executed the taſk in one night. The next day the duke ordered a general aſſault, which was made with ſuch fury, that the breach was carried by ſtorm, and the French effected a lodgment in the caſtle. During the enſuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to recover that poſt; but having loſt two hundred men, and the French pouring ſuch numbers into the caſtle, he thought any farther defence would be madneſs, and accordingly capitulated on the following conditions, the beſt he could obtain in his diſtreſſed ſituation: "That he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, with fifty of the chief officers of his garriſon: that the reſt ſhould be at liberty to retire, either to England or Flanders; and that the place, with all its proviſions, ammunition, cannon, and riches, ſhould be immediately delivered up to the French." This capitulation was ſigned on the ſeventeenth of January. Ham and Guiſnes were taken by the twenty-ſecond; and the duke of Guiſe reduced, in leſs than thirty days, and even in the depth of winter, what had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of an army fluſhed with the glory they had lately acquired in the fields of Creſſy.

But inſtead of being rouzed to vengeance, they ſunk in deſpair; their ſpirits were broken by a ſeries of calamities and diſgrace. Mary was ſo ſenſibly affected with the loſs of Calais, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to grief; and repeatedly declared to thoſe about her, "That her end was approaching, and that ſhe ſhould never recover the effects of this miſfortune." She, however, aſſembled the parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies. This was effected, though not without oppoſition from the Commons, who ſeemed determined to remonſtrate againſt the abuſe of prerogative. They alſo paſſed an act for confirming all alienations of crown-lands that the queen had made, or might think proper to make during the ſpace of ſeven years to come. One Copley, a member of the houſe, having expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the queen, under the ſanction of this dangerous act, might alienate even the crown itſelf, to the prejudice of the lawful heir, was puniſhed for his preſumption.

But the government was much more intent on perſecuting the Proteſtants at home, than in conſulting the beſt means of repairing the national loſſes abroad. All who refuſed to conform to the Catholic religion, or were found poſſeſſed of what were then ſtiled heretical books, were puniſhed without mercy; even the life of Elizabeth herſelf was perpetually in danger. Notwithſtanding the protection of Philip, who was greatly intereſted in her ſafety, that princeſs had undoubtedly fallen a ſacrifice to the cruel hatred of her ſiſter, had ſhe not, by the moſt prudent conduct, avoided every thing that might render her ſuſpected, and diſarmed even calumny itſelf. In the retreat where ſhe reſided, remote from the court, and ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe devoted herſelf wholly to ſtudy; and was preparing, in ſolitude and ſilence, for thoſe important ſcenes in which ſhe was ſoon to bear ſo diſtinguiſhed a part. She made religion itſelf ſubſervient to policy: ſhe conformed to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, though ſtrongly attached to the Proteſtant principles. To have acted otherwiſe, would, indeed, have been no other than running headlong to death, and the time of her aſcending the throne was at no great diſtance.

Though the Engliſh had refuſed the offer of Philip with regard to throwing a ſtrong reinforcement into Calais, he made a propoſal for aſſiſting them to the utmoſt of his power in recovering that important fortreſs, before the ſeaſon would permit the French to repair the works, which were now in a very bad condition. But this offer was alſo refuſed, and no military expedition attempted till the ſpring was conſiderably advanced, when a fleet of one hundred and forty ſail of ſhips was fitted out, for revenging the inſult upon the enemy. This fleet being reinforced with thirty Flemiſh ſhips, having on board a body of ſix thouſand land forces, were ſent to alarm the coaſt of France. They accordingly landed near Breſt; but ſo little care had been taken to conceal the deſign, that the French were prepared for their reception; and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat to their ſhips, without having effected any thing of conſequence.

A much ſmaller ſquadron, conſiſting only of ten ſhips, were, however, more fortunate; they had an opportunity of retorting upon the enemy the diſgrace ſuffered by their countrymen. The marſhal de Thermes, governor of Calais, invaded Flanders at

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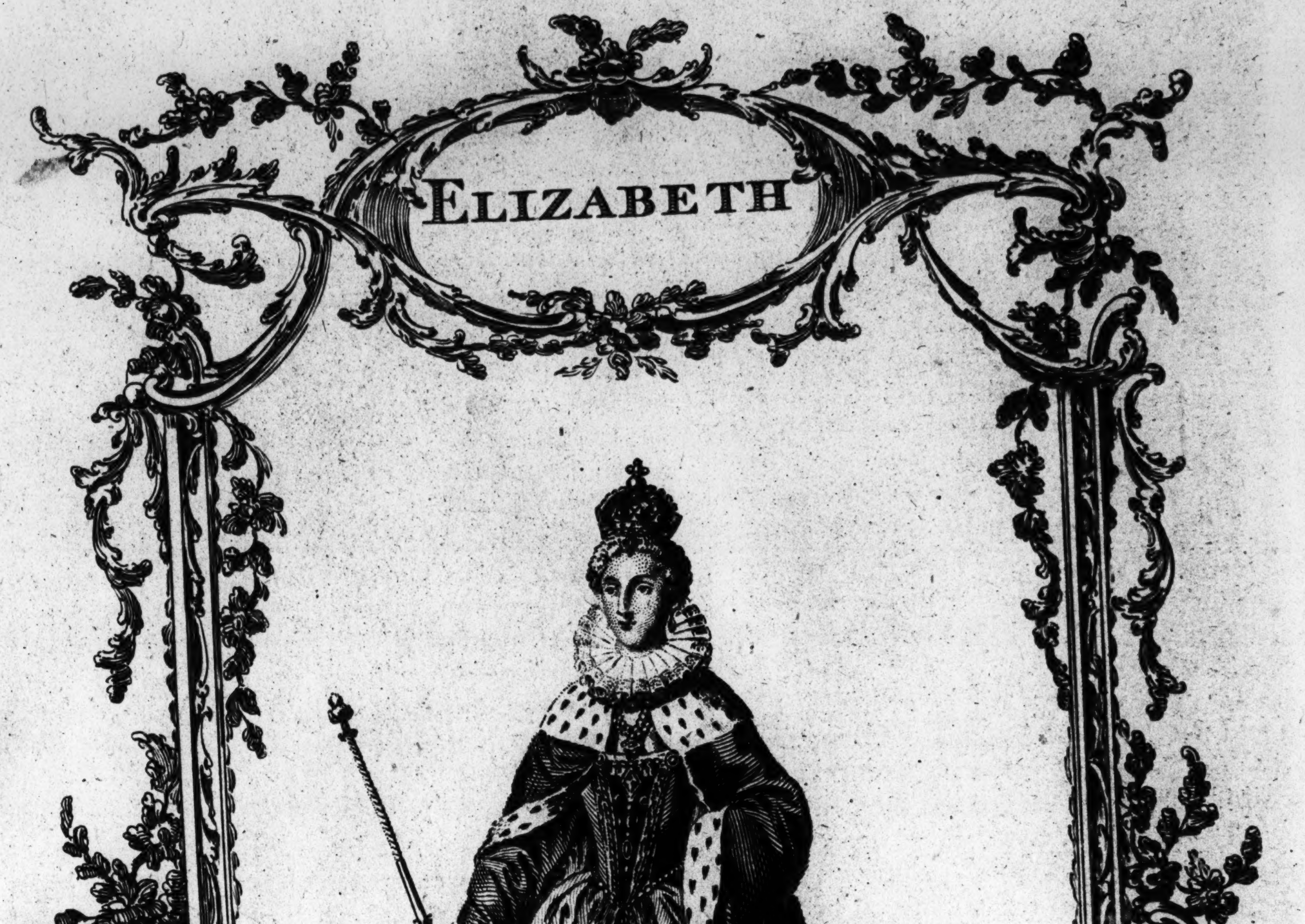

ELIZABETH
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

the head of an army of fourteen thouſand men. He croſſed the Aa without oppoſition, and made himſelf maſter of Dunkirk and Berg St. Winloc. But being overtaken by the Spaniards under count Egmont, near Gravelines, a bloody conteſt enſued. While the two armies were cloſely engaged, and fortune ſeemed undetermined on which ſide to beſtow the wreath of victory, the Engliſh men of war came into the harbour; and pointing their cannon againſt the flank of the French, made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, that the whole army was thrown into confuſion, and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

This action was, however, little more than a prelude to the grand event which was every day expected. The two grand armies of France and Spain were now approaching each other; and as the two contending monarchs had come into their reſpective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, a general engagement, which would decide the conteſt, was thought to be inevitable. But Philip poſſeſſed not the enterprizing ſpirit of a conqueror. Notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of his numbers, and the two important victories he had lately obtained over the forces of the enemy, he choſe rather to have recourſe to negotiation than venture a battle. He demanded, among other articles, that Calais ſhould be reſtored to the Engliſh; and Henry, that the kingdom of Navarre ſhould be delivered to its right owner. But before any thing was determined between them, the queen of England died; and Philip being no longer connected with that kingdom, ſoon relaxed in his demands with regard to that capital article.

The health of Mary had been long declining. She had for ſome time been afflicted with a dropſy, the conſequence of her falſe conception, and the improper regimen ſhe had purſued. The malady was greatly increaſed by the anxiety of her mind, which was now increaſed by the moſt painful reflections. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving her crown to a ſiſter whom ſhe deteſted; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion; the indifference of a huſband, who was going to retire into Spain; all theſe diſagreeable reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a ſlow fever, of which ſhe died on the ſeventeenth of November, in the forty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign.

The character of Mary is ſo ſtrongly marked in every action of her inglorious and unfortunate reign, that the diſagreeable taſk of a recapitulation may be well ſpared. She poſſeſſed few eſtimable or amiable qualities; nor was her perſon more engaging than her behaviour. Every circumſtance of her character received a tincture from the badneſs of her temper, and the narrowneſs of her underſtanding. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny, were the ruling paſſions of her mind; and it will, perhaps, be difficult to find a ſingle virtue among ſo remarkable a complication of vices.

Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died the ſame day with the queen. He was a perſon of great ſweetneſs of temper, candour, and moderation, and was lamented by all who knew how to eſteem thoſe valuable qualities. In a nation where ſuch cruel perſecutions were carried on againſt the Reformation, Pole experienced not the hatred of the Proteſtants.

Neither the commerce nor the marine of England had yet obtained any reſpectable footing. Fourteen thouſand pounds having been voted for the ſervice of the navy, it was computed, that when this ſum was expended, ten thouſand pounds a year would be ſufficient for its maintenance. The privileges of the German merchants were reſtored at the ſollicitation of the emperor; and no doubt was entertained with regard to the power of the crown to grant ſuch an indulgence. A paſſage to Archangel had been diſcovered during the laſt reign, and tended greatly to improve the commerce of England with Muſcovy. The Czar ſent an embaſſy to the queen; and this was, probably, the firſt time that the Ruſſian empire had any correſpondence with the inhabitants of the weſtern kingdoms.

By a law paſſed in Mary's reign, the number of horſes and arms each perſon, in proportion to his abilities, ſhould ſupply for the defence of the kingdom, was fixed. Thoſe of the firſt claſs, conſiſting of all who inherited a thouſand pounds a year, were to keep ſix horſes, with their proper furniture for dragoons, and ten for the light horſe. Excluſive of theſe, they were to furniſh forty pykes, thirty halberts, twenty muſkets, and twenty morions or ſallets. This method was, doubtleſs, ſubject to many inconveniencies; but the revenues of the crown, and the ſupplies of parliament, were ſo inconſiderable, that there was no other method of equipping the troops. The revenue of England, at that time, was very little more than three hundred thouſand pounds a year.

# ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1558. THE arbitrary council of Mary were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the death of the queen. The parliament was ſitting when the event happened, and far from being pleaſed with the late tranſactions of the miniſtry. The latter well knew the conſequence that would inevitably reſult from their acting by their own authority, and therefore reſolved to inform the Houſe of Lords that the throne was vacant. A ſhort conſultation enſued, and Elizabeth was unanimouſly declared the legal ſucceſſor. The Commons followed their example; and that princeſs was immediately proclaimed at the uſual places, while the Proteſtants and Papiſts ſeemed to vie with each other in ſhewing their joy on this happy occaſion.

Elizabeth was then at Hatfield, in Hertfordſhire, where ſhe had for ſome time reſided, and where ſhe received information of the ſteps taken in her favour by the parliament. The firſt act of her government was a proclamation, ſtrictly enjoining "all her ſubjects to keep the peace, and forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or uſage at that time eſtabliſhed." This prudent meaſure was taken to prevent thoſe diſorders which there was too much reaſon to apprehend would otherwiſe have reſulted from the intemperate zeal of ſome of the reformed, who, following the precedent given them by the popiſh party in the late reign, might have proceeded in an illegal and riotous manner in deſtroying the ſuperſtitious objects of the Catholics, and reſtoring the reformed method of worſhip, without waiting for the royal orders.

The queen was about twenty-five years of age, when ſhe paſſed, as it were, from a priſon to a throne. The remembrance of her miſfortunes added a luſtre to her merit, and ſhe was conſidered as the deliverer of the kingdom. Born with ſuperior talents, ſhe had acquired, by ſtudy, the great art of government, and had in herſelf all the reſources of genius, authority, and policy. Her compliances during the late reign had inſpired the Catholics with hopes, that ſhe was not ſo great an enemy to their religion as to the cruel and bloody methods made uſe of to enforce it; while the Proteſtants believed her to be ſincerely a friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine. She knew the advantage of keeping both parties in ſuſpence, and accordingly formed her council of ſtate out of perſons of both religions.

Elizabeth ſeemed, on her change of fortune, to forget all the injuries ſhe had received from her enemies. She returned thanks to heaven for her deliverance as for a miracle; but ſhe wiſhed not to make her perſecutors feel the weight of the rod of retaliation. Even Sir Henry Bedingfield, who had been her keeper in priſon, and who had even delighted in treating her with the utmoſt rigour, found her inſenſible to the deſire of revenge. This noble inſtance of a ſuperior underſtanding and beneficent diſpoſition charmed her enemies; they were convinced that their religion would never be puniſhed as a crime by a princeſs who cheriſhed not the paſſion of revenge.

Philip received the news of Elizabeth's acceſſion to the Engliſh throne with great ſurprize; but deſirous of ſecuring his intereſt in that kingdom, he ordered his miniſter to pay her his compliments on that occaſion, and offer her propoſals of marriage. He flattered himſelf with obtaining at laſt the government of that kingdom, over which Mary, or rather the parliament, had given him no power. But the queen knew too well the averſion of the Engliſh to an alliance with Spain; and, at the ſame time, was too fond of her own independence, to accept his propoſals. Her deſire of making an advantageous peace with France, before ſhe declared her real intentions, induced her, however, to elude his offers, without appearing to reject them; and Philip, as if already ſure of ſucceſs, ſollicited a diſpenſation from the Roman pontiff.

Elizabeth was well acquainted with all the religious diſputes which had ſo long divided Europe, and embraced the Proteſtant tenets from conviction. But though ſhe was determined to reſtore the reformed worſhip in England, her ambaſſador at Rome received orders to notify to the pope her acceſſion to the throne. Had the pontiff been the leaſt deſirous of ſupporting his own intereſt, and that of the holy ſee, he could not, on this critical occaſion, have acted with too much prudence and moderation. But Paul IV. one of the moſt haughty and inflexible churchmen that ever filled the papal chair, inſtead of endeavouring to heal the breaches that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the churches of Rome and England, behaved with all the inſolence natural to his character. He declared, that the kingdom, being a fief of the holy ſee, it was an act of the higheſt preſumption in Elizabeth to aſſume the title of queen without his concurrence; that her illegitimate birth excluded her from the right of ſucceſſion; that he would not annul the decree paſſed againſt the marriage of her father with Anne Boleyn; but that if ſhe would ſollicit his favour, he would ſhew her all the indulgence ſhe could expect from the head of the church. The queen being informed of this anſwer, ſaid, that the pope, in order to gain too much, was willing to loſe the whole. She accordingly recalled her ambaſſador, and applied herſelf ſeriouſly to reſtore a religion altogether unfavourable to the papacy. But ſhe uſed not terrifying, but conciliating meaſures. She withdrew not her favours from the Catholic party. When the biſhops came in a body to pay her their obedience, ſhe expreſſed her ſentiments of regard for them all, except Bonner, from whom ſhe turned aſide as from a man polluted with blood, an object that excited horror in every heart ſuſceptible of the tender feelings of humanity.

The violences of the preceding reign had ſufficiently diſpoſed the people to a change in religion: but ſhe feared they would run into the oppoſite extreme, and ſeverely retaliate on the Catholics the miſeries they had ſuffered. In order, therefore, to render this change leſs dangerous and more durable, ſhe imitated not the precipitate conduct of her ſiſter; ſhe took her meaſures with caution, and enſured her ſucceſs by the rectitude of her views. She ſoon perceived that the Proteſtant divines attacked, with all the virulence of religious zeal, the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Roman church; and that the Papiſts retorted upon them with equal acrimony. She therefore publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all preaching, without a ſpecial licence, that the pulpits might not be filled with the combuſtibles of diſcord. At the ſame time, ſhe introduced ſuch a number of Proteſtants into her council, as were ſufficient to counterbalance the power of the Papiſts, ſhould they exert themſelves in favour of the ancient religion. She diſcharged from priſon, or recalled from exile, thoſe whoſe religion only had been their crime; and ſhe ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Goſpel, to be read in Engliſh. The elevation of the hoſt was diſcontinued, and a greater zeal was expreſſed for the Bible than for the Church of Rome.

Theſe ſteps towards a reformation ſo alarmed the popiſh biſhops, that, apprehending a total abolition of the papal power, together with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, would ſoon follow; or, perhaps, fearful of offending the holy father, who had ſcrupled to acknowledge the queen's title, and abſolutely denied her legitimacy, they reſolved not to officiate at her coronation. Oglethorpe, biſhop of Carliſle, alone oppoſed the reſolution, and readily undertook to perform the ceremony.

A. D. 1559. On the fourteenth of January, Elizabeth paſſed from the Tower through the ſtreets of London, in grand proceſſion, to Weſtminſter, amidſt the acclamations of a prodigious number of ſpectators aſſembled on that occaſion. The queen's behaviour was remarkable: ſhe returned their applauſes with ſuch a modeſt affability and winning behaviour, as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing diſplayed in a ſtronger light the religious ſentiments of the citizens, or tended more to endear the new ſovereign to the people, than her accepting of an Engliſh bible, richly gilt, which was let down, from a pageant in Cheapſide, by a child repreſenting Truth, who made the queen a ſpeech on the occaſion. Elizabeth received the book in both her hands; and having kiſſed it, held it up, and laid it on her boſom, promiſing to be diligent in reading it; and aſſuring the citizens, that ſhe eſteemed that gift more than all the coſtly preſents they had made her. The next day the queen was crowned at Weſtminſter with great ſolemnity.

The parliament, which aſſembled on the twenty-fifth of January, gave the queen every teſtimony of zealous loyalty and obedience. The two houſes, after confirming her right to the crown, acknowledged her ſupremacy, and gave her, under the title of head of the church, the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriations, which had been reſtored to the pope by queen Mary, together with all the eccleſiaſtical authority which her father and her brother had enjoyed, and alſo a power of adjuſting that authority to ſuch commiſſioners, whether eccleſiaſtics or laymen, as ſhe ſhould think proper to nominate. Several penalties were threatened to all thoſe who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy. The ſtatutes of Edward VI. were confirmed. The maſs and liturgy of the church of Rome were aboliſhed.

All theſe changes took place without any diſturbance, and almoſt without oppoſition. The affability of the queen, her addreſs in gaining hearts, and directing opinions, her graceful dignity, her inſinuating manners, ſubdued all the difficulties of the enterprize: ſhe diſpenſed the national religion from her hand. So little did the cruelty of Mary contribute to the eſtabliſhment of her equally cruel ſyſtem of popery!

Nor did the affair of religion wholly engroſs the attention of the parliament. The commons, excluſive of tonnage and poundage, then conſidered as the property of the crown, voted new ſupplies to Elizabeth, and petitioned her in form to make choice of a huſband. She anſwered, with great politeneſs, that ſhe always conſidered marriage as a burden, and that while ſhe was charged with the government of ſo great a kingdom, it ſeemed ſtill more ſo; that the ſtate was her huſband, and the people of England her children; and that ſhe ſhould not think herſelf barren, nor her life unfruitful, while her days were devoted to the care of ſuch a family. At the ſame time ſhe gave them to underſtand, that any farther applications on that head would be diſagreeable.

The biſhops, however, ſtill oppoſed the tenets of the Reformation; one only agreed to take the oath of ſupremacy, all the reſt refuſed, and were deprived of their ſees. But out of near ten thouſand pariſhes contained in the kingdom, not more than twenty-four of the parochial clergy rejected the oath. Bonner alone felt the weight of the hand of authority; he was committed to the Marſhalſea, and died in confinement. Some foreign princes interpoſed their good offices to procure the catholics the privilege of ſeparate aſſemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their requeſt; and repreſented the danger of diſturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions. But in order to induce the catholics to join in the eſtabliſhed worſhip, ſhe cauſed every thing to be ſtruck out of the new litury, that had any tendency to give them offence.

While the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on at Chateau-Cambroſis, between the miniſters of France, Spain and England. The treaty was at laſt concluded, by which Calais was was given up to Henry, who, on the other hand, engaged to reſtore it at the end of eight years, provided, during that time, Elizabeth did not break the peace either with France or Scotland. All men of penetration eaſily ſaw, that this ſtipulation was nothing more than a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen for making the ſacrifice on account of the neceſſity of her affairs, and even extolled her prudence in ſubmitting without farther ſtruggle to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland followed as a neceſſary conſequence of that with France. The treaty was more honourable for the king of Spain. Henry II. reſtored all the places he had conquered, and gave him his daughter in marriage. It was alſo agreed that Philibert, duke of Savoy, ſhould marry the French king's ſiſter. The ceremonies were accordingly performed, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye from the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honour of the nuptials.

His ſon and ſucceſſor Francis II. who had married Mary, queen of Scots, was a prince void of genius and experience. He was nothing more than an inſtrument in the hands of the Guiſes, who hurried him into meaſures which tended to augment their ambition and their vanity. Perſuaded that the acceſſion of England in right of their neice, the queen of Scotland, would aggrandize their family, they had prevailed upon Henry II. to maintain an army in Scotland, as the only avenue by which the Engliſh dominions were acceſſible. By their perſuaſions alſo the young king of France, who was incapable of holding the reins of government, conteſted the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, in order, on a proper opportunity, to diſpute her right to the Engliſh crown. Mary took the arms and title of queen of England, and by her intimate alliance with the French nation, was conſidered as a formidable rival. Elizabeth ſaw her danger, and determined to exert all her prudence and all her courage to render the attepmts of her enemies abortive.

The troubles of Scotland ſeemed to offer the means for defeating the projects of the Guiſes. The diſturbances excited by religious diſputes had now attained the moſt enormous heights. The Proteſtants were headed by perſons of the firſt diſtinction; particularly by the earl of Argyle, the lords Turner and Morton, and others of the nobility. They entered into a bond of aſſociation, and called themſelves "The Congregation of the Lord," in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated "The Congregation of Satan." The ſubſtance of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichriſts of our time, do cruelly rage, ſeeking to overthrow and to deſtroy the goſpel of Chriſt and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our maſter's cauſe, even to the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promiſe, before the majeſty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh, the moſt bleſſed word of God, and his congregation; and ſhall labour, by all poſſible means, to have faithful miniſters, truly and purely to miniſter Chriſt's goſpel and ſacraments to his people: we ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Chriſt, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, againſt Satan, and all wicked powers, who may intend tyranny and trouble againſt the ſaid congregation. Unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourſelves; and we forſake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover ſhall declare ourſelves manifeſtly enemies thereto, by this faithful promiſe before God, teſtified to this congregation by our ſubſcriptions."

The ſigning of this bond of aſſociation was followed by an open revolt from the clergy and the church of Rome. They committed ravages in various parts of the country, and the whole kingdom became one continued ſcene of diſorder. About this time John Knox, one of the moſt zealous preachers in Europe, returned to Scotland. He had been perſecuted for his religion, and took refuge at Geneva. His enthuſiaſtic ſermons kindled the flames of rebellion. The Romiſh prieſts were attacked, the images broken, the monaſteries demoliſhed, and every diſorder that could be expected from a multitude inflamed with religious madneſs, was committed. The fanatical leaders of the reformed party declared, in a manifeſto, that they took up arms by the expreſs commands of God, as the children of Iſrael did againſt the Canaanites, and that they would liſten to no propoſitions of peace, while the idolatry of the papiſts, and the perſecutions of the children of God ſubſiſted.

But the heads of the revolters ſoon perceived that it would be impoſſible to execute their project without the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign power. They were already diſtreſſed for want of money, and found, that the reformation of religion, however deſired by the people, would not be ſufficient to keep a numerous army together. The revolters therefore, notwithſtanding the inveterate hatred that ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, applied to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance. The court of France were at firſt pleaſed with theſe commotions, as they afforded a plauſible pretence for ſending forces into Scotland, who would be there in readineſs to act againſt Elizabeth, and ſupport Mary's claim to the Engliſh crown. But on receiving intelligence that the Scottiſh revolters were negotiating with Elizabeth for aſſiſtance, they were greatly alarmed, and exerted all their influence to render the treaty abortive. They even offered to reſtore Calais, and all its dependences, if the queen would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. But Elizabeth was too prudent to be diverted from her purpoſe: ſhe anſwered, that a ſmall fiſhing town was of little conſequence when compared to the ſecurity of her dominions. She diſpatched Randolph into Scotland, to aſſure the revolters of ſupport, and to animate the leaders of the congregation in their deſign of ſhaking off their ſubjection to Rome, and the reformation of religion.

A. D. 1560. A ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips of war was accordingly fitted out, under the command of vice-admiral Winter; and an army of eight thouſand men was ordered to rendezvous at Berwick, on the thirtieth of January, in order to act in concert with the fleet, and join the revolters. The appearance of the Engliſh ſhips in the Forth gave new ſpirits to the leaders of the congregation. While the French forces, terrified at the loſs of ſome of their ſhips, which Winter had deſtroyed in his paſſage up the river, retired to Leith, in order to wait the powerful reinforcements they expected from the continent. But the troubles which now broke out in France demanded all the attention of the miniſtry, who therefore laid aſide all thoughts of invading England.

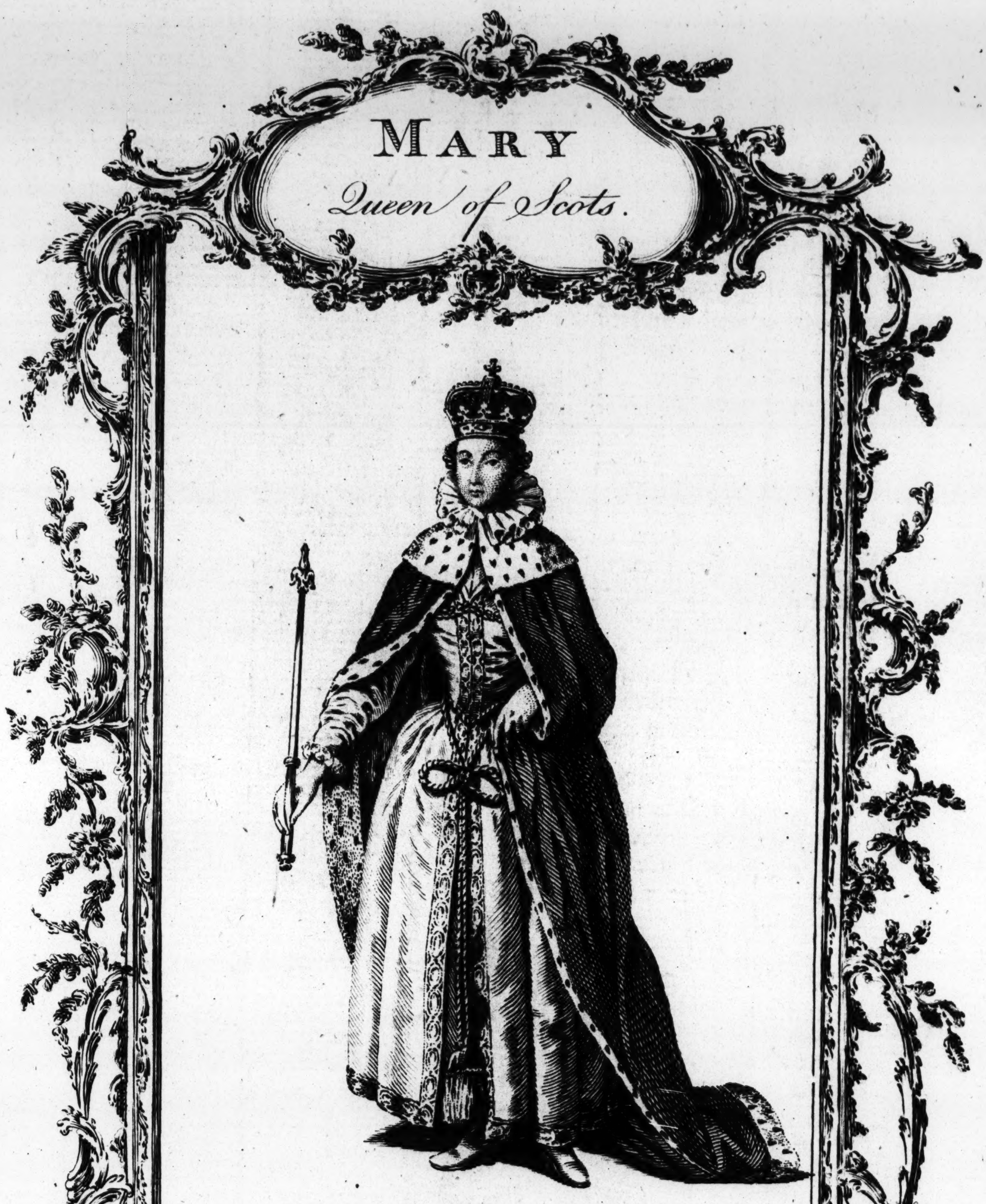
On the twenty-ſeventh of February, a treaty of mutual defence was ſigned at Berwick, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England, on the part of Elizabeth, and the leaders of the congregation; and the Engliſh received orders to join the Scottiſh revolters. The combined army immediately began their march for Leith, which was immediately inveſted. The queen retired to the caſtle of Edinburgh, where ſhe ſoon after expired. She was a princeſs of great capacity, virtue, and moderation; and had the management of the affairs of Scotland been wholly intruſted to her management, ſhe would, probably, have accommodated all differences with the reformers, and preſerved the nation from the miſeries of a civil war. The French ſoon perceived that all farther oppoſition would be in vain, and therefore deſired to capitulate. The offer was accepted; and a treaty was ſigned at Edinburgh, whereby it was ſtipulated, That the French ſhould evacuate Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ſhips furniſhed by Elizabeth: that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom: that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and that commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point; or, if they could not agree, the king of Spain ſhould be arbiter between the two crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which ſolely regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots, which the plenipotentiaries, in the name of the king and queen of France and Scotland, promiſed, in the treaty with Elizabeth, to obſerve; that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould be put into any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the Queen of Scots ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the States five; that the whole adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be committed to theſe twelve, during the queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without the conſent of the States. This treaty, ſo glorious for Elizabeth, greatly increaſed her power, and extended her reputation. She became, from that moment, ſure of the confidence of the Scottiſh malecontents, and miſtreſs of their hearts and fortunes.

This union was ſtill farther cemented by the ſubſequent meaſures of the reformers. They aſſembled the parliament, without any authority or orders from Mary. As ſoon as the ſeſſion was opened, they preſented a petition againſt the catholics, in which they were repreſented as robbers, aſſaſſins, and traitors, that ought no longer to be tolerated. Thus the reformers adopted all the violent meaſures of their enemies. The parliament itſelf ſeemed alſo to be actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. The maſs was prohibited, under pain of confiſcation, baniſhment, and death. The preſbyterian worſhip, founded on the moſt rigid principles of Calviniſm, was eſtabliſhed; and the Romiſh clergy were ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, and baniſhed from the kingdom. The queen of France and Scotland, who governed her huſband, and was herſelf governed by her uncles, the Guiſes, refuſed her conſent to theſe meaſures, declared ſhe would not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and continued the war againſt Elizabeth. The reformers, however, gave themſelves little concern about the refuſal of their ſovereign; they immediately put the ſtatutes in execution; aboliſhed the maſs; ſettled their miniſters; committed every where the moſt dreadful devaſtations upon the monaſteries, and even the churches, which they conſidered as having been polluted with idolatry. The rapacity of the people, who had been excited to rebellion by their new preachers, could not be reſtrained; and fanaticiſm concurring with avarice, gave an incurable blow to the papal authority in Scotland. Theſe violent proceedings convinced the nobility of that kingdom, that they muſt now rely on England for protection: their own ſovereign was too much exaſperated to hope for any favour from her; and the court of France, ſtimulated by motives both of ambition and religion, would not fail to exert all their power to revenge the inſult.

A. D. 1561. During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the fortune of Mary underwent a ſudden change, by the death of the king, her huſband. Catherine of Medicis, the mother of Charles IX. aſſumed the whole authority, in quality of regent. Mary Stuart, who experienced nothing but mortifications at her hand, found herſelf obliged to leave a country which ſhe loved, and return to her unhappy kingdom, rent to pieces on account of religion. Accordingly ſhe ſent her ambaſſador to England, to demand from Elizabeth a ſafe conduct for herſelf and the ſhips that were to attend her. But that princeſs, who was highly exaſperated at her refuſing to ſign the treaty of Edinburgh, anſwered, "that every part of her requeſt ſhould be readily granted, provided ſhe previouſly ratified that convention." She added, "That ſhe ſhould have free liberty to paſs through England, where ſhe ſhould be received with all the marks of affection ſhe could expect from a ſiſter." Mary could not retain her reſentment at this refuſal: ſhe ſent for Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, and aſked him, What offence ſhe had given his miſtreſs, that Elizabeth ſhould deny her ſo ſmall a favour? "But, (added ſhe) "I can, with God's aſſiſtance, return into my own country without her leave, as I came into France in ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother Edward. I want not friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they brought me hither, though I was deſirous rather to make an experiment of her friendſhip than of the aſſiſtance of any other perſon."

Nor did ſhe delay her departure from France on account of the ſafe-conduct's being refuſed by Elizabeth. She repaired to Calais, attended by all her uncles, and ſeveral noblemen of the firſt rank in that kingdom, and embarked in the beginning of Auguſt. She ſeemed greatly affected on her leaving France; ſhe kept her eyes fixed upon the coaſt till darkneſs intercepted it from her view. "Farewell France!" ſhe cried, "Farewell, beloved country! I ſhall never ſee thee more!" Elizabeth had fitted out a fleet of ſhips, under pretence of purſuing ſome pirates, but, probably, with a view of intercepting the Queen of Scots in her paſſage. Mary, however, paſſed the Engliſh fleet in a fog, and reached her native kingdom in ſafety on the eighteenth of Auguſt, after an abſence of thirteen years. She was received by her people with every mark of eſteem, regard and affection; and Mary flattered herſelf with enjoying more happineſs and repoſe than ſhe had reaſon to expect from the accounts ſhe had received of the ſtate of parties in her kingdom.

She had now reached the nineteenth year of her age; and, if the graces of youth, if the charms of beauty,


MARY
Queen of Scots.
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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beauty, if ſoftneſs of ſoul, if elegance of manners, if every amiable talent could have touched the hearts of a ſtubborn, unenlightened, and fanatical people, Mary would have ſoon become the idol of her ſubjects. Far from interfering in their religious ſentiments, ſhe repoſed her whole confidence in the heads of the reformers, who were now the leaders of the people. But her being a papiſt was a ſufficient provocation to the multitude. It was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion to celebrate maſs in her own chapel. "One ſingle maſs (ſaid the reforming miniſters) is more dangerous to this kingdom than an hundred thouſand armed men." Knox, the enthuſiaſtic and turbulent preacher, daily ſignalized himſelf by freſh inſtances of zeal againſt the Catholics. He publicly called the queen Jezabel; and even went ſo far as to tell her to her face, in one of his ſermons, That Samuel did not heſitate to hew Agag in pieces; in ſpite of king Saul; that Elias, in the preſence of Ahab, neither ſpared the falſe prophets of Jezabel, nor the prieſts of Baal; that Phineas, though no magiſtrate, put the fornicators to death; and that others of courſe, though no magiſtrates, might legally puniſh thoſe crimes which were condemned by the laws of God." All the endeavours of Mary to gain this impracticable preacher over to her intereſt were in vain: he rejected her offers with contempt, and continued to diſſeminate the ſeeds of revolt and rebellion. He was cited before the council, but refuſed to make any acknowledgment: he defended his principles without timidity, and was diſcharged without puniſhment.

Surrounded with dangers from a bigotted people, ſhe determined, if poſſible, to maintain a good underſtanding with Elizabeth. In order to this, ſhe diſpatched Maitland, her ſecretary, to pay her reſpects to that princeſs, to ſignify her deſire of cultivating a friendſhip and good correſpondence with her, and requeſting that ſhe might be acknowledged her ſucceſſor in the throne of England, in caſe ſhe died without iſſue. It was hardly poſſible for Mary to have made a more unreaſonable requeſt, or to have urged it at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was highly provoked, and told the Scottiſh ambaſſador, "That ſhe was determined to live and die queen of England, and would therefore never have the mortification of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun; that to name a ſucceſſor was to expoſe her own life to danger, to deſtroy the ſecurity of her government, to place a winding-ſheet before her, and to invite the king of terrors before his time." She added, "That ſhe ſhould leave it to others, after her death, to diſcuſs the title of her ſucceſſor; that ſhe hoped the Queen of Scots claim would then be found preferable, and that ſhe would do nothing to hurt her intereſt in that reſpect."

Elizabeth, though the jealouſy ſhe had long entertained againſt Mary was inflamed by this imprudent ſtep, ſent Sir Peter Meutas with compliments to Mary on her ſafe return to her kingdom, and to inſiſt on her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: but Mary ſtill eluded the demand, pretending that the affairs of Scotland were yet in too unſettled a condition for her to examine the articles of that treaty with that attention the importance of them required, as ſhe imagined they might tend to deprive her of all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown of England. Elizabeth, to put the matter out of all diſpute, offered to explain the words of the treaty in ſuch a manner as to leave no ſuſpicion of their excluding Mary's right of ſucceſſion. But ſtill difficulties occurred, and the treaty continued without being ratified. All diſputes were, however, laid aſide, and a cordial reconciliation ſeemed to have taken place between them.

The care of her own government now wholly engaged the attention of Elizabeth. Her firſt attempt was to put the Engliſh navy in a very reſpectable condition: ſhe augmented the pay of her ſeamen; filled her magazines with arms; introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ordered a great number of iron and braſs pieces of ordnance to be caſt; reinforced the garriſon of Berwick; fortified the northern borders of her kingdom; introduced and encouraged improvements in agriculture, by permitting the exportation of corn; promoted the trade and navigation of England; regulated the national coin, which her predeceſſors had altered; and ordered her people to attend the exerciſe of arms at ſtated times. The glory that attended her labours attracted the admiration of Europe; and ſhe received the addreſſes of ſeveral princes, who were either in love with her perſon or her power. She amuſed their hopes, but always with a reſolution to preſerve her liberty. Self-love had, poſſibly, as much concern in this particular as the love of dominion. What is ſtill more ſingular in her conduct, is, that though ſhe determined never to have any heirs of her own body, ſhe was not only averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown, but alſo deſirous to prevent, as far as lay in her power, any perſon who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion from ever having heirs. Catherine Gray, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, ſiſter to lady Jane, and now the ſole heireſs of that houſe, was ſent to the Tower, for marrying the earl of Hertford without her conſent, and died in confinement.

But however ſevere the queen was with regard to thoſe who had any pretenſions to the throne, ſhe was always attentive to remove the oppreſſions of her ſubjects. She revoked all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very vexatious manner; and iſſued orders, that the people ſhould be paid in money for whatever proviſions they furniſhed. She reformed the impoſitions of the exchequer; and took care that the penſions aſſigned to the popiſh clergy, on their reſigning their livings, ſhould be punctually paid. She alſo increaſed the ſalary of the judges, and allowed them a proviſion for their reſpective circuits. At the ſame time, ſhe took care that her œconomy ſhould go hand in hand with her liberality: ſhe gave very little out of the royal demeſnes, but on condition of its reverting, on default of male iſſue, to the crown. It would, perhaps, have been happy, if her ſucceſſors had invariably obſerved the ſame rule.

A. D. 1562. The affairs of the continent now engaged the attention of Elizabeth. The religious wars carried on in France, furniſhed a new field for her political operations. After the death of Henry II. the Hugonots, whom that prince had perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour, became a very formidable people, whether we conſider their zeal for the reformation, their numbers, or the talents of their leaders. The prince of Condé, admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot, were at the head of the Hugonots, and rendered their party reſpectable to the government. The Guiſes were their declared enemies, and armed againſt them the popiſh faction. Both parties aſſumed the maſk of religion; and, under pretence of ſupporting the goſpel of peace, carried on the moſt dreadful wars againſt each other. Catherine of Medicis, hoping to put an end to the civil diſcords which had ſo long waſted France, perſuaded the catholics to compromiſe their differences with the chiefs of the Proteſtant party; and an edict, favourable to the reformers, was publiſhed, by which they were permitted to have places without the cities and towns, for performing divine ſervice according to the tenets of their religion. But this deceitful compliance ſerved only to irritate theſe two irreconcilable parties. The duke of Guiſe, who was conſidered as the protector of the catholic religion, paſſing through Vaſſi, a town on the borders of Champagne, fell upon a congregation of Hugonots, who, in conſequence of the privilege granted them, were ſinging pſalms in a barn. Above ſixty of theſe poor defenceleſs people were killed, and the reſt fled to the woods for ſhelter. The conſequence of this inhuman action was a general inſurrection of the proteſtants in almoſt every part of the kingdom, and the nation was divided between the duke of Guiſe and the prince of Condé. Catherine, fluctuated between both, attempted, but in vain, to mediate a peace between them. She was then at Paris with the young king her ſon, where finding herſelf deprived of all authority, ſhe wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This letter augmented the flames of the civil war, which was carried on with the greateſt inhumanity: every town was a fortified poſt; every ſtreet a field of battle. Anthony, king of Navarre, the firſt prince of the blood, was obliged to ſerve in the army of the duke of Guiſe, and, with the queen mother, dragged to the ſiege of Rouen, where he was killed.

Philip II. who made it at once his glory and his intereſt to extirpate the reformed religion, and was even deſirous of caſting a ſhade over the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected of a ſecret attachment to the new doctrines, after having perſecuted their partizans, favoured the papiſts in France, from whom he hoped to derive conſiderable advantages. He was alſo uneaſy leſt the contagion ſhould ſpread in the Low Countries, where the inhabitants had already given ſtrong indications of their affection for the reformed religion. He therefore engaged in a ſecret alliance with the duke of Guiſe, and ſent him ſix thouſand men, and a large ſum of money, to ſtrengthen the catholic party.

Perceiving it would be impoſſible to reſiſt ſo powerful a confederacy, ſupported by the royal authority, Condé diſpatched the Vidome of Chartres, and de la Haye, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, in order to prevent the total ruin of the proteſtants in France. He offered to put Havre-de-Grace into the hands of the Engliſh; provided the queen would undertake to garriſon the place with three thouſand men, together with three thouſand more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furniſh the prince with a hundred thouſand crowns. Elizabeth liſtened to theſe propoſals, and ſent Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, at the head of ſix thouſand men, one half of whom were landed at Dieppe, and the other took poſſeſſion of Havre. At the ſame time the queen publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, "that ſhe did not ſend troops into Normandy, with a deſign to recover that province, the ancient patrimony of her anceſtors, and unjuſtly wreſted from her; but to preſerve it for the king of France during his minority, and to reſcue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorraine: that ſhe was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifeſt their deſign was to ſeize the ports of Normandy, and from thence to invade her dominions, after extirpating the reformed religion in France: that for theſe reaſons ſhe had thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt the young king, hinder his ſubjects from being oppreſſed by the Guiſes, protect the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and provide for the ſafety of her own kingdom."

As ſoon as this proclamation was publiſhed, another was iſſued by the faction of Lorraine in Paris, in which Elizabeth was charged with breach of faith, in ſeizing the king's fortreſſes, and aſſiſting his rebellious ſubjects:" and in conſequence of this war was declared againſt her. This haſty ſtep, which was taken by the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, was followed by a ſeizure of all the Engliſh ſhips at Bourdeaux, and the impriſonment of the ambaſſador's courier at Rouen. But it was ſoon perceived that they had acted with too much precipitation. The Engliſh fitted out privateers to make repriſals on the French, and the utmoſt diſpatch was uſed in making the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. The court of France perceived their miſtake, diſowned the proclamation, and the preparations for war in England were laid aſide.

By this time the catholics had made themſelves maſters of Rouen, and it was expected they would immediately form the ſiege of Havre, which was not then in any condition of defence; but their attention was diverted to another enterprize by the inteſtine diſorders of the kingdom. Andelot, ſeconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a conſiderable body of proteſtants in Germany, and having arrived at Orleans, the ſeat of the Hugonot's power, the prince of Condé and the admiral were enabled to take the field in order to oppoſe the progreſs of their enemies. They firſt marched into the neighbourhood of Paris, and threatened the capital with a ſiege; but thinking themſelves unequal to the undertaking, they directed their route towards Normandy, in order, if poſſible, to perſuade the Engliſh to join them, and act in conjunction againſt the catholics. The royal army commanded by the conſtable Montmorency, followed them, and at laſt forced them to a battle. The action was remarkable ſevere, and diſtinguiſhed by this ſingular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the leaders of both armies, were taken priſoners. The catholics gained the advantage; but the admiral, who always became more terrible by a defeat, collected the remains of the army, kept them together, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable places in Normandy. Elizabeth was ſo greatly pleaſed with his valour, that ſhe made him a preſent of an hundred thouſand crowns, and offered to give her own bond for the payment of an hundred thouſand more, if he could find merchants to advance the money.

A. D. 1563. Notwithſtanding the great œconomy of Elizabeth, her diſburſements in favour of the Hugonots exhauſted her treaſury, and ſhe found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament in order to obtain a ſupply. A little before the meeting of the parliament, the queen had been ſeized with the ſmall pox, and her life had been in danger. The commons therefore preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, requeſting that ſhe would either marry, or fix the ſucceſſion in ſuch a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities which it was natural to fear would reſult from the conteſts of ſeveral claims to the throne. But Elizabeth ſtill found means to elude their application; ſhe could not be prevailed upon to declare a ſucceſſor. The parliament, however, made no difficulty of granting the neceſſary ſupplies. They were very willing to ſupport the noble deſigns of Elizabeth for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the augmentation of her navy, for the ſuppreſſion of vice, and for the more effectual reſtraining the progreſs of popery. They granted two fifteenths and two ſubſidies. They alſo paſſed a bill for enlarging the oath of ſupremacy, and it was reſolved that a ſecond refuſal to take it ſhould be deemed high-treaſon. A law was made againſt the ſeductions of enthuſiaſts; and another againſt magicians and ſorcerers, who were then thought dangerous.

While the Engliſh parliament were thus employed in the buſineſs of the nation, the catholic army under the duke of Guiſe, were carrying on the ſiege of Orleans with great vigour. A very conſiderable progreſs had been made in this undertaking, when the duke was aſſinated by a young enthuſiaſt called Poltrot de Merc. The duke, on finding his end approaching, expreſſed the deepeſt remorſe for having involved his country in the horrors of a civil war; and conjured the queen-regent to conclude a peace as ſoon as poſſible with the Hugonots. His advice was followed; both parties were heartily tired of the war, and ſoon agreed to the articles of a pacification. A toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was again granted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed; Condé was reinſtated in his offices and governments; and money being advanced to pay the arrears of the German troops, they were ſent out of the kingdom. Not the leaſt regard was paid to Elizabeth in this treaty; and a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, ill ſupplied with proviſions, could not long reſiſt the whole army of France. The earl or Warwick, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon in Havre, made a gallant defence, notwithſtanding the many difficulties under which he laboured; but the plague breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to ſurrender the place. Nor did the misfortune terminate there; the garriſon imported with them the peſtilence, which afterwards raged with uncommon violence: above twenty thouſand perſons died of it in London only. A peace was ſoon after concluded with France; two hundred thouſand crowns were paid to Elizabeth for the redemption of hoſtages, and the mutual pretenſions of both parties continued.

The death of the duke of Guiſe greatly tended to leſſen the influence of Mary Queen of Scots in France. The Scottiſh guards were diſmiſſed, and the payment of Mary's dowry was diſcontinued, notwithſtanding the warm repreſentations of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, who was now more deſirous than ever of marrying her to ſome powerful prince, who was able to ſupport her againſt the contumelious behaviour of reformers in her own kingdom, and give diſturbance to Elizabeth. He had already offered his niece to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be abſolved. Elizabeth, on her part, was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their ſchemes, and was particularly anxious, leſt Mary ſhould form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, and to invade the kingdom on the ſide where it was weakeſt, and moſt expoſed to the attacks of an enemy. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing could ſatisfy her but her eſpouſing ſome Engliſh nobleman; and even went ſo far as to propoſe her own favourite, the earl of Leiceſter, whom ſhe certainly never meant to part with; for when ſhe found that Mary was inclined to liſten to the propoſal, ſhe found means to elude the promiſe ſhe had made of declaring that princeſs her ſucceſſor. So fatally may low and little paſſions mingle with the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed qualities.

England now enjoyed the moſt profound tranquillity: her trade with the Low Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Glanville, who foreſeeing a war in the Netherlands, was deſirous of removing the Engliſh, and perſuaded the government to prohibit the importation of their cloth, a branch of trade which was carried on to a prodigious extent: but Philip perceiving that this prohibition was equally detrimental to his own ſubjects as to thoſe of England, deſired the old treaty concluded in the reign of Maximilian I. might be renewed: this was accordingly done, and the affair was terminated to the ſatisfaction of both nations.

The queen being no longer engaged in foreign affairs, made a progreſs to the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with great pomp and magnificence. Every thing was conducted with a ſplendor that did honour to that celebrated ſeat of learning; and the queen declared her ſatisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection, and earneſt deſire of encouraging learning to the utmoſt of her power.

A. D. 1565. After two years of uncertainty, Mary determined to marry; and fixed upon lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox, as the object. This young nobleman was her couſin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly reſided, after being expelled his native country by the ſuperior intereſt of the Hamiltons. Darnley was alſo, by his father, deſcended from the ſame family with Mary herſelf; and would, by marrying her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who affected to deny her title, on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and to give it the preference. It was therefore conſidered as no inconſiderable advantage, that by eſpouſing him, ſhe could unite both their titles; and as he was an Engliſhman by birth, and could not, either by his power or alliances, give any cauſe of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was preſumed that the propoſal of this marriage could not be diſagreeable to the queen of England. She, indeed, ſeemed to conſent to this alliance; and even wrote to Mary, thanking her for her kind intentions towards the earl of Lenox, whom the queen of Scots now reſtored to his honours and eſtates.

Darnley having obtained leave from Elizabeth, repaired to Scotland; and, by his preſence, completed the conqueſt, which the fame of his accompliſhments had already begun. He was in the flower of his age, and his appearance remarkably graceful. Mary, forgetting all her ideas of grandeur, and all her ſchemes of policy, liſtened only to the dictates of her growing paſſion. Elizabeth was no ſooner informed that the Queen of Scots was pleaſed with the figure and perſon of Darnley, and that the treaty was on the point of being concluded, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; diſpatched Throgmorton to Scotland, to diſſuade Mary from eſpouſing lord Darnley; ordered the earl of Lenox and his ſon to return immediately into England, under the ſevereſt pains and penalties the laws could inflict; and cauſed the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon, who were then in England, to be committed to the Tower; where they ſuffered a very cloſe confinement.

The conduct of Elizabeth, though generally judicious, was too often full of duplicity; but never did ſhe behave with greater inſincerity than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scotland. Though ſhe now expreſſed ſo violent a reſentment againſt the intended marriage of Mary with Darnley, ſhe was not averſe to it in her heart. She would rather, indeed, have wiſhed that Mary had remained for ever in a ſingle ſtate; but as that could not be effected, ſhe did not diſlike a choice that delivered her at once from the fear of a foreign alliance, and the neceſſity of parting with her favourite Leiceſter. She had, however, ſome ſtrong reaſons of a political nature for affecting diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion; it furniſhed her with a plauſible pretence for refuſing to declare Mary her ſucceſſor to the Engliſh crown, a point which ſhe had always laboured to evade; and it gave her an opportunity of exciting a ſpirit of rebellion among the Scottiſh nobility and clergy. This political duplicity is always ſhocking to a virtuous mind, though it often makes too large a part in the ſcience of government.

When Mary was informed of the oppoſition of Elizabeth, ſhe juſtly obſerved to Throgmorton, that as the queen of England had already ſignified her deſire of her marrying an Engliſh nobleman, to avoid the umbrage of her eſpouſing a foreign prince, ſhe had, in effect, followed her own advice; but in order to give Elizabeth time to examine the affair with more deliberation, ſhe would defer her marriage for three months. But this conceſſion not ſatisfying Elizabeth, the ceremony was performed at Edinburgh; and Mary was ſo pleaſed with her new conſort, that ſhe gave him the title of king, and added his name to her own in all public acts. But ſhe ſoon perceived that his advantages of perſon ſerved only to conceal a mind that was trifling, vain, ungrateful, too much occupied with ſelf-love, too much ſwollen with ſilly pride, too much the ſlave of libertine folly, to be ſincerely attached to the moſt amiable of women. Reaſonably diſguſted with this unworthy huſband, ſhe withdrew from him, by degrees, her confidence, and treated him with neglect.

There was then in the court of Scotland one David Rezzio, a Piedmonteſe muſician, who had raiſed himſelf to an honourable employment by his addreſs rather than by his talents. Mary had appointed him her ſecretary for foreign affairs, loaded him with favours, and by repoſing in him too much confidence, and giving him too much credit, empowered him to make a traffic of his patronage, and to exerciſe all the inſolence of an upſtart favourite. The king was perſuaded that Rezzio was the principal cauſe of the queen's coolneſs. Jealouſy enſued, and notwithſtanding the diſagreeable figure of the Piedmenteſe, he was thought to enjoy more of Mary's favour, than merely her confidence. The ſuſpicion was ridiculous, but ſufficient to make the moſt dreadful impreſſions on a heart already inflamed. The malecontents among the nobility added fuel to the flame of his jealouſy; and perſuaded him to expoſtulate with the queen on her too great intimacy with this Italian favourite. Secure in conſcious innocence, the queen treated theſe inſinuations with the contempt they merited; and in order to convince her unworthy conſort, that in exalting him ſhe meant not to diveſt herſelf of any part of her authority, ſhe ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be placed after her own in public acts: ſhe even gave Rezzio more countenance after this inſult than before.

A. D. 1566. Inflamed with rage, and incapable of curbing that violent paſſion by the reins of prudence, Darnley vowed the moſt ſevere revenge; and the diſſatisfied nobility offered to aſſiſt him in his bloody deſign, and to be themſelves the executors of his vengeance. The ninth of March was the day fixed for this ſanguinary purpoſe, and the neceſſary precautions were taken to prevent the deſign from being rendered abortive. Mary, who was then in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private with her natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Argyle, and David Rezzio. The king entered the apartment by a private paſſage, and placed himſelf at the back of Mary's chair: the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators, ruſhed in after him. Terrified with this appearance, the queen demanded the reaſon for ſo rude an intruſion. They told her, that not the leaſt violence was intended againſt her perſon; they meant only to bring that villain (pointing to Rezzio) to the puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerved. Aware of his danger, Rezzio ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf with cries, menaces, and intreaties. But all her efforts were in vain: the impatient aſſaſſins ruſhed upon their prey; and, by overturning the table, greatly increaſed the horror and confuſion of this dreadful ſcene. Douglas ſeizing Darnley's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rezzio, who ſcreaming with fear and agony, was dragged into an anti-chamber, and his body pierced with no leſs than fifty-ſix wounds.

Mary behaved on this occaſion with admirable prudence: After paying a decent tribute of grief to the memory of the man ſhe had honoured with her confidence, ſhe dried up her tears, and employed her mind wholly on meditating a ſevere revenge; while the aſſaſſins, conſcious of their own guilt, and dreading the reſentment of their ſovereign, detained her a priſoner in the palace, diſmiſſing all who might have attempted her eſcape. In this alarming ſituation, ſhe determined to pardon thoſe noblemen who had oppoſed her government, in order to ſecure herſelf againſt the malice of the aſſaſſins, whom ſhe now conſidered as her moſt inveterate enemies. They readily accepted the offer, returned to court, and the aſſaſſins of Rezzio were obliged to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. Darnley declared himſelf, by proclamation, innocent of the murder of Rezzio, and that he ſincerely repented of having given any countenance to the conſpirators.

On the nineteenth of June, Mary was delivered of a ſon, whoſe fortune it was to unite the crowns of England and Scotland. Sir James Melvill was diſpatched to the court of Elizabeth to inform her of this happy event, and was received with great politeneſs by the queen. She thanked him for the diſpatch he had made in bringing her ſuch agreeable intelligence, and expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for the Scottiſh queen. She ſoon after ſent the earl of Bedford, and George Carey, ſon to the lord Hunſdon, to aſſiſt at the baptiſm of the young prince, and charged them with ſeveral magnificent preſents for the queen.

The birth of a ſon contributed greatly to encourage the zeal of Mary's partiſans in England: and perſons of all parties began to be impatient for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; but Elizabeth, whenever preſſed on that ſubject, eluded the queſtion, by pretending ſhe had ſome thoughts of marrying Charles, archduke of Auſtria. Several of Mary's friends, however, adviſed Melvill to make the propoſal to the queen. He followed their inſtructions, but uſed the utmoſt circumſpection in this delicate affair. He told her majeſty "he was well aſſured ſhe formerly delayed declaring his miſtreſs preſumptive heir of the crown of England, merely to wait till ſhe ſhould ſee ſome iſſue of her body; and as that objection was fortunately removed, he hoped her majeſty would no longer defer gratifying the deſire of her ſubjects, who wiſhed to ſee one point ſettled, in doing juſtice to the title of his ſovereign, who would never ſeek any place or right in England, but by her favour and aſſiſtance." The queen anſwered, "that the birth of a prince was a ſtrong inducement to her uſing greater diligence in making a ſtrict inquiſition into that matter; that ſhe was perſuaded the right belonged to her ſiſter of Scotland, in whoſe favour ſhe heartily wiſhed it might be decided;" but added, "that ſhe ſhould defer making any declaration till the young prince was baptized, when ſhe would certainly ſatisfy the queen in that particular." Melvill juſtly conſidered this anſwer as a mere evaſion.

The earl of Bothwell was now in the higheſt favour with Mary. He had been always ſincerely attached to her family and perſon, and had performed ſignal ſervices for both. His courage and conduct as a ſoldier were unqueſtionable, and he cheriſhed the moſt cordial hatred for the Engliſh, againſt whom he had been a great and ſucceſsful commander on the borders, where his eſtates were ſituated. He had, ſome years before, been baniſhed through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been re-called and pardoned by Mary. In his private life he was a complete profligate; by his intemperance he had diſſipated a large eſtate; but he ſtill retained his propenſity to licentiouſneſs, and nurtured every vice but hypocriſy. His appearance was manly, though he was now advancing to the decline of life; he was equally gallant in the court and in the field; and he poſſeſſed that openneſs of manner, which, with his experience in life, rendered him an agreeable companion to both ſexes. A perſon of his character could not be reſpected by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and perhaps that very circumſtance rendered him more agreeable to Mary.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland Elizabeth applied herſelf to cultivate the arts of peace. She was always deſirous of promoting literature in her dominions, and made a progreſs to Oxford with that intention. She addreſſed the univerſity in an elegant latin ſpeech, in which ſhe recommended the moſt aſſiduous attention to the inſtruction of youth committed to their care. And during her ſtay in that famous ſeat of the muſes, ſhe diſplayed ſuch a lively concern for the proſperity of literature and the welfare of the univerſity, that the members were in love with her government, and made her ever after, the arbiter of all their diſputes.

Soon after her return from Oxford the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and once more determined to addreſs the queen, either to marry, or ſettle the ſucceſſion. Accordingly Mr. Molyneux made a motion, that the affair of the ſubſidy, which had already been moved by ſecretary Cecil, might go hand in hand with that of the ſucceſſion. The majority declared in ſupport of the motion; but the members of the privy-council, who knew how diſagreeable the ſubject would be to Elizabeth, oppoſed it with all their influence. They informed the houſe that they had authority to aſſure them, that the queen would marry as ſoon as ſhe could find a prince deſerving

ſerving her affection; that the appointing a ſucceſſor would expoſe her perſon to the moſt imminent danger; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay the deciſion of that important ſubject to a more favourable opportunity. But theſe reaſons not being ſatisfactory to the members, they reſumed the ſubject with ſome warmth; ſeveral of them ſpoke with great freedom. Elizabeth was alarmed, and ſent a meſſage by Sir Francis Knolles, expreſsly commanding them to proceed no farther in that affair; but to reſt ſatisfied with her promiſe to marry. Paul Wentworth, a member who nobly ſupported the cauſe of liberty, made a motion, and put the queſtion, whether ſuch a prohibition was not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of that houſe? This brought on very warm debates; and Elizabeth repeated her commands againſt their proceeding any farther in that matter. But this order, inſtead of ſilencing the members, increaſed their ardour; the whole houſe was in a flame, and ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of diſguſt appeared, that the queen was obliged to retract her former orders, and allow the houſe free liberty of debate.

Pleaſed with this gracious condeſcenſion, the ſpeakers delivered their thoughts with more calmneſs and temper; they even voted the ſupply without any condition. But as it appeared to have been given with a view of obtaining her conſent to fix the ſucceſſion, ſhe remitted one third of it, declaring, that the money of her people might be as well in their own pockets as in the public treaſury. She was, however, far from being pleaſed with the ſpirited behaviour of the Commons; and when ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion, ſhe ſeverely reprimanded the members in her ſpeech from the throne; adviſing them not to put her patience to ſo ſevere a trial for the future. At the ſame time, ſhe declared, that ſhe knew how to diſtinguiſh the principal offenders from the reſt; and that the greater part of the members might reſt aſſured, that they departed in her good graces.

While Elizabeth was employed in cultivating the arts of peace in England, the Netherlands were agitated with thoſe alarming convulſions, which at laſt gave liberty to a very conſiderable part of that country. Soon after Philip had quitted theſe provinces, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontent of the inhabitants arrived at ſuch a height, that it was impoſſible for affairs to continue long in their preſent ſituation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ſeveral cauſes. The people were perſuaded that the king intended to aboliſh the ſmall remains of their liberty and privileges, and to erect on their ruins the throne of deſpotic power. The eſtabliſhment of biſhoprics alarmed many of the principal families, as the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbies, in which they were nearly concerned, were greatly leſſened. The inquiſition, which was going to be eſtabliſhed in theſe provinces, cauſed an univerſal alarm, that bloody tribunal being little leſs abhorred by the catholics than by the proteſtants themſelves. The ſtates had been prohibited from aſſembling. The king's determined reſolution to extirpate the reformed religion, which had now a multitude of profeſſors. Theſe meaſures, which were on the point of being eſtabliſhed, ſet the provinces in a flame. They had, for ſeveral years, petitioned the governeſs to aſſemble the ſtates, in order to avert the ſtorm which threatened the deſtruction of their country. Their requeſt was always rejected, and often with contumelious language. This ſtrange behaviour raiſed the reſentment of the people. The prince of Orange, with the counts of Egmont and Horne, withdrew from the council, and joined in a petition to the king. The cardinal de Glanville, who directed all the meaſures of the government, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the moſt violent attempts were to be feared, if he filled any longer the ſeat of power. Philip, whoſe pride would not ſuffer him to recall the cardinal, adviſed him to withdraw. The cardinal obeyed, and the nobles reſumed their ſeats at the council-board.

This point being obtained, they exerted themſelves to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, which they conſidered as one of the greateſt misfortunes that could attend any people. They formed aſſociations; and the proteſtants celebrated divine ſervice openly, notwithſtanding all the threats of the government. From this moment Philip conſidered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, while they looked upon him as an unjuſt and arbitrary ſovereign. Such was the beginning of the troubles in the Netherlands, and in which the Engliſh were afterwards very intimately engaged.

A. D. 1567. Bothwell had now acquired ſuch an aſcendency over Mary, that all her meaſures were directed by his advice. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them; and theſe reports gained the more credit, as the hatred of Mary towards her huſband ſeemed rather to increaſe than diminiſh. Even Darnley himſelf was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, that he had ſecretly provided a veſſel, in order to paſs over to the continent: while ſeveral of the nobility, perceiving there were no hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between them, propoſed ſome expedients for obtaining a divorce; but ſo many difficulties aroſe, chiefly with regard to the young prince's legitimacy, that it was laid aſide. The king, convinced that it was in vain ever to hope to recover the favour he had loſt, retired to Glaſgow, where he was ſeized with an illneſs of a very extraordinary nature. Mary's enemies, who took every opportunity of blackening her character, imputed this diſeaſe to a doſe of poiſon adminiſtered to him with her own hand.

Whatever truth there might be in this report, Mary ſeemed greatly alarmed. She repaired to Glaſgow, paid him a viſit, and behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs; forgetting, in the duty ſhe owed him as a wife, the cauſes of reſentment he had given her as his ſovereign. This behaviour of the queen gave the greateſt pleaſure to all who wiſhed ſhe might retrieve her character, eſpecially when it was known that ſhe had brought the king with her to Edinburgh. The queen herſelf reſided in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but as the ſituation of that place was unhealthy, and the noiſe of a court not well adapted to perſons in ſickneſs, it was thought proper to fit up apartments for him in a houſe at ſome diſtance from the city, called the Kirk Field. Here the queen continued her viſits, and behaved in the moſt endearing manner. She even lay ſeveral nights in a room below Darnley's chamber. But on the ninth of February, Mary told the king, that ſhe intended to ſleep that night in the palace, in order to be preſent at the marriage of one of her maids of honour. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was alarmed with a violent noiſe; and every face wore the aſpect of aſtoniſhment, when it was known that it was occaſioned by the blowing up of the houſe where the king reſided. Darnley's body was found at ſome diſtance, without any marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence.

Theſe particulars occaſioned a multitude of conjectures; but not the leaſt doubt was made by any, that the king had been murdered; and Bothwell was generally conſidered as the author of that attrocious crime. Mary ſeemed to be inconſolable on this occaſion: ſhe appeared to have devoted herſelf wholly to grief. The earl of Lenox loudly demanded juſtice on the murderers of his ſon; and accuſed Bothwell, and ſeveral others, as the perſons who had committed the regicide. Placards were ſecretly affixed on the walls in various parts of the city, accuſing Bothwell as the principal author, and that Mary herſelf was privy to the bloody deed. Voices were alſo heard in the ſtreets of Edinburgh during the ſtillneſs of the night, imputing to Mary and Bothwell the death of the late king. Whatever reaſons there might be for deſiring that the ſanguinary act might be conſigned to oblivion, the court was ſoon convinced, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome enquiry; and that Bothwell and his aſſociates, accuſed by the earl of Lenox, ſhould undergo a legal trial: but, at the ſame time, care was taken that no evidences ſhould appear againſt him. Fifteen days only were allowed the earl of Lenox for making good his charge againſt Bothwell, though he lived at a great diſtance from the court, and though he conjured the queen, for the ſake of vindicating her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch importance to the whole kingdom. Lenox finding all his attempts to put off the trial were in vain, ſent one of his retinue to proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, finding it would be impoſſible, in ſo ſhort a time, to collect the witneſſes ſufficient to prove the charge againſt ſo powerful a nobleman. No regard was, however, paid to this proteſt; the jury acquitted the priſoner.

But this was far from being thought ſufficient to exculpate Bothwell; it tended rather to prove his guilt. "Why (it was aſked) ſhould a perſon innocent of the crime he is accuſed of, endeavour to precipitate the trial? The witneſſes themſelves, if any are produced, will tend to clear his character; and every enquiry will withdraw part of the veil of calumny and detraction." The murder of the king was, however, only a prelude to the crimes of Bothwell. He forcibly carried off the queen, as ſhe was going to ſee her ſon, and conveyed her to the caſtle of Dunbar, with an intent to marry her. It was generally ſuſpected that the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with the queen; and ſome of the nobility, in order to diſcover the truth, ſent her a private meſſage, aſſuring her, that if ſhe lay under any conſtraint, they would exert all their power for her relief. She anſwered, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated with ſo much kindneſs ſince her arrival, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwell. The nobility were now ſufficiently convinced that the whole had been previouſly planned between them, and gave themſelves no farther concern about her captivity. A few days after, Bothwell received a pardon for this violence, and for all other crimes.

Nothing now remained but for her majeſty to marry Bothwell; but this ſeemed to be attended with an inſuperable difficulty. That nobleman had been married, about ſix months before, to a lady of great merit and noble family; and it was neceſſary to ſet this marriage aſide. Villainy is always fertile in expedients. The cauſe was pleaded with ſucceſs in two ſpiritual courts, the catholic and the proteſtant. The firſt decided in his favour from reaſons of conſanguinity, alledged by Bothwell; the latter from reaſons of adultery, alledged by his wife. Craig, the miniſter of Edinburgh, received orders to publiſh the banns of the queen's marriage, which he nobly refuſed. He even exhorted all thoſe who had acceſs to her perſon, to give her their advice againſt ſo ſcandalous an alliance. But all his endeavours were in vain; the queen perſiſted in her intention to marry Bothwell, and the ceremony was performed by the biſhop of Orkney. Very few lords attended, notwithſtanding many of them had ſigned a petition for her marrying Bothwell. The French ambaſſador, though a dependant on the houſe of Guiſe, could not be prevailed upon to countenance the marriage by his preſence. Mary, who had always paid the utmoſt deference to the advice of her French relations, declined it in an affair where ſhe was blinded by her paſſions.

This event diſgraced Mary in the eyes of all Europe: her ſubjects beheld her with horror. The ſuſpicions ſhe lay under with regard to her being an accomplice in the death of the king, grew ſtronger. Her connection with the man whom the public voice had pointed out as the murderer; her great anxiety to have him acquitted; a marriage ſo contrary to all decency, negotiated by means ſo odious; every thing ſeemed to confirm, that Mary, the ſlave of her paſſion for Bothwell, was the partner of his crime. Even though we ſhould be unwilling to impute to her this barbarous action, it is impoſſible to clear her of the moſt ſhameful weakneſs. But ſuch is the frailty of human nature, that the beſt characters, under certain fatal circumſtances, tranſgreſs at once the bounds of wiſdom and of duty.

The guilt of Bothwell was augmented by his inſolence. He treated the queen herſelf with the greateſt brutality; and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of lord Erſkine, lately created earl of Mar; but he nobly refuſed to part with his charge. This attempt alarmed the whole nation; and the principal nobility, by whom Bothwell was hated for his overbearing inſolence, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and bringing the murderers of the late king to condign puniſhment. They ſoon collected a conſiderable number of troops, and marched, with the utmoſt diligence and ſecrecy, to ſurprize the queen and Bothwell in Holy-rood-houſe. Their attempt had certainly been ſucceſsful, had not one of their number informed the queen of their deſign. She ſlighted not the notice ſhe had received, but made her eſcape, with Bothwell, to the caſtle of Brothwick, which the aſſociated lords reſolved immediately to beſiege. Bothwell fled to the Marches at the appearance of the enemy; and the queen eſcaped, in men's cloaths, to the caſtle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her aſſiſtance. Had Mary continued in Dunbar, the army of the aſſociated lords muſt have been diſperſed for want of pay; but being joined by a conſiderable number of troops, ſhe imprudently took the field againſt her rebellious ſubjects, and marched to Preſton, where ſhe was joined by Bothwell. She ſoon perceived that his preſence was of no advantage to her cauſe; for on meeting the forces of the enemy at Carberry Hill, they refuſed to fight in defence of a man who was univerſally conſidered as the murderer of the late king. Mary was now obliged to have recourſe to negotiation; and Bothwell, perceiving that the authority of the queen was no longer able to protect him, made his eſcape to Dunbar, and thence paſſed over into Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died in the greateſt diſtreſs.

Mary finding all hopes of reſiſtance were vaniſhed, took the fatal reſolution of ſubmitting to her enemies, and was conducted to Edinburgh amidſt the inſults of the populace. A banner was carried before her, on which was painted the murder of her huſband, and her ſon in tears, imploring the vengeance of heaven. She was not permitted to continue long at the palace: the conſpirators ſent her, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray. This caſtle was ſituated on a ſmall iſland in the middle of a lake, and acceſſible only by a boat. Here the captive queen was treated with the utmoſt cruelty, without a ſingle friend to comfort her in this ſcene of diſtreſs. The ſufferings of the unhappy princeſs affected Elizabeth, and ſhe reſolved to employ all her authority to alleviate her misfortunes, and reduce her rebellious ſubjects to reaſon. She diſpatched Throgmorton to Scotland, with orders to enquire into the real ſituation of Mary, and to promiſe her all the aſſiſtance in her power. At the ſame time, he was commiſſioned to demand of the conſpirators the liberty of their ſovereign, and, in caſe of refuſal, to threaten them with the reſentment of his miſtreſs.

The aſſociated lords, who were determined to humble Mary, refuſed the Engliſh ambaſſador acceſs to her perſon; and obliged the unfortunate queen to ſign an inſtrument, whereby ſhe reſigned the crown to her infant ſon, who was proclaimed in Edinburgh under the name of James VI. and crowned at Stirling on the twenty-ninth of July. They alſo forced her to ſign a ſecond inſtrument, by which the earl of Murray was appointed regent during the minority of the young king. Murray was Mary's natural brother, an active enterprizing man, and one of the principal promoters of the reformation in Scotland.

But the ſigning of theſe inſtruments was not ſufficient to procure Mary her liberty. The conſpirators feared the conſequence of the return of the affections of the people at the ſight of majeſty in diſtreſs. Murray therefore ſummoned a parliament, and that aſſembly, after voting ſhe was undoubtedly an accomplice in her huſband's murder, condemned her to perpetual impriſonment, ratified the inſtruments ſhe had ſigned, acknowledged her ſon for their king, and Murray for regent. But though no difficulties occurred in the parliament, many of the nobility were diſguſted at the proceedings of the conſpirators. The flight of Bothwell had tended greatly to alter the ſentiments of the virtuous part of the nation; the ſituation of Mary was commiſerated; and a powerful party was formed for ſupporting the cauſe of that unfortunate princeſs.

A. D. 1568. But all their endeavours would perhaps have been rendered abortive, had not the charms of Mary effected her eſcape. George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, engaged to aſſiſt her in her flight. He found means to ſteal the keys of the caſtle from his brother's chamber, and while the family were engaged in their devotions, opened the gates, conveyed her into a ſmall boat, and rowed her aſhore. The news of her eſcape was ſoon known to her friends, who conveyed her to Hamilton, where ſhe was joined by a great number of the nobility. A bond of aſſociation was immediately ſigned for her defence, and Mary, in a few days, found herſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men.

She immediately diſpatched Bethune, a perſon of abilities, and one that had been very inſtrumental in her releaſe, with a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the happy change in her circumſtances, and requeſting a body of troops to aſſiſt her in reducing her rebel ſubjects. Mary intended to retire to the ſtrong caſtle of Dumbarton, in order to wait the arrival of the ſuccours expected from England. She alſo took ſome ſteps towards opening a negotiation with Murray. But the regent refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation that tended to diveſt him of the power he had acquired by uſurpation; and both parties prepared to decide the conteſt by the ſword. The regent could collect no more than four thouſand men; but notwithſtanding the inferior number of his army, he took the field againſt his ſovereign. The two armies met on the thirteenth of May, at Langſide, near Glaſgow; and a battle was fought, in which Mary's forces were totally defeated. The unhappy princeſs fled with great precipitation, attended by a few friends, to the borders of England. A conſultation was now held with regard to the meaſures ſhe ought to purſue, as they would, in all probability, determine her future happineſs or miſery. It was hoped, that the late interpoſition of Elizabeth in favour of the Scottiſh queen, would induce her to aſſiſt her effectually in her diſtreſs; and it was therefore determined to paſs over into England; and accordingly the queen, attended with a ſmall retinue of ſeventeen perſons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, and was conducted to the caſtle of Carliſle in a very honourable manner, by the deputy-governor.

Mary was no ſooner landed in England, than ſhe diſpatched a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the unfortunate iſſue of the battle of Langſide, and ſolliciting that aſſiſtance ſhe had promiſed her againſt her rebellious ſubjects. Elizabeth received the letter with aſtoniſhment; and had ſhe been left to follow the dictates of her own mind at that inſtant, ſhe would certainly have complied with the requeſt of the Scottiſh queen. But Cecil cautioned her againſt the danger of ſuffering the feelings of humanity to prevail over the dictates of prudence. She, however, diſpatched lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary, and to take care that ſhe was treated with all the reſpect her high birth and royalty required.

The privy-council being aſſembled, great debates enſued on the manner of proceeding with regard to the Scottiſh princeſs. To detain her in England might, it was thought, be attended with many diſagreeable circumſtances, and to ſend her to France with ſtill more. Humanity would not permit her being delivered into the hands of her rebellious ſubjects. At laſt it was agreed by the majority, that ſhe ſhould be detained a priſoner, till ſhe had made ſatisfaction for having aſſumed the title and arms of England, and proved her innocence with regard to the murder of her huſband. Mary had certainly entered England without leave from Elizabeth, or procuring any ſafe conduct; and from this circumſtance, it was determined by the council, that ſhe was actually a priſoner of war. It cannot be denied, that a ſovereign has power to ſeize a foreign prince, who enters his dominions without a ſafe-conduct; but there are caſes wherein that right deviates into injuſtice. In this inſtance, the circumſtances were remarkaby favourable. Mary had been forced out of her dominions by her rebellious ſubjects, and obliged to take refuge in the firſt place that offered. She had no time for choice: ſhe muſt either ſubmit to thoſe who ſought her life, or take ſhelter in the country of a friend and ally. She had alſo received aſſurances of aſſiſtance from Elizabeth; ſo that if the detaining of her a priſoner was not contrary to the law of nations, it was at leaſt repugnant to the dictates of humanity.

Elizabeth balanced, for ſome time, between political prudence and generoſity. The former at laſt prevailed; ſhe followed the advice of her council, and informed the queen of Scots, that notwithſtanding her friendſhip for her, ſhe could not, with any degree of decency, either ſee or ſupport her, till ſhe ſhould be cleared of the crimes of which ſhe was accuſed. Mary anſwered, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf before a princeſs whom ſhe conſidered as a ſiſter. But Elizabeth reflected that for her to ſit in perſon as a judge, and pronounce any ſentence, would be ſubject to many difficulties. The royal dignity would be wounded when majeſty itſelf ſubmits to puniſhment. She therefore declined the office, but offered to ſend two noblemen, as her commiſſioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her ſubjects. Mary accepted the offer, and Elizabeth wrote immediately to Murray, charging him, in a very peremptory manner, to deſiſt from any farther hoſtilities againſt the friends of the queen of Scots, and to appear in perſon to vindicate his conduct with regard to his ſovereign, before the commiſſioners, who were appointed to ſit at York for that purpoſe.

A meſſage which carried with it all the appearance of command, at once ſurprized and offended Murray; but having always been an abject ſlave to the Engliſh, and his domeſtic enemies being now both numerous and powerful, he determined to obey her commands; as the only perſon from whom he could hope for aſſiſtance. This reſolution was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed in the council, by the moſt judicious of his party. They repreſented that it would caſt an indelible ſtain on himſelf and his country, ſhould he accuſe his lawful and native ſovereign before a foreign court of judicature; before perſons who were profeſſed enemies of the Scottiſh nation. But their arguments were urged in vain. Murray was not to be diverted from his purpoſe; he paſſed into England, aſſiſted by the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, the lord Lindſey, and the abbot of Dumferlin. At firſt Mary's cauſe appeared triumphant. Murray, flattering himſelf that if Mary's honour was not impeached, ſhe might be prevailed upon to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation; whereas if he accuſed her of being an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and ſhe ſhould afterwards reaſcend the throne, inevitable death muſt be the conſequence. This accuſation being omitted, the anſwers of the queen to the arguments of her adverſaries, were extremely plauſible: "How could ſhe ſuſpect, ſaid her advocate, that Bothwell was the murderer of her huſband, after he had been legally tried and acquitted, and after the nobility themſelves had ſollicited her to marry him. If he was guilty, ſhe deſired he might be puniſhed: ſhe appealed to the laws of her country, and they found him innocent. As to her reſignation of the crown, it was evidently an act of conſtraint, and conſequently null and void. By what right, or on what pretence, could the Scots revolt from their allegiance, throw their queen into priſon, give her battle, and place her ſucceſſor on the throne. Theſe are confeſſedly acts of rebellion, and puniſhed as ſuch in every well-governed ſtate."

Murray perceived the full force of theſe arguments, and was now convinced, that he muſt either give up the conteſt, or accuſe his ſovereign as the murderer of her huſband. He choſe the latter; and being aſſured that if Mary's crime was proved in a ſatisfactory manner, Elizabeth would immediately declare againſt her, and give him every reaſonable protection he could deſire, he produced proofs in ſupport of the moſt horrid accuſations. Theſe were love-letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and a promiſe of marriage ſigned before the trial of that infamous ſeducer. From theſe papers it was ſufficiently evident, that all the crimes committed by Bothwell, the murder of the king, and forcibly carrying off the queen, had been concerted with her majeſty. Mary's commiſſioners were aſtoniſhed when they perceived that Murray had produced teſtimonies which could not be anſwered, unleſs they could prove that the papers were forged. They therefore changed their ſyſtem; they deſired that Elizabeth would bring about an accommodation; and on being informed, that the accuſations exhibited againſt Mary muſt be firſt obviated, they broke off the conferences. The friends of Mary have laboured to prove that theſe famous letters were forged, and many volumes have been written with that intention. The ſubject is, however, too diffuſe, nor indeed is it neceſſary to diſcuſs the arguments that have been offered both for and againſt the authenticity of theſe letters here. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that from a candid examination, the proofs brought to prove them forgeries are weak and inconcluſive. They are alſo the more exceptional, as the queen, at a criſis ſo affecting to her honour, refuſed either to acknowledge or deny their authenticity.

Every expedient was tried by Elizabeth to prevail upon Mary to continue the conferences; but could not prevail. She remained inflexible, and even accuſed Murray and the other commiſſioners of being the murderers of her huſband: but produced no proofs againſt them. Elizabeth offered to bury whatever was paſt in oblivion, and negotiate a reconciliation with her ſubjects, provided ſhe would renounce the throne, or even aſſociate her ſon with her in the government, and ſuffer the direction of affairs to continue in the hands of Murray during the minority of the young prince. But Mary rejected the propoſal with diſdain. "My laſt words, anſwered ſhe, ſhall be the words of the queen of Scotland."

During the abſence of Murray, the Hamiltons and the earl of Huntley, who were ſtill in arms, had taken poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, with a body of ſeven thouſand men, intending to march forward, and intercept the regent in his return from England. Murray had, therefore, recourſe to artifice: he ſent Sir Robert Melvill to Mary, with propoſals of marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities between the two parties in Scotland. She anſwered that her repugnance to a new marriage ſhould give way to the public good, and that ſhe ſhould be ready to receive any propoſal that ſhould be recommended by her parliament, and to make a peace with the rebels; but at the ſame time declared ſhe would give no definitive anſwer till ſhe was ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the throne of her anceſtors. She, however, agreed to ſend orders to the lords of her party to ſuſpend hoſtilities againſt Murray till further orders. This was the ſole point the regent had in view; he took advantage of the queen's order, and returned to Scotland in ſafety. Mary now preſſed Elizabeth either to enable her to regain poſſeſſion of her kingdom, or to ſuffer her to retire into France and ſeek other reſources. The queen evaded her requeſts, and the unfortunate princeſs, whoſe wit, and inſinuating graces, might have created her intereſt in too many hearts, was removed to Tutbury caſtle, and guarded with the greateſt vigilance.

A. D. 1569. Norfolk, however, purſued his deſign of marrying Mary. He was greatly beloved by the people, and the firſt nobleman in England in point of birth and fortune. He was paſſionately fond of the Scottiſh queen, but fearful of concluding a treaty of that importance without the conſent of his ſovereign, he conſulted the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex, Pembroke, and Southampton, who all agreed in adviſing him to proceed. The principal nobility and gentry engaged to ſupport him; and the lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton joined his intereſt with great cordiality. It was now agreed to open the affair to the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's delared favourite. He approved the deſign, and wrote to Mary, recommending the duke of Norfolk for a huſband, and ſtipulating the following articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: "That Mary ſhould attempt nothing in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland, and grant a free pardon to ſuch of her ſubjects as had appeared in arms againſt her." Mary very readily gave her conſent to theſe propoſals, which ſeemed to open a path to liberty, and the recovery of the crown of her anceſtors. The kings of France and Spain were privately conſulted, and highly approved of the intended marriage. This ſtep of conſulting foreign princes with regard to a treaty he carefully concealed from his own ſovereign, was highly imprudent, nor could it be deemed entirely innocent.

Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate to Elizabeth, a man of great vigilance and integrity, ſoon got intelligence of the deſign, and the queen one day told Norfolk to take care on what pillow he laid his head. She afterwards ſent for the duke, upbraided him ſharply for preſuming to engage in a treaty without her knowledge, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to proceed no farther. The duke promiſed to obey her commands; but retired from court without taking leave, and repaired to his ſeat in Norfolk. He was ſo greatly beloved in that county, that he could eaſily have aſſembled a conſiderable army in his defence; but his loyalty would not permit him to take up arms againſt his ſovereign. He ſet out on his return to the court, but was arreſted at St. Albans and ſent to the Tower. All who had been privy to the deſign were alſo taken into cuſtody; but as they unanimouſly agreed in declaring, that the marriage had been propoſed by Murray, and that it was never intended to be concluded without Elizabeth's conſent, they were ſet at liberty.

The impriſonment of ſo many of the nobility greatly alarmed the nation, and ſeveral ſuſpicious aſſemblies were held in the north, where Mary was the idol of the people. Lord Suſſex, preſident of York, was not ignorant of theſe meetings, nor of the inclination of the northern inhabitants. He ſent for the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who thought proper to pay no regard to the ſummons; but being alarmed at their danger they flew to arms without waiting for a ſupply of men and money, which they had been promiſed by the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands. The inſurgents proceeded immediately to Durham, tore the bible and common prayer book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and cauſed maſs to be openly celebrated in an aſſembly of above ſix thouſand perſons. The rebel army now became very numerous, and a party of five hundred horſe were detached to releaſe the queen of Scotland from her confinement in Tutbury caſtle; but that princeſs having been removed to Coventry before their arrival, the expedition miſcarried. The inſurgents ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Bernard-caſtle, and fortified Hartlepool.

While part of their forces, amounting to about fifteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, were employed in theſe operations, the reſt, formed into ſmall detachments, over-ran all Yorkſhire; the royal army, commanded by the earl of Suſſex, being too weak to prevent their ravages. But the chiefs of the rebels finding it impoſſible to furniſh money ſufficient to pay their troops, the army diſperſed. Northumberland fled into Scotland, where he was ſeized by the regent, and committed to the caſtle of Lochleven. The earl of Weſtmoreland was more fortunate; he found means to paſs over into Flanders, where he lived on a ſmall penſion ſettled on him by the king of Spain.

A. D. 1570. It is ſaid that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with Elizabeth for the delivery of the queen of Scots into his hands; and as Elizabeth now ſaw all the dangers which might reſult from her detention in England, it is not improbable but ſhe might have been pleaſed to have been freed from a priſoner who gave her ſo much inquietude, could it have been effected on any honourable and ſafe terms. But if this negotiation ever exiſted, it was ſuddenly terminated by the death of the regent, who was aſſaſſinated on the twenty-third of January, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, in revenge for a private injury.

This event involved Scotland in its former anarchy. The death of the regent was no ſooner known, than a conſiderable body of Scots entered England, and committed ravages which equalled in cruelty thoſe of the moſt barbarous times. This expedition ſeems to have been undertaken merely to provoke the Engliſh to revenge theſe affronts on all the Scots in general; and by that means to revive the ancient enmity between the two people, and unite all the inhabitants of Scotland againſt their ſouthern neighbours. But they were miſtaken in their politics: Elizabeth was too cautious to be deceived by ſo ill-concerted a ſcheme: ſhe declared, that ſhe did not think the party that ſupported the government concerned in the late unprecedented inſult upon her ſubjects, nor inclined to think the whole nation criminal. She even offered her aſſiſtance to reſtore the government to its former vigour, and to redreſs the diſorders that had been committed by Mary's friends. She added, that ſhould her friendly offers be rejected, ſhe was ſufficiently prepared to do herſelf juſtice, and take a ſevere revenge on thoſe who had wantonly, and without the leaſt provocation, inſulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to an aſſembly of the ſtates, diſconcerted all the meaſures of Mary's friends: they were not prepared with an anſwer, and obtained a farther time for that purpoſe. During this interval, both parties exerted all their abilities to gain the aſcendant. Elizabeth collected an army to give weight to her counſels; and her ambaſſador artfully cheriſhed the diviſions in Scotland, while he ſeemed to be labouring to promote an union between the two parties. Mary's friends had recourſe to the moſt provoking ſarcaſms upon Elizabeth and her council, in order to urge them to a general rupture. At the ſame time, they expected conſiderable aſſiſtance from France and Spain, to enable them to oppoſe, with more probability of ſucceſs, the attempts of the party ſupported by the Engliſh.

The earl of Suſſex, who commanded Elizabeth's army, received orders to march into Scotland, revenge the injuries ſuffered by their countrymen, and influence the election of a regent. The queen's orders were ſcrupulouſly obeyed: Suſſex ſeverely retaliated on the aggreſſors the miſeries they had inflicted on the Engliſh. He was, however, ſoon after recalled, by an agreement with the queen of Scots, who ſtipulated, that no foreign troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland; and that the Engliſh rebels, who had taken refuge in that kingdom, ſhould be delivered up by her partizans. The earl of Lenox was ſoon after choſen regent in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and Randolph received orders to maintain a correſpondence with him.

But notwithſtanding theſe inſtances of partiality to Mary's enemies, Elizabeth ſtill continued her ambiguous conduct, and maintained the appearance of friendſhip with that unfortunate princeſs. At the requeſt of the biſhop of Roſs, Mary's ambaſſador, joined with the preſſing inſtances of ſome foreign powers, Elizabeth procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means checked the progreſs of the regent's party, when they were on the point of gaining very conſiderable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct, Elizabeth artfully fed the flames of civil diſcord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of horror and deſolation. Throgmorton ſcrupled not to load Cecil with the blame of ſo perfidious a conduct; which, however reconcileable it may be to the rules of policy, is totally repugnant to all the rules of honour and humanity.

A. D. 1571. The catholic powers now exerted all their influence to procure the enlargement of the queen of Scots; but finding all their endeavours were in vain, pope Pius V. had recourſe to the thunders of the Vatican. He publiſhed the bull of excommunication againſt Elizabeth, deprived her of all title to the crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. A perſon was found hardy enough to affix this bull to the gate of the biſhop of London's palace, and to expoſe himſelf to death as the reward of his zeal. This violent meaſure of the Roman pontiff being attributed to the intrigues of the queen of Scotland, ſerved only to inflame the fatal hatred of Elizabeth. The Engliſh had long ſince learned to deſpiſe the cenſures of St. Peter's ſucceſſor.

The tenets of the puritans, who were now very numerous in England, called for the vigilance of the queen, equally with the papiſts. They were the declared enemies to epiſcopacy, religious ceremonies, and every part of the ancient worſhip. They condemned the church of England, which, according to their language, was infected with the wickedneſs of the Romiſh antichriſt. An image, the bending of the knee, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, a ſurplice, a ſquare cap, ſtruck them with horror. The ſpirit of liberty, when blended with the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, becomes extremely formidable in every eſtabliſhed government; and this ſpirit of independence with which they were animated, rendered them dangerous to the arbitrary meaſures purſued by Elizabeth; and was the radical cauſe of thoſe bloody revolutions which afterwards happened in the Engliſh government.

A new parliament, after five years interval, met at Weſtminſter on the ſecond of April; and it ſoon appeared that the ſeeds of independence began to vegetate in the breaſts of ſeveral of the members. Strickland propoſed a reformation of the liturgy, and particularly an abolition of the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. The motion was ſupported, and ſeveral arguments were uſed to ſhew the propriety of the parliament's interfering in religious ſubjects. It was anſwered, that this was an infringement of the right of ſupremacy; that the queen alone, as head of the church, had the power of regulating the ceremonies of worſhip, and that it was dangerous for the commons to interfere in an affair of that kind. It was added, that the members would do well to take warning from former examples, not to meddle with ſuch matters. But the puritans were not ſo eaſily intimidated from their purpoſe: they exclaimed againſt the oppoſition of the courtiers to objects of the utmoſt importance. "The ſalvation of the ſoul (ſaid they) is in queſtion; a conſideration to which all the kingdoms of the earth are nothing in compariſon." This ſally of zeal, though highly approved in the houſe, did not weaken the general reſpect for the prerogative. It was determined to petition the queen for leave to proceed farther on this ſubject; and all debates were, for the preſent, laid aſide.

But Elizabeth was too much offended at the preſumption of Strickland, to paſs it over in ſilence. She ſent for him to the council, and commanded him not to appear any more in the houſe of commons. This peremptory order was too violent, even for the ſubmiſſive parliaments of that age to endure; it excited loud complaints in the houſe, and privileges before unclaimed were aſſerted to belong to the commons. It was juſtly obſerved, that Strickland was not a private man, but the repreſentative of a multitude; and that though the queen ought to ſupport her prerogative, it was limited by the laws: for as the ſovereign could not of himſelf make laws, ſo neither could he break them merely from his own authority. We ſhall ſee theſe noble ſeeds of liberty taking deeper root in ſucceeding reigns, and acquiring daily a greater force. They were now unable to contend with the authority of Elizabeth. But even that arbitrary princeſs, finding her exertion of power was likely to excite a great commotion, ſhe ſaved her honour by giving Strickland permiſſion to attend his duty in parliament.

Theſe proceedings, however harſh and alarming, did not terrify the puritans. Robert Bell made a motion againſt an excluſive patent granted to a company of merchants at Briſtol. He diſplayed the dangerous conſequences of this meaſure, and the great impediment it gave to the commerce of the kingdom. But the general opinion inveſted ſuch extenſive power in the crown, that theſe efforts of natural liberty were not crowned with ſucceſs. The majority of the members were ſo intimidated, that though they approved of theſe motions, they did not chuſe to ſupport them. To interfere in matters of government was conſidered as the moſt inſufferable temerity. So very different were the ideas of the conſtitution at that time from thoſe which ſoon after changed the form of adminiſtration.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the neighbouring ſtates were ravaged and laid waſte by religious wars. The prince of Condé was ſlain at the battle of Jarnac; and his ſon, with the young prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. placed at the head of the Hugonots. The admiral Coligny, always unfortunate, but always formidable in his miſfortunes, conſtantly ſupported the proteſtant party againſt the royal forces, headed by the ambitious Henry de Guiſe. Elizabeth ſaw the neceſſity of ſupporting the Hugonots, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own, notwithſtanding her hatred of all rebellion, and every ſpecies of oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign. Soon after, the whole army of the inſurgents was defeated at Montcontour, in Poictou, and the admiral himſelf dangerouſly wounded. The loſs of this battle ſeemed to have put a final period to the attempts of the Hugonots; and the court of France, perſuaded that the force of the rebels was totally annihilated, neglected to make any farther preparations againſt an enemy whom they thought could never more be dangerous. But they were miſtaken. Coligny appeared in another quarter of the kingdom, at the head of ſo powerful an army, that even the capital itſelf was in danger. It was now thought proper to have recourſe to negotiation; and a treaty was ſoon concluded, in which liberty of conſcience, and a pardon for their revolt, were once more granted them.

Deſpairing of ever being able to reduce the Hugonots by force, it was determined to have recourſe to policy, and to finiſh by the dagger of aſſaſſination what the ſword of war had attempted in vain. The perfidious Charles careſſed the people he intended to deſtroy. The terms of peace were ſtrictly obſerved; the toleration was regularly maintained; all attempts of the more zealous catholics to infringe it were puniſhed with ſeverity; offices and honours were beſtowed upon the principal nobility among the proteſtants; and the court openly declared, that they were determined to allow every perſon the free exerciſe of his religion, from a perſuaſion that there was no other method of reſtoring the peace of an exhauſted country, it being impoſſible to force the conſciences of mankind. An embaſſy was ſent to Elizabeth with propoſals of marriage with the duke of Anjou; a prince whoſe youth, beauty, and reputation for valour, it was ſuppoſed would recommend him to a woman of Elizabeth's diſpoſition. The artful policy of that princeſs appeared in a ſtronger light at this juncture than ever. She apparently conſented to a project inconſiſtent with her views, and which ſhe never meant to accompliſh. She had, indeed, very powerful reaſons for this artful diſſimulation. Her diſputes with Spain, with regard to the Low Countries, were alone ſufficient to make her have recourſe to every incident to amuſe the court of France. But this was not the only motive. The partizans of Mary, who had given her ſo much uneaſineſs, would be diſcouraged by the proſpect of an alliance between France and England. Elizabeth knew this, and determined to make uſe of the expedient.

The Low Countries felt more ſeverely than France the dreadful ſcourge of ſuperſtitious tyranny. Philip was determined to rule thoſe commercial provinces with a deſpotic power, and employed a man well qualified to execute his tyrannical deſign. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, was the man ſelected by Philip for this purpoſe. He had been educated in a camp; and having obtained a conſummate knowledge of the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all governments the ſevere diſcipline of an army. This general, about three years ſince, had conducted into the Low Countries, from Italy, a powerful body of veteran Spaniſh forces. The Flemings, who were no ſtrangers to his ferocious character, and the inveterate hatred he entertained againſt them, were ſtruck with conſternation. Nor were they terrified in vain. The military executions of that unfeeling nobleman are ſhocking to humanity, and will hand down his name with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. All the privileges of that people were aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts of Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding all their merits and paſt ſervices, were brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into priſon, and thence delivered over to the hand of the executioner. He met with no reſiſtance; the people ſubmitted to his power; but this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ſlaviſh purpoſes: he proceeded in his career of cruelty; and nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture and death.

Driven to deſpair, great numbers of the Flemings took refuge in England, where they were protected by Elizabeth, and where they eſtabliſhed their uſeful manufactures, for which they had long been famous. It was impoſſible for the violent government of Alva to be of any long continuance, without exciting ſome dreadful commotion. Elizabeth declared, ſhe could not behold the deſtruction of a whole people without affording them aſſiſtance. She accordingly ſeized a large ſum of money which ſome Genoeſe merchants were ſending to Alva, for the payment of his forces. This reduced him to have recourſe to the moſt oppreſſive meaſures, which ſtill farther animated the Flemings againſt the Spaniſh government.

Exaſperated beyond the bounds of reaſon, Alva determined to raiſe diſturbances in England. He accordingly opened a ſecret correſpondence with Mary, queen of Scots, by means of one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided many years in London, and managed all the intrigues between the catholics and the court of Rome. It was agreed that a powerful army of Spaniſh troops ſhould be landed in England, and at the ſame time, an inſurrection ſhould be excited in the heart of the kingdom. But Alva being perſuaded that the attempt could not poſſibly ſucceed unleſs ſome Engliſh nobleman of authority could be found to head the inſurgents, and inſpire them with courage; and no perſon appeared ſo proper for this purpoſe as the duke of Norfolk. Mary, who was now ſufficiently convinced of Elizabeth's duplicity, and deſpaired of ever recovering her crown, or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, readily embraced the offer: while Norfolk, unable to recover the favour of Elizabeth, agreed to violate the promiſe he had made of breaking off all correſpondence with Mary. He engaged in this new conſpiracy; the promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; but he ſtill flattered himſelf that there was nothing criminal in his actions, as his ſole view was that of obtaining the queen's conſent to marry the captive princeſs. In conſequence of the duke's conſent, three letters were wrote in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but Norfolk, though very deſirous of delivering Mary from confinement, refuſed to ſign them. He could only be prevailed upon to ſend Baker, one of his confidents, to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to vouch for their being authentic. The ſcheme was embraced with great alacrity by Alva and the pope, and every thing ſeemed to wear a very promiſing appearance.

Theſe proceedings could not long remain concealed in ſo prying a court as that of Elizabeth. Rodolphi, indeed, was beyond the reach of the Engliſh council, but one Bayley, a ſervant to the queen of Scots, whom Rodolphi had diſpatched with letters to Mary, the biſhop of Roſs, the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Lumley, was ſeized at Dover immediately upon his landing, and the letters ſent to lord Cobham, governor of the cinque ports; who being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, ſuffered the biſhop of Roſs to change the letters for others of leſs importance. Walſingham, Elizabeth's miniſter at Paris, had obtained ſome intelligence of this affair, and was perpetually alarming his miſtreſs with accounts of plots forming againſt her by Mary's party. The letters delivered by lord Cobham, contained no traces of any ſecret deſigns againſt the government, and ſuſpicions were entertained by the miniſtry, that theſe were other letters which had not reached their hands. Bayley was therefore ſent for to the council, and ſoon brought to confeſs all he had learned from Rodolphi, and that the original paquet he had brought over was in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Roſs.

Fearful of the conſequence, and ſuſpecting that his public character would not protect him, that prelate had wiſely ſecreted all his papers of any conſequence; and on the thirteenth of May, after undergoing a ſtrict examination before a committee of the council, he was given in cuſtody to the biſhop of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and one Rolſton were committed to the Tower on ſuſpicion. Hitherto nothing had appeared that could greatly effect the duke of Norfolk; but a ſubſequent tranſaction completed his ruin.

Mary was very deſirous of ſending a ſum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to convey it to Banniſter, a ſervant of his in the north, who was to find ſome expedient to have it delivered to lord Herries. The ſervant, to whom the money was intruſted, not being in the ſecret, and judging from the weight and ſize of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, together with a letter he was charged with to Banniſter, to Cecil, now lord Burleigh. Upon the diſcovery Banniſter and Hickford, the duke's ſecretary, were apprehended, and brought before the council. On being threatened with the torture they immediately confeſſed the whole, and as Hickford, though ordered to burn all Mary's letters, had concealed them under the mats of the duke's chamber, the miniſtry became poſſeſſed of ſufficient evidence againſt his maſter.

A. D. 1571. Ignorant of the diſcoveries made by Hickford, the duke, when cited before the council, denied every article of the charge brought againſt him, and though exhorted to merit the mercy of his ſovereign by a full confeſſion, he perſevered in his firſt declaration. He was therefore ſent to the Tower, and after being convicted of high-treaſon, finiſhed his life upon the ſcaffold. He died with great calmneſs and conſtancy, and was ſincerely regretted by the people, by whom he was greatly beloved. He had acquired their affections by his beneficence, generoſity, and affability. His anceſtors had long been conſidered as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliances of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that party; but as he had been educated among the reformers, was ſincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed; he thereby enjoyed the real felicity of being popular even in the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the cauſe of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a diſtance.

Very little alterations had happened in Scotland during theſe tranſactions: that unhappy kingdom ſtill remained in a ſtate of anarchy. Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded in the caſtle of Edinburgh, having declared for Mary, the lords of her party, encouraged by his countenance, made themſelves maſters of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the regent, who was obliged to retire to Stirling. The inſurgents followed, and made themſelves maſters of his perſon; but percieving his friends at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, were advancing, they immediately put him to death. The earl of Mar was choſen regent in his room; but that nobleman found it impoſſible to govern ſo divided a country. At laſt the two courts of France and England, ordered their miniſters to negotiate a ceſſation of arms, which they accordingly effected. But this tranquillity was of no long duration; Mar ſoon after died of grief for the diſtracted ſtate of his country, and the earl of Morton elected to the regency. This nobleman had always been directed in his meaſures by Elizabeth, and it was now determined to ſupport effectually the party at the head of which he was placed. Sir Henry Killigrew was accordingly ſent ambaſſador into Scotland, where he found the partizans of Mary ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the royal authority, and accept an indemnity for all paſt offences.

France was now the theatre of cruelty, hardly equalled in the moſt barbarous ages. The deceitful peace granted to the Hugonots was pregnant with horrors that ſhock humanity. Charles, the more effectually to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, offered his ſiſter in marriage to the prince of Navarre, and great preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials with uncommon ſplendor. Deceived by theſe perfidious arts, the leaders of the Hugonots flocked to Paris to be ſpectators of a ceremony which they imagined would for ever put a period to the civil wars which had ſo long waſted their country. The queen of Navarre died ſuddenly ſoon after her arrival, not without the moſt violent ſuſpicion of poiſon; and the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by a baſe aſſaſſin as he was returning to his lodgings. Charles, however, by redoubling his diſſimulation, was ſtill able to retain the Hugonots in their fatal ſecurity. He viſited the admiral, expreſſed the greateſt concern for his misfortune, and promiſed to take the ſevereſt vengeance on the aſſaſſin, and all his abettors. The eve of St. Bartholomew was appointed for putting in execution this horrid ſcheme. The duke of Guiſe, who was as the head of this infernal enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards, to arm the citizens privately, and when the alarm was given, to place lights in their windows, break into the houſes of the Hugonots, and put them all to the ſword without diſtinction. About midnight, when the whole city was wrapt in darkneſs, and the unſuſpecting victims folded in the arms of ſleep, the fatal alarm was given, and the catholics began the horrid butchery. The hatred they had long bore to the proteſtants ſteeled their breaſts againſt the feelings of humanity, and all conditions, ages, and ſexes, ſuſpected of any propenſity to that religion, were involved in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood, and the catholics, after all their deteſted victims were deſtroyed, exerciſed on their dead bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. They ſeemed to regret that the work of death was over. Above five hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune periſhed in this maſſacre; and near ten thouſand of inferior condition. Among the former were admiral Coligny, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Sobize, Rochefoucaut, Pardillon, Piles, Lavardin; all perſons diſtinguiſhed by their births and talents, and whoſe only crime was their religion. Nor was the court of Paris yet ſatiated with blood. Orders were immediately diſpatched to all the provinces for continuing the ſanguinary ſacrifice. The people emulated the fury of the capital, and the proteſtants in Meaux, Orleans, Trope, Bourges, Angers, Tholouſe, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities, were butchered in the ſame inhuman manner. Even the young king of Navarre, and his couſin the prince of Condé, were devoted to deſtruction by the duke of Guiſe. Charles, however, would not ſuffer the ſentence to be executed; though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by a ſeeming change in their religion.

Charles himſelf when he came ſeriouſly to reflect on this inhuman maſſacre was ſhocked with the thought, and endeavoured to conceal from the eyes of the world his barbarous perfidy. He pretended that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots againſt his perſon, was ſuddenly diſcovered, and that the ſeverity they ſuffered flowed entirely from neceſſity. He wiſhed to bury in oblivion a tranſaction that is ſhocking at once to religion and humanity. Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at London, abhorred the treachery, and did not heſitate to expreſs his grief. He bluſhed, he ſaid, to bear the name of a Frenchman. Being, however, ordered to juſtify the court of France, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. He repaired to court, which ſeemed plunged in the abyſs of ſorrow. An aweful ſilence reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. The nobility, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs without interruption. Sorrow and indignation were painted in every countenance, and declared, in the ſtrongeſt language, the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation. The queen heard his apology with great coolneſs, and calmly anſwered, that ſuppoſing there had been a conſpiracy formed by the proteſtants, it was not neceſſary to have recourſe to ſuch cruel methods; that the ſame force that had murdered ſo many defenceleſs men, might eaſily have ſecured their perſons; and that by proceeding in a legal manner, diſtinctions might have been made between the guilty and the innocent; that Coligny, in particular, who was dangerouſly wounded, could not have fled from the juſtice of his prince; that cruel aſſaſſins were not the proper executors of juſtice; the ſword ſhould not be put into the hands of a ferocious multitude. She added, the future conduct of the king would more fully diſplay his real intentions; and that, in the mean time, ſhe ſhould proceed no farther than to lament the rigour, with which he had treated his ſubjects. Elizabeth well knew the power of the Guiſes, and their attachment to the queen of Scotland. She was therefore unwilling to break with a court that was capable of giving her ſo much uneaſineſs.

But though Elizabeth ſo cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, whoſe union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extirmination of the proteſtants, gave her ſo much anxiety, ſhe afforded protection to all the unhappy fugitives, who, on receiving intelligence of the maſſacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambaſſador made a propoſal from his maſter, to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, ſhe plainly told him, that humanity would not ſuffer her to refuſe an aſylum to ſo many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to ſeek refuge in a foreign country.

Nor did ſhe neglect the neceſſary meaſures for her own defence. She prepared for that attack which ſeemed inevitable from the combined power and violence of the catholics. She fortified Portſmouth; augmented her fleet; exerciſed her militia; cultivated popularity with her ſubjeſts; diſcharged the ſums ſhe had borrowed; and paid the debts which her father and brother had contracted. By theſe prudent meaſures ſhe gained the love and eſteem of her people, who were willing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The nobility and gentry offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, tranſport them into France, and maintain them ſix months at their own expence, in order to aſſiſt the Hugonots to retaliate on their perfidious enemies the miſeries they had ſuffered. When a nation is thus united, little is to be feared from the attempts of a foreign enemy.

The ſame principles which engaged her to aſſiſt the Hugonots in France, pleaded ſtrongly in favour of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low-Countries; but the great power of Philip rendered her more cautious in her proceedings. That monarch ſent an ambaſſador to London, with remonſtrances againſt the conduct of Elizabeth. He complained that many of the Flemiſh exiles, who infeſted the ſeas, and robbed his maſter's ſubjects, were protected in England, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two courts. Unwilling to engage in an open rupture with Spain, Elizabeth publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all the Flemings, ſuſpected of rebellion, to depart the kingdom. But this was far from anſwering the views of the Spaniards. Driven to deſpair, theſe wretched exiles undertook the moſt dangerous expedients. William Vandermark, a perſon of diſtinction in the Netherlands, having collected a conſiderable number of his countrymen, left England in the beginning of April, and made himſelf maſter both of the Brill and Fluſhing. This ſucceſs raiſed the ſpirits of the Flemings; they flocked to his ſtandard, and before the end of the year, he was joined by the greater part of the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, put himſelf at the head of the confederates, who formed, in proceſs of time, the moſt powerful republic in Europe. The duke of Alva, after being repulſed at the ſiege of Alcmaer, reſigned his government. Ten thouſand proteſtants delivered up to the executioner in the ſpace of five years, were to him a ſubject of triumph! So totally inſenſible was he to every principle of humanity, and to the gentle temper of the goſpel of peace! His ſucceſſors could not heal theſe wounds, which eternal hatred had taught to rankle.

A. D. 1573. The Hugonots in France were ſo far from being cruſhed from the late maſſacre, that they ſoon became more powerful and violent than ever. The prince of Condé, and ſoon after him the king of Navarre, retracted the abjuration that fear had extorted from them. Under theſe two chiefs the Hugonots were in a condition of revenging the blood of their brethren; and every thing again relapſed into confuſion. The catholics had, for ſome time, cloſely beſieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the proteſtants in France. The Hugonots made the moſt deſperate reſiſtance; and the duke of Anjou, who commanded the catholic army, loſt twenty-four thouſand men, without making any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege. Anjou now perceived he had undertaken a taſk he was unable to perform, and ſincerely wiſhed that ſome incident might happen to preſerve his honour. His deſires were fulfilled. Advice arrived of his being elected king of Poland; and he immediately concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Rochelle, in which their allies of Niſmes and Montaubon were comprehended.

A. D. 1574. Exaſperated at this miſcarriage, Charles called aloud for new ſeverities; but before he could carry them into execution, he paid the debt of nature on the thirtieth of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after having rendered his name odious to all the world, and thrown an eternal ſtain of infamy upon his country. He died without iſſue, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland.

The affairs of Ireland, where the pope's deprivatory bull had very fatal effects, gave Elizabeth great uneaſineſs. She ſaw no end to the expence of ſupporting an army among a ferocious and bigotted people. The earl of Eſſex, an active young nobleman, offered a propoſal to the queen, for putting an end to the troubles in that iſland. Elizabeth accepted the offer; and it was agreed, that the earl ſhould tranſport to Ireland two hundred horſe, and four hundred foot, and maintain them there at his own expence; that theſe forces ſhould act againſt the rebels for two years, the queen furniſhing the ſame number during that period; and that the earl ſhould receive the commiſſion of captain-general for ſeven years. In conſideration of this ſervice, the queen agreed to inveſt him with half the lordſhips of Clandeboy, Ferney, and other lands of a great extent, which he agreed to people with as many ſoldiers as the queen ſhould think proper to maintain on the other half of theſe lordſhips. The expence of maintaining the fortifications was to be equally divided between the queen and the earl. Eſſex was ſo fond of this command, which placed him on the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thouſand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Eſſex; and landed in Ireland about the latter end of Auguſt, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three ſons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction, who ſerved under him as volunteers. He met with almoſt every difficulty that could be expected from an attempt of this kind. The lord deputy Fitz-Williams, thinking the command of Eſſex an encroachment on his own authority, ſecretly favoured the rebels, and greatly increaſed the obſtructions that naturally oppoſed the execution of this deſign. The earl ſoon perceived that the reduction of the rebels, while clandeſtinely aſſiſted by the Engliſh, was a taſk beyond his power. He, however, exerted all his abilities, but in vain: he was obliged to return to England, after having ſpent the greater part of his fortune.

A. D. 1575. Henry III. who aſcended the throne of France on the death of his brother, carried on the war with vigour againſt the Hugonots, who were now more formidable than ever; but ſoon found himſelf obliged to grant them a truce for ſix months, under the mediation of Elizabeth. This was the fifth pacification made with the Hugonots; but the terms were ſo diſgraceful to the crown of France, that the duke of Guiſe made no ſcruple to condemn openly the meaſures and maxims of his ſovereign. That old and daring leader embraced this opportunity of forming his party into a regular and conſiſtent body, and laid the foundation of that famous league, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Henry ſaw the conſequence, and laboured aſſiduouſly to adopt a new plan, by acting as arbitrator between the two parties, and, by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence upon himſelf. But all his attempts were rendered abortive. France was reduced to ſo wretched a condition by the former ſeverities of her princes, that toleration could be no longer practiſed; and an edict for liberty of conſcience, which would, probably, have ſatisfied the proteſtants, inflamed the reſentment of the Catholics, and threatened the kingdom with anarchy.

A. D. 1576. The prince of Orange ſtill ſupported the confederacy of Holland and Zealand againſt all the attempts of Lewis Zuniga, who ſucceeded the duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. But finding it would be impoſſible to continue the oppoſition much longer without ſome foreign aſſiſtance, he ſent a deputation to Elizabeth, imploring her protection; and offering to acknowledge her for their ſovereign, if ſhe would engage in their defence. The queen rejected a ſovereignty which ſhe could not ſupport without carrying on the moſt dangerous wars; but promiſed to uſe all her influence in negotiations with Philip in their favour. An ambaſſador was accordingly diſpatched to the court of Spain; but Philip found means to evade a categorical anſwer, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever. An accident delivered the Hollanders, when they were driven to the very brink of deſtruction. Ziniga died ſuddenly; and the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into the moſt dreadful mutiny. They ſacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maeſtricht, and maſſacred near ſeventeen thouſand perſons of all ages and ſexes; nor was there any poſſibility of preventing their dreadful outrages. They menaced all the cities of the Low Countries with the ſame fate. Alarmed at the deſtruction that awaited them, all the provinces, that of Luxembourg excepted, engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence; and diſpatched a deputation to the prince of Orange, imploring his protection, and requeſting that he would put himſelf at their head. Conferences were immediately opened at Ghent; and an union was formed between the provinces, called the Pacification of Ghent. By this treaty, which was ſigned on the eighth of November, the contracting parties declared, that they had entered into this union for the defence of the laws and liberties of their country, againſt the encroachments, oppreſſions and cruelties, long exerciſed on them by the Spaniards. At the ſame time, they declared, that, notwithſtanding this treaty, they were ſtill willing to acknowledge the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern them according to the antient laws. This union being formed, the fortreſſes raiſed by the duke of Alva, to keep the Netherlands in ſubjection, were every where demoliſhed; and the nobility and clergy ſoon after aſſembled at Bruſſels, and took a ſolemn oath to obſerve inviolably the articles of the aſſociation. Philip was now reduced to the mortifying alternative of either governing according to the laws eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors, or content himſelf with the bare title of ſovereign, while the regal authority was exerciſed by others.

The troubles of Ireland ſtill continuing, the earl of Eſſex was ſent back to that kingdom, with the title of earl-marſhal, in the room of Sir Nicholas Bagnal. But he ſoon perceived, that notwithſtanding his new dignity, he was little more than a private officer. He, however, exerted all his abilities to reduce that turbulent people to order, but without effect; and he died a few months after his arrival, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned by ſome of the creatures of the earl of Leiceſter, who was his declared enemy. What tended to give weight to this conjecture, was the imprudent behaviour of

Leiceſter himſelf, who immediately divorced his own wife, and married the widow of the earl of Eſſex.

A. D. 1577. Don John of Auſtria, famous for the glorious victory he had obtained over the Turks at Lepanto, was made governor of the Netherlands. He was naturally of an aſpiring genius, and, encouraged by the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended him in all his undertakings, projected a ſcheme for rendering himſelf one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe. After reducing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands to obedience, he propoſed, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and the king of Spain, to land a powerful army in England, releaſe the queen of Scots, and carry into execution the bull fulminated at Rome for dethroning Elizabeth. The prince of Orange, informed of his deſign with regard to the Scottiſh princeſs, imparted the ſecret to Elizabeth; who, fearing the conſequences of his ambition, no longer ſcrupled to aſſiſt the oppreſſed confederates, whoſe liberties ſeemed now to be intimately connected with her own ſafety.

But Don John was not formed for healing the diſputes in the Netherlands. He ſcorned to have recourſe to lenient meaſures; and not thinking himſelf ſafe in Bruſſels, ſeized the caſtle of Namur. This violent proceeding convinced the ſtates, that they had nothing to expect from their new governor, and prepared to defend their liberties, which it was ſufficiently evident Don John intended to wreſt from them. They accordingly diſpatched the marquis of Hautree, and Adolphus Meetkirck, to Elizabeth, to vindicate their proceedings, and ſollicit the loan of an hundred thouſand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth very readily granted their requeſt, but inſiſted that certain towns of the Netherlands ſhould be bound for the payment. At the ſame time, ſhe entered into a treaty with them, whereby it was ſtipulated, That the queen ſhould furniſh them with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to be paid by the Flemings, but commanded by an Engliſh general; that this commander ſhould have a ſeat in the council of the ſtates; that nothing ſhould be determined concerning war or peace, without previouſly imparting it either to the queen or to him; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that if any difference happened among themſelves, it ſhould be ſubmitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretence whatever, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that ſhe had employed in their defence.

Elizabeth did not, however, intend to declare openly againſt Spain. She ſent an ambaſſador to that court, where he preſented a memorial on the twentieth of December, importing, that the queen by no means intended to break the ancient alliance concluded with the houſe of Burgundy; that with this view ſhe had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and even threatened him with her diſpleaſure in caſe of refuſal. She added, that ſhe would ſtill continue in the ſame friendly intentions, and exert all her intereſt to compromiſe the preſent differences, provided Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, was recalled, ſome other prince, more popular, ſubſtituted in his place, the Spaniſh forces withdrawn, and the Flemings reſtored to their ancient liberties. If theſe conditions were accepted, the queen promiſed, if the Flemings ſtill continued obſtinate, to join her arms to thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to a compliance. Philip, who was far from being pleaſed with the interpoſition of the queen, gave an evaſive anſwer, but ſtill continued to furniſh Don John with troops and money.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's adminiſtration, and to the wiſe precautions ſhe employed in all her meaſures. Firm, but diſcreet in her deportment, ſhe ſupported the church of England without alienating, by perſecution, thoſe who refuſed to embrace its tenets. She eſtabliſhed no inquiſition into men's boſoms; ſhe impoſed no oaths of ſupremacy, except on thoſe who enjoyed places of truſt, or received emoluments from the public. Though the exerciſe of all religious worſhip, except that of the church of England, was prohibited, ſhe connived at the meetings of the catholics, ſhewed leſs indulgence to the puritans, and never exerciſed the ſeverity of the laws, but to maintain the public order and tranquillity. Had the courts of France and Spain imitated the prudent conduct of the Engliſh princeſs, they might have derived from it the utmoſt advantages, both to church and ſtate.

A. D. 1578. Don John had, by this time, conceived ſo thorough a contempt for the ſtates, and hatred to the Engliſh, that he liſtened to no propoſition, but that of a vigorous proſecution of the war. He had even proceeded ſo far, as to execute Ratcliffe, a perſon of quality, who had been driven out of England on account of his religion; but was unfortunate enough to be taken for a ſpy ſent by Walſingham to murder Don John. Deaf to all propoſals for a ceſſation of arms, the war was carried on with vigour by the Auſtrian prince, who was bravely ſeconded by Alexander, prince of Parma, one of the beſt ſoldiers of that, or any other age. John received from Italy and Spain vaſt ſupplies both of men and money; but notwithſtanding his power daily increaſed, the prince of Orange found means to prevail on the city of Amſterdam to declare in his favour. Alarmed at this acquiſition, the court of Spain offered to recall Don John, and to ſubſtitute in his room either the prince of Parma, the archduke Ferdinand, or even the archduke Matthias, provided the ſtates would return to their duty. The offer was refuſed, and the operations of war were continued with the utmoſt fury. Don John knew that the army of the ſtates lay in a ſtrong camp at Rimenant, and that they expected a ſtrong reinforcement of French troops, under the command of the duke of Anjou; and that prince Caſſimire was advancing to join them, with a German army in the pay of the ſtates. He therefore propoſed, in a council of war, to attack the enemy before they were joined by their reinforcements. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the prince of Parma; but his reaſons were not thought ſufficient, and it was reſolved to attack the confederate army. The battle was fought with amazing perſeverance, and the Engliſh and Scotch auxiliaries diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner: they oppoſed the whole Spaniſh forces; and had it not been for the amazing genius of the prince of Parma, Don John's army muſt have been inevitably ruined.

Philip was now convinced that he had every thing to fear from the power of Elizabeth. He ſaw that the invaſion of England, projected by Don John, was at a vaſt diſtance; and therefore entered into a freſh negotiation with the pope, for raiſing troubles againſt Elizabeth in Ireland. One Steukley, a native of England, whom the pope had created marquis of Leinſter, was engaged to command the expedition, and alſo to attempt to deſtroy the royal navy of England. Philip, deſirous of concealing his being concerned in this attempt, it was agreed that it ſhould be made in the name of his holineſs; and that his natural ſon, James Boncampagni, ſhould be declared king of Ireland. Steukley, on his arrival in the Tagus, was prevailed upon to accompany Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, in making a deſcent in Africa againſt the Moors. This put a final period to the expedition. Steukley and his whole detachment were cut to pieces, and Don Sebaſtian himſelf fell by the ſwords of the infidels. A few of the Spaniſh and Italian troops, who purſued their courſe when Steukeley entered the Tagus, landed in Ireland, and animated the Iriſh, who were then zealous catholics, though a barbarous people, to continue in rebellion to the Engliſh. But the enterprize had no ſucceſs. The foreign troops were cut in pieces, and about fifteen hundred of the Iriſh put to death by order of the government; a very cruel execution, and with which Elizabeth was greatly diſſatisfied.

A. D. 1580. Hitherto Scotland had been retained in ſtrict alliance with Elizabeth, by the influence of Morton the regent, who had alſo reſtored the domeſtic tranquillity of that unhappy kingdom. But among a people regardleſs of laws, and agitated with religious controverſies, it could not be expected that the authority of a regent could be long ſupported. Factions were formed among the nobility, who were diſguſted with Morton's avarice; while the clergy, whoſe narrow revenues were ſtill farther invaded, joined the diſcontented party, and encreaſed the confuſion. Alarmed at his dangerous ſituation, and oppreſſed with the increaſing weight of government, the regent dropt ſome peeviſh expreſſions, implying a deſire of being relieved from the care of conducting the adminiſtration. This conceſſion, whether real or pretended, was readily ſeized by the oppoſite party, and he was diſmiſſed from the regency. Morton, who flattered himſelf that a general pardon which was now paſſed, would render abortive all the deſigns of his enemies, reſigned his authority in the hands of the young king, who was then only eleven years of age. James determined to hold himſelf the reins of government, and conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom. The regent ſeemed at firſt determined never more to engage in the buſy ſcenes of active life; but ſeek in domeſtic affairs that tranquillity which was not to be found in the hurry of a court, and amidſt the contentions of turbulent parties. But either his ambition would not ſuffer him to continue in the ſhades of obſcurity, or he did not find in retirement that tranquillity he expected, for he returned again to court, acquired the aſcendant in the council, and directed as before all the affairs of the adminiſtration, but without reſuming the title of regent. The oppoſite party ſaw their danger, and flew to arms, under pretence of reſcuing their prince from captivity. Both parties endeavoured to gain the protection of Elizabeth; but that of Morton prevailed, and he was ſuffered to continue at the head of the adminiſtration. The oppoſite party, however, daily encreaſed, and the power of the regent ſeemed to be placed on a ſandy foundation.

The duke of Guiſe embraced the opportunity of ſupporting the party formed againſt Morton. He ſent over the count d'Aubigney, a deſcendant of the houſe of Lenox, and couſin-german to the young king's father, to detach that prince from the Engliſh intereſt. D'Aubigney was poſſeſſed of all the talents neceſſary for effecting the projected deſign. He had been educated in France, was poſſeſſed of an inſinuating addreſs, and of a pleaſing diſpoſition. Guiſe was not miſtaken. D'Aubigney ſoon gained the affections of the young monarch: and joining his intereſts with James Stuart, of the houſe of Ochiltree, a young man of great parts, but of the moſt profligate manners, who was already in great favour with the king, he inſtilled into the tender mind of James, principles of politics and government, very different from thoſe in which he had been educated. He painted, in the moſt glaring colours, the great injuſtice of depoſing his mother, and detaining her a priſoner in England. James was greatly affected at the ſufferings his royal parent had endured, and wiſhed either to reſign the adminiſtration into her hands, or aſſociate her with him in the government. Alarmed at the great progreſs daily made by this party in Scotland, Elizabeth diſpatched Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling, where James then reſided, to warn the king of that danger that would inevitably enſue, if he continued to liſten to the falſe ſuggeſtions of d'Aubigney now created earl of Lenox.

Deſirous, if poſſible, of preventing Elizabeth from aſſiſting the party of Morton, James ſent excuſes to the court of London; but Lenox, perceiving that the Engliſh princeſs was determined to ruin him, reſolved, if poſſible, to overturn the Scottiſh government, as the only expedient that remained to ſupport his intereſt. Morton was conſidered as the head of the oppoſite party, and his ruin was therefore neceſſary. He was accordingly arreſted at the council board, committed to priſon, accuſed of being an accomplice in the late king's murder, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed upon his trial that he was not ignorant of Bothwell's deſign, but denied his having ever given his conſent to that atrocious act. He added, that he ſhould have revealed it either to Henry or Mary, had not the danger to which he muſt have been expoſed, deterred him from purſuing his deſign; Henry poſſeſſing neither reſolution nor conſtancy, and Mary appearing to him to be an accomplice in the crime. Great intereſt was made in behalf of Morton. The queen diſpatched Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, and that ambaſſador exerted all his influence in favour of the late regent. He even engaged the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. At the ſame time, an Engliſh army moved towards the frontiers of Scotland, to give weight to the interceſſions of the ambaſſador. The French party ſaw the danger of delaying the execution of the ſentence, and Morton finiſhed his life upon the ſcaffold. He died with the ſame conſtancy and reſolution he had always diſplayed in every action of his life; and had his probity and virtue been equal to his abilities, he might have been conſidered as one of the moſt accompliſhed ſtateſmen of the age.

This revolution in Scotland rendered Elizabeth extremely uneaſy. She knew that her inveterate enemy, the duke of Guiſe, would take every opportunity of ſupporting the prevailing party; and that the popiſh faction in England would readily join in any attempt to diſturb the government. She was alſo fearful leſt Philip, who ſeemed deſirous of ſupporting the cauſe of Mary, might embrace the opportunity of aſſiſting the king's party in Scotland, in revenge for the reinforcements of troops, ſhe had ſent into the Low-Countries.

A. D. 1580. During theſe tranſactions, the papiſts were not idle in endeavouring to diſturb the tranquillity of England. Seminaries had for ſome time been eſtabliſhed at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, for the education of Engliſh youth intended for the prieſthood; ſome ſpecies of literature being conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport the doctrines of the Romiſh church, againſt the attacks of the proteſtants. Theſe ſeminaries ſent over every year a colony of prieſts, who having imbibed all the abſurd tenets of the catholics, maintained them with all the force of bigotted enthuſiaſm. They had imbibed the ſtrongeſt deſire of obtaining the crown of martyrdom, and therefore were not to be deterred from propagating their principles by any dangers, fatigues or ſufferings. They endeavoured to perſuade the people, that Elizabeth, who had been ſolemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father, ſhould be treated as an uſurper, a ſchiſmatic, a heretic; that no faith ſhould be held with princes whom the church had excommunicated, and that it was lawful to effectuate the purpoſe by ſedition, by rebellion, and even by aſſaſſination. Parſons and Campian, two jeſuits famous for their abilities in caſuiſtry and prevarication, were the great ſupporters of theſe deteſtable principles. The latter was ſoon after detected in treaſonable practices, and publickly executed.

While England was alarmed by the practices of the catholics. Sir Francis Drake returned from his voyage round the world. This intrepid ſeaman was a native of Devonſhire; and introduced at court by the vice-chamberlain Hatton, on propoſing to paſs into the South Seas through the ſtreights of Magellan,

lan, a voyage till that time unattempted by the Engliſh. Drake's fleet conſiſted only of the five following veſſels, for none of them deſerved the name of ſhips: the Pelican, of an hundred tons, commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth of eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of thirty tons, under captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. On board this ſmall ſquadron were embarked one hundred and ſixty-four men, and the gallant admiral ſailed on a voyage, which, with ſuch ſmall ſhips, would, even in our times, be conſidered as a very raſh undertaking. He ſoon found that his veſſels were too ſmall for the tempeſtuous ſeas near the ſtreights of Magellan, and entered the pacific ocean with only his own ſhip. During his cruiſes in the South ſea, he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in that diſtant part of the world. He ſacked and plundered the town of Arica, and in one ſhip took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold. Hardly any oppoſition was made by the Spaniards; Drake eaſily loaded the Pelican with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. But he ſoon after learned that the vice-roy of Peru had fitted out two large ſhips, and ſent them to cruize near the ſtreights of Magellan, in order to intercept him in his return. A new paſſage was therefore to be attempted, as he was in no condition to fight the two Spaniſh ſhips fitted out to intercept him. He firſt endeavoured to find a paſſage by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely by the Cape of Good-Hope. The return of Drake animated the Engliſh, who were now deſirous of ſharing in the riches of South America; and his name became celebrated on account of his bold and fortunate attempt.

It was, however, apprehended that this attack upon the Spaniſh territories in South America, would occaſion an open war with Spain, an event which it was thought ſhould, if poſſible, be avoided at this juncture. It was therefore moved in the council, that the queen ſhould diſown the enterprize, puniſh Drake, and reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth rejected the propoſal; ſhe loved valour, and determined to protect that intrepid ſeaman, againſt all the machinations of his enemies. She accepted a banquet from him on board the ſhip which had performed ſo memorable a voyage, and conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood. The Spaniſh ambaſſador did not fail to make complaints againſt what he called the piraces of Drake. But he was told by Elizabeth, that no treaty with his catholic majeſty excluded her ſubjects from trading in the South Seas; that ſhe could not conſider all South America as the property of the king of Spain, as he held it by no better title than a donation from the biſhop of Rome, who having no right over thoſe countries himſelf, could convey none to another, and whoſe authority both in temporal and civil matters ſhe diſowned. She added, that the inſignificant ceremonies practiſed by the Spaniards in taking poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe tracts of land in America, ſhould never preclude her from ſending colonies thither, nor would ſhe even ſubmit to ſuffer the ocean to be claimed as the property of any prince or perſon. She, however, ordered part of the treaſure to be reſtored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be an agent from the merchants whoſe effects Drake had ſeized; but underſtanding afterwards that Philip had ſequeſtered the money, ſhe refuſed to make any farther reſtitution.

A. D. 1581. The great expences that had attended the government, obliged Elizabeth to call a parliament, who granted the queen a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths, and enacted ſeveral laws for the ſecurity of the government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics, who had occaſioned many diſturbances. It was enacted, that whoever reconciled any perſon to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon: to ſay maſs was ſubject to penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks: whoever abſented himſelf during a whole month from the ſervice of the church, was ſubject to a fine of twenty pounds. The uttering ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen, was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony. The writing or printing ſuch words, was felony, even for the firſt offence.

Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the preceding parliament, and who was not to be intimidated by the frown of authority, made a motion for a ſolemn faſt to be obſerved by the members of the houſe on the twenty-ninth of January. This motion ſeems to have been made merely to try the ſtrength of the puritan party, who were diſguſted with Elizabeth for the rigorous manner in which ſhe aſſerted her ſupremacy, by diſcouraging all motions for the reformation of diſcipline and ceremonies in the church. This motion was warmly oppoſed by the court party, but was carried by a majority of fifteen. The queen was highly offended at this raſh proceedings of the commons. She ſent for the ſpeaker and ſeverely reprimanded him for ſuffering a motion of that kind to be debated in that houſe. This was followed by a meſſage delivered by vice-chancellor Hatton, containing a ſharp reproach for their proceedings in a matter which ſo nearly concerned the ſupremacy of her majeſty, and which ſhe had ſo often declared ſhe would never ſuffer them to touch. This meſſage being read, Hatton made a motion, that the houſe ſhould make a ſubmiſſion to the queen, acknowledge their fault, and promiſe never more to be guilty of a ſimilar offence. This motion was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the courtiers, and the majority ſubmitted to kiſs the rod of power. Some of the puritans, however, oppoſed it, but in vain: and when one of the members roſe to ſpeak for the privileges of the houſe, the ſpeaker immediately ſtopped his harangue, declaring he would hear nothing "that might give offence to her majeſty." So little power and authority did the commons of England at that time enjoy!

The attention of Elizabeth was now wholly directed towards the Spaniſh monarchy. Philip had acquired the crown of Portugal, and the prince of Parma made ſuch rapid advances in ſubduing the Netherlands, that there was little hopes the confederates would be able to reſiſt much longer the formidable armies of Spain, under the command of ſo conſummate a general. The queen flattered herſelf, that the noble oppoſition made by the ſtates of the Netherlands, would exhauſt the treaſure of Philip, and render his attempt at laſt abortive. But the great acceſſion of riches and naval power, which the Spaniſh monarch had acquired with the crown of Portugal, convinced her that theſe flattering hopes were chimerical, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſeek the protection of ſome powerful alliance to balance the ambitious deſigns of the aſpiring monarch. The animoſity which ſtill ſubſiſted between the king of France and the duke of Guiſe, who had now entered into a cloſe confederacy with Philip, ſeemed to point out an alliance between the ſovereigns of France and England, while the general apprehenſions entertained by all Europe of the fatal conſequences that might attend the farther acquiſition of Philip's power, ſeemed to require ſome great and powerful union to prevent its progreſs.

A treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth had been for ſome time negotiating, and a reſolution was now taken to finiſh the treaty. The duke had long been convinced that political reaſons alone would never be ſufficient to anſwer the intended purpoſe; and he accordingly ſent over Simier, an agent of his own, to act in conjunction with his brother's ambaſſador. He could not have ſent a perſon more likely to anſwer his purpoſe. Simier was artful and intriguing, of inſinuating addreſs and agreeable converſation. Inſtead of entering into the ſerious reaſons of political intereſt, he entertained the queen with the topics of paſſion and gallantry. Elizabeth liſtened to his diſcourſe, and Simier ſoon inſinuated himſelf ſo firmly into the queen's favour, that he obtained a more ready acceſs to her perſon, than even the moſt favoured miniſters of ſtate. Leiceſter, who had laughed at every preceding treaty of marriage, was now ſufficiently alarmed; he feared that the queen was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the young Frenchman had really engaged her affections. He was acquainted with the arts of Simier, and exerted all his power to render him odious; he even took advantage of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports, that Simier had gained an aſcendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by love potions and incantations. Simier was exaſperated at theſe unmanly proceedings, and determined to ruin the credit of Leiceſter. He accordingly revealed to the queen a ſecret which none of her courtiers dared to diſcover; the marriage of Leiceſter with the widow of the late earl of Eſſex, which he had carefully concealed from Elizabeth. The diſcovery anſwered the purpoſe of Simier; the queen was ſo provoked at this action, that ſhe threatened to ſend Leiceſter a priſoner to the Tower, and to prevent the effects of his reſentment, took the Frenchman under her own protection.

Encouraged by the accounts he received from his agent, and deſirous of finiſhing a treaty pregnant with ſo many advantages, the duke of Anjou determined to paſs over into England and ſollicit his ſuit in perſon. He accordingly landed at Dover, and ſecretly viſited the queen at Greenwich. Anjou had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his viſit; he loſt no ground in being perſonally known to Elizabeth. For ſoon after his departure ſhe commanded Burleigh, now lord treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended treaty. And as Henry, deſirous of freeing France from the reſtleſs ambition, the enterprizing though timid diſpoſition of the duke of Anjou, had given his plenipotentiaries almoſt unlimitted powers to agree to all the demands of the court of England, the conditions of the treaty were ſoon ſettled, and the inſtrument ready for the royal ſignet. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage was ſolemnized, the duke of Anjou ſhould enjoy the title of king, but that the management of affairs ſhould continue ſolely in Elizabeth; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there ſhould be two males, the eldeſt, in caſe of Henry's death, without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, and the younger of England; that if there ſhould be one male only, and he ſhould ſucceed to both the crowns of France and England, he ſhould be obliged to reſide eight months every two years in the latter kingdom; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be obſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Though theſe articles were as favourable as poſſible to the Engliſh, and though there was very little probability that Elizabeth, who was then in her forty-ninth year, ſhould have any children by the duke of Anjou, this treaty ſpread an alarm through the whole kingdom. It was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all her favourite miniſters, and the queen herſelf, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, by which it was declared, that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage till farther articles, not ſpecified in the treaty, ſhould be agreed upon between the parties, and till the king of France ſhould be certified of their agreement. Walſingham was, therefore, diſpatched to Paris, in order to form the cloſeſt connections with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the increaſing power, and dangerous uſurpations of Spain.

But theſe indications of the queen's irreſolution were not ſufficient to baniſh the fears of the Engliſh: the dreadful conſequences of marrying a catholic were ſtill recent in the minds of the proteſtants; the idea of the flames of perſecution that raged in Mary's reign, excited a deteſtation in the people againſt the cruelties of the Roman pontiff and all his adherent's. In the mean time Walſingham purſued his inſtructions with the utmoſt aſſiduity; but had the mortification to perceive that the reſolutions of Elizabeth were fluctuating and unſettled. Sometimes he received orders to purſue the negotiation for completing the marriage preferable to that of the league; and at others ſhe declared for the league in preference to the marriage. The miniſter was aſtoniſhed at this inconſiſtent conduct in the queen, and the whole privy-council were doubtful what would be the reſult of this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition.

The duke of Anjou, who had undertaken the defence of the Low Countries, was now ſo greatly diſtreſſed for want of money, that he had been obliged to put his army into cantonments. This inability of the duke alarmed the confederates. The prince of Orange ſaw the artful web of policy, he had been weaving ſo many years ready to be cut in pieces by the ſword of the prince of Parma: his laſt effort was to perſuade the ſtates to throw off even their nominal obedience to the crown of Spain. Accordingly, in an aſſembly of the confederates at Antwerp, he repreſented the neceſſity they were under of either ſubmitting to the terms preſcribed by the Spaniards, or of ſhaking from their necks the yoke of a tyrannical and perfidious maſter, by diſclaiming his authority, and uniting under the duke of Anjou, who had already been declared protector of their liberties. He obſerved, that as the marriage of the duke with the queen of England was on the point of being concluded, there was all the reaſon in the world to imagine that Elizabeth would look upon his quarrel as her own; that all the rules of good policy engaged his brother, the king of France, to ſupport him in his new acquired dignity; and that Hainault and Artois, together with French Flanders, which was now returned to the Spaniſh yoke, would then undoubtedly follow the example of the other ſtates, and join in the confederacy. Theſe reaſons, however powerful, did not appear ſufficient to induce the ſtates to embrace the offer immediately; they did not think the provocations they had received from the king of Spain, could diſſolve the allegiance they owed their ſovereign. But the imprudent conduct of Philip effected what their leader attempted in vain. He proſcribed the prince of Orange, and ſet a price of twenty-five thouſand crowns upon his head. Exaſperated at this tyrannical action, the ſtates immediately aſſembled, and declared, by proclamation, that Philip, king of Spain, had forfeited the ſovereignty of the Low Countries, by violating, contrary to his oath, the privileges of the people; "That therefore the provinces, in conſequence of the permiſſion given them by Philip himſelf, when they recognized him to be prince of Flanders, and before they owed him any allegiance, voluntarily, and of their own proper motion, had choſen for their prince Philip Valois, duke of Anjou, and brother to the king of France."

This reſolution being taken by the ſtates, a formal deputation was ſent to the duke, inviting him to come and take poſſeſſion of the principality of the Low Countries; but before this could be effected, ſome very alarming difficulties muſt be overcome. The active prince of Parma had, with incredible expedition, marched his army towards French Flanders, the provinces where the duke's chief intereſt lay, and ſat down before the city of Cambray. Anjou immediately advanced to raiſe the ſiege, at the head of a well-diſciplined army of twenty thouſand men. Parma puſhed the ſiege with great violence; but not being able to make himſelf maſter of the place before the duke's arrival, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking, and retreat with ſome precipitation, his forces conſiſting only of five thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. Soon after, Pompone de Bellievre arrived in the prince of Parma's camp, with letters from the king of France, diſowning and diſclaiming the duke's behaviour, and offering a ceſſation of arms till every thing could be accommodated in a friendly manner. But the prince of Parma treated this as a mere artifice; and, upon his retreat, the duke of Anjou drove the Spaniards out of the Cambreſis. His ſucceſs was not, however, ſufficient to ſupport his army; money was wanting; and unleſs a very conſiderable ſum could be procured, all his conqueſts were in danger of reverting again into the hands of the enemy. The moſt preſſing applications were made to Elizabeth, and ſhe remitted the duke an hundred thouſand crowns; which, with his own revenues, and the aſſiſtance of his brother and the queen dowager, he was enabled to pay his troops, and extend his conqueſts.

About the middle of November, the duke of Anjou landed in England, and was received with great magnificence and affection by Elizabeth. Every action betrayed her tenderneſs. She ſeemed, at laſt indifferent about concealing it. The truth is, ſhe ſeems not to have known how far either ambition or affection would carry her; and notwithſtanding all her prudence, to have been deceived by both. In the midſt of the pomp which attended the anniverſary of her coronation, ſhe was ſeen, after a long and intimate diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his. This unguarded action was conſtrued into an abſolute promiſe of marriage by all the ſpectators, and that ſhe was deſirous of ſignifying her intentions to all the world. Expreſſes were immediately ſent to every part of the kingdom, as well as to all the courts of Europe. Perhaps Elizabeth, in that critical moment, when ſhe ſeemed diſſolved in ſoftneſs, was ignorant that ambition would evermore gain the aſcendency in her ſoul. But ſhe no ſooner reflected on the conſequences that might poſſibly reſult from ſuffering the ſofter paſſions to prevail, than ſhe ſhuddered at the precipitate ſtep ſhe was going to take; a ſtep by which, perhaps, ſhe was to loſe all the glories her wiſdom, her courage, and her perſeverance, crowned with perpetual ſucceſs, could impart. She was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of untried temper, of foreign education, and of a different religion. She was to hear the diſcontents, the reproaches, nay, perhaps, the curſes of her ſubjects, who, by this marriage, dreaded to ſee the fair and flouriſhing fabric of their religion, reared by the toil of princes, and cemented by the blood of martyrs, ſink into ruins. She reflected with horror on her ſiſter's miſery, who, in the decline of life, married a catholic prince much younger than herſelf; and ſhe began already to fear a total alteration in the laws and conſtitution of her country.

The poignancy of theſe reflections was increaſed by the extreme averſion which her moſt favoured courtiers diſcovered to the marriage. Even the ladies of her bedchamber ſtrongly oppoſed her reſolution with zealous remonſtrances. Sir Philip Sidney, the moſt accompliſhed young gentleman of the age, ventured to write her a letter; in which he diſſuaded her from her preſent reſolution with the ſtrongeſt reaſons, delivered in an elegance of expreſſion then very uncommon. He obſerved, that the ſecurity of her government depended entirely on the affection of her proteſtant ſubjects; and that ſhe could not more effectually diſguſt them, than by marrying a ſon of Catherine de Medicis, and a brother of the cruel and perfidious Charles, whoſe hands were embrued in the innocent blood of the Hugonots: that the catholics had always been her mortal enemies; and that if they had not yet united in a body againſt her, it was owing to their being deſtitute of a leader capable of conducting their dangerous enterprizes; a defect which would now be ſupplied by her marriage with the duke of Anjou, who was zealouſly attached to that communion: that the duke himſelf had diſcovered a very reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit; he had often violated his loyalty to his eldeſt brother and his ſovereign; and little hopes remained that he would paſſively ſubmit to a woman, whom, in quality of huſband, he might think himſelf intitled to command: that the plain and honourable path ſhe had hitherto purſued, of cultivating the affections of her people, had rendered her reign happy and ſecure; and however her enemies might ſeem to multiply before her, the ſame invincible rampart was ſtill able to defend her: and that though the queen might remain childleſs, and even old age grow upon her, the ſingular felicity and glory of her reign would preſerve her from contempt; the affections of her ſubjects, and thoſe of the proteſtants of Europe, would defend her from attacks; and her own prudence, without any other aſſiſtance, would baffle all the efforts of her moſt malignant enemies; her reign would be glorious, and her memory tranſmitted, with applauſe, to poſterity.

Elizabeth was ſtruck with Sidney's letter: ſhe continued, for ſome days, in the moſt painful reflection and uncertainty; but at laſt her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition acquired the aſcendant over her temporary inclination. She ſent for the duke of Anjou, and had a long converſation with him, in which, it is ſuppoſed, ſhe made apologies for breaking her engagements. On leaving her, he expreſſed the moſt violent diſguſt, threw away the ring ſhe had given him, and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women in general, and of iſlanders in particular. He returned, ſoon after, to the Low Countries; but wanting to make himſelf abſolute maſter of their forts, he was driven away as a traitor and oppreſſor, and obliged to return to France, where he died. The diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented the queen from feeling any effects of that reſentment ſhe had reaſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family. The blind tenderneſs of Elizabeth for a man more worthy of hatred than of love, can only be accounted for by the weakneſs of the human heart, which frequently brings genius and ſuperior merit on a level with the vulgar.

A. D. 1582. The troubles in Scotland ſtill raged with all the fury of an enraged multitude. The death of Morton, and the influence of the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, now earl of Arran, alarmed the enthuſiaſtic preachers. A faſt was appointed to be held all over the kingdom, when the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the king's preſent counſellors. A conſpiracy of the nobility was formed for ſeizing the perſon of James, who was then at Ruthven, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Gowry. The utmoſt ſecrecy was obſerved; and the council not having the leaſt intimation of the conſpirators deſigns, the attempt ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The earls of Gowry and Marre, the lords Lindeſey and Boyd, the maſters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermline, Plaiſey and Cambuſkenneth, were the principal leaders in this enterprize. James wept when he found himſelf deprived of his liberty. "No matter for his tears, (ſaid one of the conſpirators) better that boys ſhould weep than bearded men." James was deeply affected, and could never be prevailed upon to forgive the expreſſion. He, however, prudently ſubmitted to the preſent neceſſity, and ſtifled his reſentment. He agreed to iſſue writs for calling an aſſembly of the church and a convention of the ſtates, in order to exculpate the aſſociated lords from the crime of treaſon, and ratify their enterprize. Though the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly had no right to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occaſion they uſurped an authority they never enjoyed, and declared that the late attempt was agreeable to all that feared God, or deſired to preſerve the perſon of the king, and the proſperity of the realm. They even threatened every perſon who ſhould dare to oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords with the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convention ratified theſe proceedings, and declared the attempt of the aſſociates a lawful act. The earl of Lenox, unwilling to excite a civil war in the bowels of his country, retired into France, where he ſoon after died. The earl of Arran was confined a priſoner to his own houſe; and Elizabeth ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the captive king upon his delivery from his late pernicious counſellors.

A. D. 1583. Soon after, two ambaſſadors arrived from France, to enquire into the ſituation of the Scottiſh monarch, make him the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of their maſter's friendſhip, and procure an accommodation between him and his mother, the queen of Scots. This attempt alarmed the fanatical preachers, who uſed all their intereſt to render the deſign abortive. They even proceeded ſo far by their invectives, that the ambaſſadors were openly affronted in the ſtreets. James had no power to repreſs this inſolent behaviour; and the ambaſſadors, finding it impoſſible to carry on any negotiation with ſuch a bigotted and ferocious people, left the kingdom. About the ſame time, Mary wrote to Elizabeth a very ſtrong and pathetic letter, complaining of the hardſhips ſhe had ſuffered during ſo many years, without being allowed even the exerciſe of her religion, without the liberty of correſponding with her only child, whoſe impriſonment had put the finiſhing ſtroke to her misfortunes. Overwhelmed with chagrin, and worn out with ſufferings, ſhe aſked for nothing more than her liberty, for which ſhe offered to ſacrifice her crown, and every other right ſhe poſſeſſed.

Elizabeth was affected with Mary's ſituation, but political motives ſtill obſtructed her deſigns of ſetting that princeſs at liberty. She was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and the hopes of Mary once more vaniſhed. In the mean time, James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, ſummoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The confederated lords perceiving that all the oppoſition they could make would be in vain, made no attempt to recover their authority: ſome of them accepted a pardon, which was offered them on their ſubmiſſion; and the reſt took ſhelter in Ireland and England. The earl of Arran, a man without either morals or moderation, was recalled; and the king, by this imprudent action, expoſed himſelf to ſhare the hatred that inſolent nobleman deſerved.

A. D. 1584. James ſeemed, for a time, to have thrown off his puſillanimity. He ſummoned a parliament, and cauſed an act to be paſſed for preventing the clergy from ſowing the ſeeds of ſedition from the pulpit. It was declared, that no clergyman ſhould, for the future, preſume to blacken the character of the king, or his miniſters, in their ſermons, or cenſure the affairs of the government. This highly provoked the enthuſiaſtical preachers: they ſaid, that the king himſelf was a papiſt in his heart, and beſtowed the moſt degrading epithets on his friends and favourites. But all their attempts would, probably, have been rendered abortive, had not the violent conduct of the earl of Arran engaged the people to ſupport them. Gowry, notwithſtanding the late pardon, was tried, and executed; and many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of that favourite. The baniſhed noblemen were perſuaded that they had now an opportunity of recovering their honours and eſtates: they made the attempt, and were ſucceſsful. Arran was degraded from his authority, deprived of the eſtate and title he had uſurped, and the whole country ſeemed to have obtained that tranquillity which had ſo long been ſought for in vain.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the Engliſh were frequently alarmed by the practices of the diſcontented party. All the prudence of Elizabeth could not ſecure her from conſpiracies. The zeal of the papiſts grew ſtronger by reſtraint. The partizans of Mary were impatient to ſet her at liberty. A large paquet of letters was diſpatched, containing the moſt earneſt exhortations to ſeveral ladies more immediately concerned about the perſon of Elizabeth, to imitate the example of Judith, and put a period to the life of a princeſs anathematized by the holy father. At the ſame time, aſſuring them, that they would be powerfully protected by the pope, the king, and the duke of Guiſe, who had formed an aſſociation for reſtoring the catholic religion in England, and extirpating the proteſtants. Theſe letters appeared to have been written by one Francis Throgmorton, a young man of good family and excellent parts; who being apprehended, and brought before the council, abſolutely denied the accuſation: but on being ſhewn two liſts, one of all the ports in England favourable for landing an army, and the other of all the gentlemen who favoured the Romiſh religion, and were well diſpoſed to aſſiſt in an invaſion, he retracted his denial, and made the following confeſſion: "That going, ſome few years ſince, to the German Spaw, he contracted an intimacy with Jeney and Sir Francis Inglefield, two Engliſh fugitives; that their conferences generally turned on the beſt means of invading England; and that they had delivered him the two liſts above mentioned: that after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him the catholic princes had formed a deſign to free the queen of Scots from her confinement, and that the care of executing the attempt would be committed to the duke of Guiſe: that nothing was wanting but to know what aſſiſtance might be depended upon from the Engliſh catholics: that, in order to form their meaſures on more certain information, Charles Paget, under the name of Mope, was ſent into Suſſex, where the duke of Guiſe intended to land his forces: that he (Throgmorton) himſelf had imparted the project to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who, he found, had been already entruſted with the ſecret, and ſhewed him a copy of the liſt of the ports where the troops might be landed: that he alſo acquainted the ambaſſador with the names of the nobility to whom he might ſafely open his mind, in order to promote the deſign; and that conferences had actually been held on the beſt method of raiſing troops in England to join the foreign forces on their landing." Throgmorton was immediately ſent to priſon, and afterwards executed at Tyburn, where he retracted the confeſſion he had made before the privy-council.

Some prudent meaſures purſued with regard to Ireland, greatly tended to put a period to the troubles in that kingdom. Sir John Perot, lord-deputy, ſummoned a parliament, in which the eſtates of many of the moſt dangerous rebels were ſequeſtered; and the queen granting the earl of Ormond, who had headed the inſurgents, ſome part of his lands, ſold the reſt, at very eaſy rates, to adventurers, who undertook to plant and improve the country. Sales were made of intire baronies, into which the Iriſh counties were divided; and the purchaſers, under colour of their general grants, turned the innocent as well as the guilty, out of their poſſeſſions. The queen endeavoured to repreſs this rapacity by a proclamation, by which the injured proprietors, by an inſtance of good fortune, rare in that country, enjoyed the benefit. The lord-deputy, a perſon of rigid juſtice and inflexible integrity, taking care to ſee it duly executed. No governor of that iſland was ever more diligent, vigorous and impartial, in adminiſtering juſtice, equally to the Engliſh and the Iriſh. This raiſed him many enemies among the former, who thought themſelves injured in being reſtrained from oppreſſing the latter; but by this means he introduced order and regularity into the government, and ſoon reduced

Munſter into a ſtate of tranquillity. Nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in reducing the native Iriſh and Scottiſh highlanders in Ulſter to obedience. He forced them to ſwear allegiance, and ſubmit to hold their lands in vaſſallage from the queen, pay her majeſty a yearly rent, and engage to ſupply her with a certain number of ſoldiers in caſe of a rebellion.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador laboured aſſiduouſly to render theſe attempts for reducing the Iriſh abortive, and to keep up a ſtrong party againſt the government. He was alſo very aſſiduous in ſtirring up diſturbances in England, and blowing the coals of ſedition; ſo that he was now conſidered by Elizabeth as the moſt dangerous enemy ſhe had in England. He was accuſed of being the principal agent in a conſpiracy formed againſt the queen's life. John Somerville, a bigotted catholic of Warwickſhire, undertook a journey to London, in order to put the queen to death with his own hand, and actually attacked ſome of her attendants with his ſword. The attempt, however, miſcarried: he was eaſily ſecured, confeſſed his intention, and diſcovered his accomplices, who were all tried, and found guilty of high-treaſon. This, and other alarming attempts of the popiſh faction, greatly affected Elizabeth, and the Spaniſh ambaſſador was ordered to leave England. Philip conſidered this as an high affront, and refuſed to hear any apology from the Engliſh princeſs.

One Creighton, a Scotch jeſuit, had been employed by Mary in ſolliciting twelve thouſand ducats promiſed her by the court of Rome. Creighton, on his return, happened to be taken by a Dutch privateer, and attempted to deſtroy his papers, by tearing them to pieces, and throwing them overboard; but the wind driving them back into the ſhip, they were ſent, with Creighton, to England. Part of them was loſt, but enough was diſcovered to inform the miniſtry, that the pope, Philip, and the duke of Guiſe, had entered into a league to dethrone Elizabeth; to diſinherit the king of Scotland, as an open favourer of the reformed religion; to marry the captive queen to ſome Engliſh nobleman; to place him on the throne; and to cauſe the iſſue of that marriage to be declared the lawful ſucceſſors to the crown and kingdom of England.

Mary felt the effects of theſe aſſociations; ſhe was more cloſely confined than ever; though it is doubtful whether ſhe really encouraged the ſecret practices of the catholics, or whether their attachment to her perſon and religion induced them, without her conſent, to withdraw their allegiance and their duty from Elizabeth. The proteſtants loved the queen as much as the catholics hated her. A kind of confederacy was formed in her favour; and the parliament, which theſe practices of the papiſts induced her to ſummon, ſet no bounds to the teſtimonies of their zeal. They even authorized her to eſtabliſh a committee, with power to judge any perſon who ſhould make pretenſions to the crown, or frame any attempt againſt her. The jeſuits, and other prieſts of the Romiſh church, were baniſhed the kingdom; and in caſe either of their continuance in England, or return thither, they were deemed guilty of high-treaſon. The ſame ſentence was pronounced againſt the Engliſh ſtudents in foreign ſeminaries, unleſs they returned within a limited time, and made the uſual ſubmiſſions. From that time popery was no longer tolerated; the laws were executed with rigour; and, in the ſpace of ten years, fifty prieſts ſuffered death. But ſurely exceſſive ſeverity is not the moſt eligible method of reconciling the catholics, either to the government or the national religion; lenient and conciliating proceedings ſeem beſt adapted to effect the one, and candid reaſoning the other.

Beſides paſſing theſe ſevere laws againſt the papiſts, the commons voted the queen a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. The only circumſtance in which their proceedings were diſagreeable to her majeſty, was an application which the commons made for a farther reformation in eccleſiaſtical affairs. Though the majority of the houſe were puritans, they did not chuſe to proceed on this delicate ſubject in the uſual manner: they were afraid of offending the queen; and therefore petitioned the upper houſe, in order to effect the deſired reformation: a meaſure that ſhews at once the abſolute power of Elizabeth, and how far the commons were, at that time, from aſſerting thoſe principles which have ſince acquired them ſo much dignity and power.

Their petition chiefly regarded an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, called the High Court of commiſſion, eſtabliſhed the preceding year. This tribunal was arbitrary, and may be conſidered as one of the worſt abuſes of deſpotiſm. The whole kingdom was ſubject to its decrees. The commiſſioners, who were forty-four in number, had the power of examining into errors, hereſies, and every thing relative either to faith or worſhip. In order to diſcover offenders, they had the power of employing odious and illegal methods, particularly the oath *ex officio*, by which the perſon cited was obliged to anſwer all interrogatories, whether they tended to the accuſation of himſelf, a relation, or a friend. They were authoriſed to puniſh fornication, inceſt, adultery, and all irregularities relative to marriage. The puniſhments they aſſigned were arbitrary. They were not liable to any arreſt of judgment; and three judges were ſufficient to pronounce ſentences, which were ſubject to no controul. In a word, the inquiſition, execrated by the proteſtants, deteſted even in many catholic countries, ſeems to have been the model of that tribunal, ſo contrary to all wiſe legiſlation. Elizabeth had no authority but her own ſupremacy for eſtabliſhing a court ſo repugnant to all the rights of humanity. But in that age, the right of ſupremacy was ſuppoſed to involve powers, which no law, precedent or reaſon, could limit or determine.

Notwithſtanding the commons had carried their deference even to a weakneſs, and petitioned the upper houſe in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, their attempt did not eſcape cenſure. The queen, at the end of the ſeſſion, after thanking them for their zeal for her perſon and government, failed not to reproach them for their preſumptuous imprudence. She told them, that being charged by God himſelf with the government of the church, one of her principal cares ſhould be to baniſh error and ſchiſm; that ſhe would not ſuffer the licentiouſneſs of thoſe who, from haſty interpretations of ſcripture, would introduce new doctrines; and that ſhe knew well how to obſerve the medium between the ſuperſtitions of Rome and the illuſions of new ſectaries. But notwithſtanding the great power of Elizabeth, and the deference paid her by the commons, the puritans were not to be intimidated. Perſuaded that their tenets were undeniably founded on ſcripture, about five hundred eccleſiaſtics of that perſuaſion ſubſcribed a book of diſcipline conformable to their principles; and the force of the laws was unable to prevent preſbyterianiſm from taking root in the boſom of the church of England.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a horrid conſpiracy againſt the life of Elizabeth was diſcovered. William Parry, a bigotted catholic, after receiving the queen's pardon for a capital offence, retired into Italy, where he openly profeſſed his religion, which he had concealed while he continued in England. Happening to contract an intimacy with one Palmio, a jeſuit, he too readily liſtened to the deteſtable doctrine of that order, and was perſuaded that he could not do a more acceptable or meritorious action than that of taking away the life of his ſovereign and benefactor. Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, whom Parry conſulted on this important queſtion, removed all his doubts, and approved extremely of his pious undertaking. Parry accordingly retired to Paris, whence he propoſed to paſs over into England, in order to execute his bloody deſign. Remorſe, however, ſtaggered his reſolution; it is not ſometimes even in the power of fanaticiſm to ſilence the remonſtrances of conſcience. He was deſirous of trying every method in his power to ſoften the perſecutions carried on againſt the catholics, before he proceeded to extremities. His ſoul ſhuddered at the complicated horror of the action he was going to commit. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her life; and exhorted her, as the only means of rendering the attempts abortive, to allow the catholics a little more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion. Finding all his attempts were in vain, he determined to execute his bloody deſign, and imparted his intention to Nevil, next heir to the Weſtmoreland family. He highly approved of the attrocious crime, and deſired to ſhare in an action which the intereſts of the church would ſufficiently ſanctify.

A book newly publiſhed by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, confirmed their ſentiments; and meaſures were formed for carrying their infernal deſign into immediate execution. But while they were waiting for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Weſtmoreland died; and Nevil, hoping to recover the honours and eſtates of that noble family, revealed the whole to the queen. Parry was ſeized, and made no difficulty of confeſſing the fact; and he ſuffered the puniſhment appointed by the law for treaſonable practices.

A. D. 1585. The doctrine of putting tyrants to death was now generally aſſerted; a doctrine the more attrocious, as every prince whom the church of Rome thought proper to excommunicate, or declare a heretic, was called a tyrant, however juſt or prudent in the diſpenſations of government. Many great and brave men fell victims to the dagger of ſanguinary caſuiſtry. Baltazar Gerard, a native of Burgundy, undertook the horrid taſk of aſſaſſinating the prince of Orange. He executed the bloody deſign with an intrepidity that would have done honour to a better cauſe. He ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. This event ſpread a general conſternation through the Netherlands, where the people regarded the prince as their father, and where the prince of Parma had made an alarming progreſs in re-eſtabliſhing the authority of Philip. In this deplorable ſituation the ſtates offered the ſovereignty of their country to Henry III. king of France. But the preſent condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject ſo advantageous an offer.

Reduced to extremity, the ſtates ſent over a ſolemn embaſſy to Elizabeth, imploring the queen to take them under her protection. The buſineſs was of a delicate nature; and the council were divided in opinion, whether they ſhould accept or reject the offer. Some conſidered the Flemings as rebels, whoſe revolt could not be countenanced without injuſtice, and whoſe propoſals, if they were accepted, would expoſe the kingdom to dangers, to which they would bring no adequate advantage. Others repreſented the unbounded ambition of the king of Spain, his tyranny in the Low Countries, his implacable hatred to Elizabeth, as ſufficient motives for accepting the offer. It was ſaid, that the acquiſition of the provinces, and the efforts of a brave people groaning under the weight of lawleſs power, would leſſen the danger, by multiplying reſources. The queen, always leſs enterprizing than circumſpect, thought proper to adopt the medium. She declined the ſovereignty, that ſhe might avoid the reproach of being an uſurper; but ſhe entered into a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with the ſtates, whereby ſhe engaged to ſend them ſix thouſand men, and maintain them during the war: that the general, and two others, whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the ſtates; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded at the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould be immediately put into her hands, by way of ſecurity.

Elizabeth well knew that this meaſure would immediately occaſion a rupture with Spain; but the preſent power of the ambitious Philip did not terrify her. His late acquiſition of the crown of Portugal, with the rich ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, and the great increaſe of his naval power, were not ſufficient to deter her from ſuccouring a people diſtreſſed, and ſupporting the liberties of a country threatened with the moſt arbitrary deſpotiſm. The earl of Leiceſter, who was appointed to command the Engliſh forces, embarked on the twenty-third of October, attended by a ſplendid retinue, compoſed of the young earl of Eſſex, his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Ruſſel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Baſſet, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect company of five hundred gentlemen. He was met, on his arrival at Fluſhing, by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, governor of that place; and every town through which he paſſed diſcovered the ſincereſt joy; they conſidered him as their guardian angel, their deliverer from impending ruin.

Philip II. was one of the moſt formidable princes of Europe. Beſides large acquiſitions in America and the Eaſt, he was, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of the court of Rome, and the protector of the holy league formed in France againſt the Hugonots. He made religion a political reſource for his unbounded ambition. The idea of his prodigious power alarmed moſt of the princes of Europe; and the king of Sweden, when informed that Elizabeth had entered into a league with the ſtates-general, highly blamed her conduct, and ſaid ſhe was tearing the crown from her head. But ſhe ſhewed no leſs courage in the danger than prudence in the deſign. She diſpatched a fleet of one and twenty ſail, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with two thouſand three hundred land forces, commanded by Chriſtopher Carliſle, to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, the chief ſource of Philip's power, and the moſt defenceleſs parts of his extenſive dominions. The appearance of the Engliſh being wholly unexpected in that diſtant part of the world, they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the capital of St. Domingo, reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida. Drake loſt ſeveral hundred men in this expedition, but brought home ſuch a prodigious quantity of treaſure, as ſufficiently rewarded the ſurvivors for their ſufferings. At the ſame time, he diſplayed the weakneſs of the Spaniards in the New World in ſuch alluring colours, that his countrymen were animated to attempt other enterprizes of a ſimilar nature.

Leiceſter, whoſe merit was not equal to the favour he enjoyed from the queen, had leſs ſucceſs in the Low Countries. The prince of Parma, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, made himſelf maſter of Grave and Venlo; while, on the other hand, lord Willoughby, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, cut off a large convoy of proviſions belonging to the enemy; and Sir Philip Sidney and count Maurice ſurpriſed the town of Axel, in Flanders. The prince of Parma, exaſperated at theſe loſſes, beſieged Rheinburgh, garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan. Leiceſter thought this place of too much importance to be neglected, and immediately made diſpoſitions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greateſt conſequence to the enemy. The ſtratagem ſucceeded: the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the ſiege of Rheinburgh, and advanced to give Leiceſter battle before Zutphen. A bloody engagement enſued; but the Engliſh, after exerting all their valour, were obliged to retreat. Among others, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, a man of the fineſt genius, and the moſt heroic virtue, periſhed in this battle. Being mortally wounded, and almoſt ſuffocated with thirſt, a bottle of water was offered him; but obſerving a ſoldier lying by his ſide, in the ſame dreadful ſituation, he reſigned to him the valuable acquiſition, with this generous obſervation, "That man's neceſſities are ſtill greater than mine."

A.D. 1586. Every day brought Elizabeth freſh intelligence of Philip's deſigns againſt her perſon and government. It was therefore of the laſt importance for her to ſecure the friendſhip of the king of Scotland. Wotton, her ambaſſador, by conſulting only how to pleaſe him and gain his confidence, ſoon became thoroughly acquainted with all the ſecrets of his cabinet. It is no wonder Wotton ſucceeded in gaining the aſcendant over a prince of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James: he was a maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of the moſt careleſs gaiety, the deepeſt deſigns and moſt dangerous artifices. Elizabeth was fearful leſt James ſhould contract an alliance by marriage, that might render him formidable to England: in the preſent ſtate of the Scottiſh kingdom there was nothing to fear. But Wotton employed his intrigues to ſtill more dangerous purpoſes: he formed a conſpiracy for ſeizing the perſon of the king, and delivering him into the hands of the Engliſh princeſs; who would certainly not have been diſpleaſed had it ſucceeded, though ſhe was intirely ignorant of the ſcheme. The treachery was, however, diſcovered, and Wotton fled into England.

Though James was highly exaſperated at this deſign againſt his liberty, he thought it prudent to diſſemble his reſentment; and the negotiations were ſoon after renewed, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two kingdoms, for their mutual ſecurity, and the defence of the proteſtant religion, againſt the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that if Elizabeth was invaded, James ſhould furniſh her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot: that Elizabeth, in a ſimilar caſe, ſhould ſend him three thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot: that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince that demanded aſſiſtance: that if the invaſion ſhould be made in England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James ſhould march his whole force to the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign prince, ſo far as religion was concerned. By this treaty James was guarantied not only againſt the dangers of an invaſion, but alſo againſt domeſtic troubles, ſo much the more to be dreaded in Scotland, as the fanaticiſm of the preſbyterian teachers had lately defied the authority of the king, the parliament, and the church. They had even proceeded to that height of audacity, as to excommunicate the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, becauſe he had found it neceſſary to reſtrain their licentious conduct; and the primate of the kingdom was conſtrained to diveſt himſelf of his eccleſiaſtical authority. One of the preachers declared publickly from the pulpit, that the king himſelf was the chief perſecutor of the church; and, as a puniſhment, denounced againſt him the curſe that fell upon Jeroboam, that he ſhould die childleſs, and be the laſt of his race. To ſuch unreaſonable heights will religious bigotry ſometimes carry its votaries!

The catholics extended their hatred much farther to Elizabeth. Her laws had irritated their zeal; and the anathemas of the pontiff convinced them, that it would be no crime to effect her deſtruction. The tyrant-killing doctrine did not fail of finding aſſaſſins for this implacable enemy of the Roman church. Among others that determined to put this deſtructive doctrine in execution, was one John Savage, who devoted his life to the ſervice of the church, and undertook to execute this execrable deſign. Another plot was formed in the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims; and a prieſt of that ſchool paſſed over into England with a reſolution to aſſaſſinate Elizabeth. He found means to engage in this infernal deſign one Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of fortune and polite education, who had wit and learning, and courage enough to be ambitious of reſtoring a captive queen to her liberty; and who was ſuſceptible of that falſe zeal which believes every thing juſtifiable in defence of religion. Babington engaged in the conſpiracy ſeveral catholics of diſtinction; and it was agreed that a ſelect number ſhould join Savage in the execution of his vow. In the mean time, the papiſts, in order to carry on their plot with leſs ſuſpicion, and lull, if poſſible, the watchful council of the Engliſh cabinet into a fatal ſecurity, publiſhed ſeveral hypocritical writings, in which they profeſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon and government of Elizabeth, admoniſhed the people of their perſuaſion not to engage in any practices againſt the ſtate, but to confine themſelves to ſuch weapons as are alone lawful for chriſtians to uſe, ſuch as tears, prayers, and faſtings.

But the watchful Walſingham was not to be deceived: he ſoon obtained a ſuperficial account of the conſpirators deſigns; and, by the aſſiſtance of one Maud, a man of impenetrable diſſimulation, who found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Ballard, the miniſter was regularly informed of every part of the conſpiracy. It had been determined, in ſeveral of their meetings, to aſſaſſinate Elizabeth, place Mary on the Engliſh throne, and reſtore the catholic religion. Babington had, ſome years before, contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a penſioner of the queen of Scots, and had by him been introduced to the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's ambaſſador at the court of France. That prelate ſtrongly recommended him to the captive queen, and he, for ſome time, managed her correſpondence with her foreign friends. But, on her being more cloſely confined, the connection dropped, and Babington laid aſide all farther thoughts of Mary and her concerns. Unfortunately for him, Ballard rekindled all his former zeal for her ſervice; and he undertook, with the aſſiſtance of an hundred gentlemen, to deliver the queen of Scots from her confinement.

The plan being ſettled, Babington wrote to Mary, informing her of all that had paſſed between him and Ballard; and inſiſted that the gentlemen, who were concerned in ſo dangerous an attempt for her ſervice, ſhould be aſſured of a reward ſuitable to their merit. This letter was written in the uſual cypher which had paſſed between him and Mary; and was ſo agreeable to her, that ſhe failed not to anſwer it in the ſame cypher, deſiring the conſpirators to be extremely cautious, leſt they ſhould precipitate matters before the return of their Engliſh friends from abroad, before they were aſſured of foreign ſuccours, and before ſome diſturbances were raiſed in Ireland. At the ſame time, ſhe pointed out the moſt natural methods for her own deliverance, which were either by overturning a cart in the gateway of the houſe where ſhe was confined, ſetting the ſtables on fire, or carrying her off when ſhe rode out for the benefit of the air.

Theſe letters were carried to Walſingham, who was ſtill deſirous of farther information. Accordingly he added to one of Mary's letters, delivered to him by Maud, his truſty agent, a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher, requeſting Babington to ſend her the names of the principal conſpirators. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; and the ſtateſman ſoon diſcovered, that Savage, already mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, and one of Elizabeth's penſioners; John Charnock, a gentleman of Lancaſhire; Edward Abingdon, whoſe father had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chidcock Tichburn, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Barnwell, a perſon of quality in Ireland, were the ſix engaged by oath to aſſaſſinate the queen. At the ſame time, the ridiculous vanity of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with another method of diſcovery, and alſo an indication of defence. He had cauſed a picture to be drawn, in which he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins, with a motto, implying, that they were all embarked in ſome dangerous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Walſingham by another of his ſpies, who had found means to inſinuate himſelf into Babington's confidence. Walſingham delivered this copy to the queen, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and be upon her guard if any of them ſhould attempt to approach her perſon.

Convinced that all delays in enterprizes which depend upon ſecrecy are dangerous, Babington procured a licence for Ballard, under a feigned name, to paſs over to the continent. The real intention of his journey was to haſten the foreign ſuccours, whoſe arrival was deſired with anxiety. And to remove all ſuſpicion, Babington applied to Walſingham himſelf, pretended the greateſt zeal for her majeſty's ſervice, offered to go abroad, and employ that confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and diſappointment of their conſpiracies. Walſingham deſirous of ſeizing all the aſſaſſins, commended his loyal intentions, promiſed to aſſiſt him with his own counſel and advice in the execution, fed him with deluſive hopes, and kept up a correſpondence with him.

Babington having, as he imagined, gained the favour of Walſingham, began to flatter himſelf that the whole ſcheme would ſucceed according to his wiſhes. But while he was lulled in this fatal ſecurity, Ballard was ſeized by a warrant from one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. This incident alarmed the conſpirators, and introduced confuſion into their councils. Some propoſed, as the only method of eſcaping, to paſs immediately over to the continent: while others adviſed, that Savage and Charnock ſhould execute, without delay, their intended purpoſe upon Elizabeth. The laſt propoſition was agreed to, and Babington furniſhed Savage with money that he might purchaſe cloaths neceſſary for obtaining the more eaſy acceſs to the queen's perſon. The next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too haſtily; and Babington, having renewed his correſpondence with Walſingham, the anxiety and concern with which the conſciouſneſs of guilt had inſpired the conſpirators, began to ſubſide; they flattered themſelves that the ſeizure of Ballard was owing entirely to the uſual diligence of informers in detecting popiſh and ſeminary prieſts: Babington was even perſuaded to take lodgings in Walſingham's houſe; but obſerving that all his actions were watched with the moſt careful aſſiduity by one Scudamore, he began to be alarmed for his ſafety. Soon after, as they were ſitting at ſupper, Scudamore received a note from Walſingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his ſhoulder, was ſufficiently convinced of his danger. He roſe haſtily from table, went out of the room, as if on ſome ſudden occaſion, made the beſt of his way to Weſtminſter, and, after acquainting Charnock and ſome others with the diſcovery he had made, they withdrew immediately into the woods, where they concealed themſelves for ten days; but were at laſt diſcovered near Harrow on the Hill, dreſſed like countrymen, and brought priſoners to London.

On the thirteenth of September Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and the next day ſeven more of the conſpirators were convicted on evidence. The firſt ſeven ſuffered the ſentence pronounced againſt traitors in its utmoſt rigour; but the others were ſuffered to hang till they were dead. They all behaved with great decency and reſignation, and confeſſed their ſorrow for that part of the conſpiracy relative to the murder of Elizabeth.

The council having rendered abortive this alarming contrivance, and puniſhed the leſſer conſpirators, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whoſe account, and by whoſe concurrence, this deep and dangerous plot had been formed againſt the life of the queen, and the peace of the kingdom. But great difficulties occurred with regard to the manner of proceeding. Scarce a precedent in the hiſtory of mankind could be found of a meaſure of this kind; not one in the annals of England. Some of the council therefore propoſed, that no farther proceedings ſhould be carried on againſt the queen of Scots; thinking that the cloſe confinement of a woman, who was now become very ſickly, would be a ſufficient ſecurity to the government. Leiceſter adviſed that Mary ſhould be ſecretly diſpatched by poiſon: but Walſingham declared his abhorrence of ſo deteſtable an action, and inſiſted that all their proceedings ſhould be open and candid. The majority of the council declared for the ſame opinion, and a reſolution was taken for trying the queen of Scots. The princeſs was accordingly removed to Fotheringay caſtle in Northamptonſhire, the laſt ſcene of her mortal pilgrimage.

She had for ſome time been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe was ſtill ignorant of the detection of Babington's conſpiracy; and ſhe received the intelligence of this event with equal ſurprize and concern, from Sir Thomas Gorges, who had been ſent for that purpoſe by Elizabeth. He choſe to give her this information, when he was taking the air on horſeback.

Her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were ſeized, and tranſmitted to the council: many letters from perſons abroad, and ſome from Engliſh noblemen, expreſſing their firm attachment to her perſon and title. The queen thought proper to take no notice of this laſt diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, conſcious of their guilt, and dreading the puniſhment due to their crime, endeavoured to atone for their fault by changing their principles, and declaring themſelves inveterate enemies to the queen of Scots.

An act had been paſſed in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, relative to the crime of treaſon, and it was determined to try Mary on this ſtatute, and not by the common laws made againſt that crime. Accordingly the queen appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and judges, who were empowered to examine and pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, whom they ſtiled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland.

On the eleventh of October, the commiſſioners repaired to Fotheringay caſtle, and Sir Walter Mildmay, and Edward Barker delivered to the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion, and of her approaching trial. Mary read the letter with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her ſituation, and told them, without the leaſt emotion, that it was very ſurprizing the queen ſhould command her as a ſubject, to ſubmit to a trial and examination before perſons of a rank far inferior to herſelf: that ſhe was an abſolute independent princeſs, and would ſubmit to nothing that had a tendency to leſſen her royal majeſty, the ſtate of ſovereign princes, or the dignity or rank of her ſon: that however her ſpirits might be broken and oppreſſed by misfortunes and calamities, ſhe was not yet reduced to that abject ſtate her enemies deſired; nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon to conſent to her own degradation and diſhonour: that though ſhe had long lived in England, ſhe had lived in captivity; was ignorant of the laws and ſtatutes of the kingdom, deſtitute of council, and could not conceive who could be called her peers, or ſit in judgment on a ſovereign princeſs: that ſhe had never enjoyed the protection of the laws of England, and therefore could not be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction and authority: that if in her own perſon every rule of juſtice ſhould be violated, ſhe ſhould find her revenge in the judgment of the whole world, where her innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely larger than that of a ſingle kingdom.

This ſpirited anſwer to Elizabeth's letter greatly embarraſſed the commiſſioners, who deputed lord Burleigh, the treaſurer, Bromley, the chancellor, and Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her plea with regard to her royal dignity, and ſubmit chearfully to a trial which was now abſolutely impoſſible to be avoided, even though her acquieſcence could not be obtained. Various arguments were urged on this occaſion, but thoſe which chiefly prevailed on Mary to lay aſide her plea of royalty, were thoſe advanced in the following ſpeech made by vice-chamberlain Hatton: "You are, Madam, (ſaid he) accuſed, but not condemned, of having conſpired the deſtruction of our lady and queen anointed. You ſay, you are a queen: but in ſuch a crime as this, and ſuch a ſituation as your's, the royal dignity itſelf is not ſufficient, either by the civil or canon law, or the law of nature and nations, to exempt you from judgment. If you are innocent, you injure your reputation by avoiding a trial. We have heard your proteſtations of innocence; but queen Elizabeth thinks otherwiſe, and is heartily ſorry for the appearances that lie againſt you. She has therefore appointed commiſſioners, honourable perſons, prudent and upright men, to examine your cauſe. They are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour; and will rejoice if you can clear yourſelf of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herſelf will rejoice; for ſhe affirmed to me at my departure, that no miſfortune had ever given her ſo much uneaſineſs, as that you ſhould be ſuſpected of a concurrence in theſe criminal enterprizes. Laying aſide, therefore, the fruitleſs claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, truſt to the better defence of your innocence; make that appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that ſtain of infamy which muſt attend your obſtinate ſilence on this occaſion." Theſe arguments produced the deſired effect: Mary gave up her plea of royalty, and agreed to appear before the court of commiſſioners.

The trial had the appearance of great order and ſolemnity. At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England, under a royal canopy: over againſt it, at ſome diſtance, ſtood a chair for the queen of Scots: by the walls, on both ſides, benches were placed for the commiſſioners. As ſoon as the court was opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "that ſhe was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion; and that they were commiſſioned to examine into the truth of the accuſation, and to hear her anſwer. Mary replied, "that ſhe came into England to crave the aſſiſtance which had been promiſed her: that ſhe was a queen, and no ſubject to Elizabeth; and if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor denied that any aſſiſtance had been promiſed her; and declared, that her proteſtation was in vain; for ſince the law, upon which the accuſation was founded, allowed of no diſtinction in the perſon of the tranſgreſſor, it could not be admitted. The commiſſioners, however, accommodated matters, by ordering both her proteſtation and his anſwer to be recorded.

This conteſted point being ſettled, the crown lawyers opened the charge againſt Mary queen of Scots. They accuſed her of offering to cede to the king of Spain the right to the crown of Scotland, if James, her ſon, refuſed to be a convert to popery. Mary did not attempt to exculpate herſelf from this accuſation; ſhe only anſwered, that ſhe had no longer a kingdom at her diſpoſal, but had ſtill power to give what belonged to her, and was not reſponſible to any perſon. Strong proofs were produced, that ſhe had formed a reſolution of diſinheriting her ſon as an heretic; that the late alliance of that prince with Elizabeth had heightened theſe prejudices; and that her maternal tenderneſs was abated by time, reſentment, and religious zeal.

But theſe facts no way affected Mary's life: ſhe knew this, and took no pains to confute the aſſertions. The great buſineſs was to prove the capital charge of the impeachment, that Mary had concurred in the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth.

In order to eſtabliſh this accuſation, copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington were produced, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who, even without being threatened with the torture, had ſworn, that ſhe both received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had wrote the anſwers by her order. The confeſſion of Babington alſo correſponded with the depoſitions of her ſecretaries. Mary was incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners: her reply conſiſted chiefly in her own denial. She aſſerted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence could not be credited; and that if theſe men had received any letters, or wrote any anſwers, the imputation could never lie upon her. She added, that it was eaſy to forge the hand writing and cypher of another.

But if we reflect on the enterprizing character of Mary, on the odious treatment ſhe had received, on her hatred to Elizabeth, on the prevalence of the tyrant-killing doctrine, and on the eſtabliſhed opinion, that it was lawful to make uſe of any violence againſt a prince excommunicated by the pope, and ſeparated by the church, we may believe, without difficulty, that Mary might concur in a meaſure ſo advantageous to herſelf. Many reaſons render the thing more than probable. To ſay that Mary's two ſecretaries held a correſpondence with Babington, wherein ſhe was not concerned; or that they ſhould betray their miſtreſs, without ſo much as having been ſuſpected themſelves; or that Walſingham, a miniſter of integrity, if ever there was one, had forged the letters, and counterfeited the hand, would be to ſtart ſo many indefenſible propoſitions. In ſhort, the only circumſtance in her defence, which to us may appear to have ſome force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle ſhould be confronted with her, affirming, that they would not, to her face, perſiſt in their evidence. However agreeable this demand was to natural juſtice, it was obſerved to her, that in caſes of high-treaſon, the laws and cuſtoms of England did not admit of confronting the evidence with the priſoner, and that the judges were not empowered to grant any indulgence.

The trial being finiſhed, the commiſſioners adjourned from Fotheringay caſtle to the ſtar-chamber in London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who voluntarily atteſted the authenticity of the letters produced at the trial, they pronounced ſentence of death againſt the queen of Scots. At the ſame time, a declaration was publiſhed, importing, "That the ſentence againſt Mary no way derogated from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the ſame place, degree, and right, as if the ſentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth had now ſufficiently humbled her hated rival; but ſhe was too politic to expreſs her joy on this occaſion. Majeſty, in the very abyſs of diſtreſs, was not an object of exultation. She affected to be deeply intereſted in the fate of an unfortunate relation; declaring, that however injurious her deſigns might be to herſelf, ſhe was willing to bury them for ever in the gulph of forgetfulneſs; and that the ſafety of her people alone, which was nearly intereſted in the fate of the queen of Scotland, induced her to with-hold a pardon. She ſummoned a parliament; that while ſhe indulged the moſt implacable hatred, ſhe might appear to be guided ſolely by the voices of her ſubjects. She well knew, that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſollicitations from that aſſembly, to conſent to a meaſure ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. She was not deceived: the two houſes confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary, and requeſted the execution of it with all the ardour ſhe could deſire. Elizabeth failed not to ſupport, with great propriety, the part ſhe acted: ſhe made a parade of humanity and hypocritical moderation, would promiſe nothing, and left the world in uncertainty with regard to her real ſentiments. She complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs

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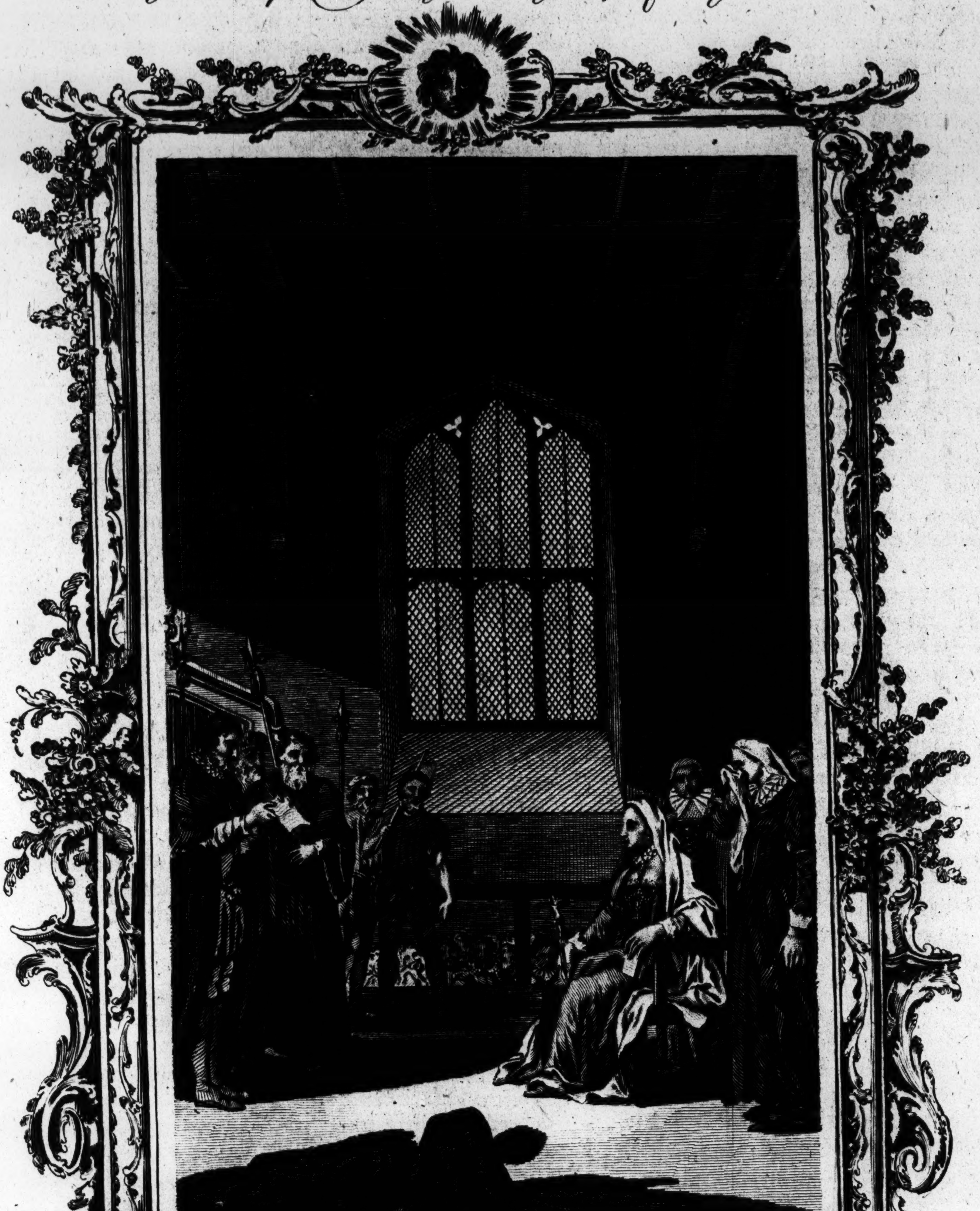
*Engraved for Sydney's Hiſtory of England.*



S. Wale del.

Taylor sculp

*The Death Warrant read to*
**Mary Queen** *of* **Scots** *in the* **Hall** *wherein she was* **Beheaded**.

uneaſineſs from the importunity of her parliament; renewed her expreſſions of affection for her people; but ſtill refuſed to declare her real intention with regard to the fate of the captive princeſs. She, however, complied with the requeſt of the parliament, with regard to the publication of Mary's ſentence. The lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk of the council, were ſent to notify to the queen of Scots the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by the parliament, and the earneſt applications made by that aſſembly for its being carried into execution, from a perſuaſion that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary received the news with joy, the idea of dying a martyr for the catholic faith ſupported her ſpirits in this melancholy moment. "I can hardly believe (ſaid ſhe, ſmiling) that the queen, my ſiſter, has conſented to my death; but if her will be ſuch, that death, which will put an end to my ſufferings, cannot be unwelcome to me: and I think that ſoul unworthy of celeſtial happineſs, that ſhould ſhrink in paſſing through the gloomy valley of the ſhadow of death."

Great efforts were, in the mean time, made by foreign powers, to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary. The ambaſſadors of France and Scotland made vehement remonſtrances, though it has been pretended, that the oppoſition made by the king of France was not ſincere: but however that be, it had no weight with Elizabeth; ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her former reſolution. Her miniſters, indeed, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every argument that had a tendency to make her heſitate. They enlarged on the troubles and conſpiracies that had been excited by the queen of Scotland. They obſerved, that ſhe was already degraded from her rank; and that, in natural equity, every perſon, much more a ſovereign, had a right to juſtice againſt thoſe who ſhould attempt his life. They added, that while Mary lived, every thing was to be feared from the attempts of the catholics; that things were now come to ſuch a criſis, that the death of one of the two queens was neceſſary to the ſecuriry of the other; and that, in this extremity, prudence and juſtice demanded the puniſhment of Mary.

We ſhall not be ſurpriſed at this ſtrenuous oppoſition of the miniſtry, when we conſider the ſituation of England at that critical juncture. No ſucceſſor to the crown was declared; the heir by blood, to whom the people were moſt likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; and, from multiplied injuries, an implacable enemy to the miniſters and principal nobility. Hence their perſonal ſafety, as well as the ſecurity of the government, ſeemed to depend ſolely on the queen's life, who was now ſomewhat advanced in years, and perpetually expoſed to the dagger of aſſaſſination. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counſellors, who knew themſelves ſo obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to puſh every meaſure to extremity, in order to prevent her ever mounting the throne of England.

Elizabeth, however, ſtill continued to conceal her ſentiments, though her actions ſufficiently indicated that ſhe had malice in her heart; and her duplicity furniſhed her with new artifices. Rumours of invaſions, rebellions, and aſſaſſinations, were ſpread with great addreſs. The people were terrified at their danger, and the death of Mary was conſidered as neceſſary to reſtore the tranquillity of the nation. The captive princeſs, however, ſupported herſelf with ſuch placid dignity, as does honour to her memory. When Sir Amias Paulet took down her canopy of ſtate, ſhe bore the inſult with the utmoſt patience; and when he told her, that ſhe could now be conſidered only as a dead perſon, and incapable of any dignity, ſhe only anſwered, that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power could ever wreſt it from her. She wrote a very pathetic letter to queen Elizabeth, requeſting, "that after the fatal ſentence was executed, her body might be ſent to France, there to be interred near the ſacred relicts of her mother, and accompanied to the grave with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required: that the execution of her ſentence might be public, in the ſight of all the world; and that her ſervants, after they had done her the laſt offices, and been witneſſes of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of heaven, might be ſuffered to depart without moleſtation, and enjoy the legacies bequeathed to them by their dying miſtreſs."

A. D. 1587. Elizabeth now proceeded to the laſt act of this affecting tragedy. As many intreaties had been uſed, as many delays had interpoſed, and as many alarms had been ſpread among the people, as were thought neceſſary, or decency required; but even in taking her final reſolution, Elizabeth thought ſome new artifice neceſſary. She ſent for ſecretary Daviſon, a man of great parts, but eaſy to be deceived, and commanded him to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots. He obeyed the order; the queen ſigned the warrant, and told him to carry it to the chancellor, in order to its having the ſeal affixed to it. The next day, ſhe ſent him a meſſage by Killigrew, enjoining him not to execute her former commands till farther orders. Daviſon came immediately to court, and informed the queen, that the warrant had already paſſed the ſeals. She ſeemed offended, and blamed him for his precipitation. Alarmed at this inconſiſtency of conduct, Daviſon informed the council of the whole tranſaction; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would proceed no farther without their participation. They all requeſted that the execution might be haſtened; declaring, that if the queen was offended, they would all equally ſhare the blame; and Beale was accordingly diſpatched with the warrant, addreſſed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, commanding them to ſee it carried into immediate execution.

On the ſeventh of February, the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent reached Fotheringay caſtle, and informed Mary of their commiſſion; adding, that ſhe muſt prepare for death the next morning by eight o clock. She received the ſummons with great calmneſs and compoſure. She confeſſed, indeed, that ſhe did not expect to die ſo ſoon; but all her geſtures, looks and words, were full of chearful reſignation. She deſired that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſhold; but they refuſed her requeſt with regard to her confeſſor. They, however, recommended to her the dean of Peterborough, who would very readily aſſiſt her in making preparations for her paſſage into eternity. She replied, that his aſſiſtance was not neceſſary; and as they had thought proper to deny a requeſt for which the dictates of humanity ſo ſtrongly pleaded, ſhe would endeavour to ſupply the defect by her own prayers. To the exerciſes of a ſpirited devotion ſhe joined the tendereſt care of all her domeſtics. She made them a proper recompence for their ſervices, wrote letters in their favour to the king of France and the duke of Guiſe, and took her leave of them in a flood of tears. She had long expected that ſhe ſhould not be permitted to exerciſe the rites of her religion, and had procured a conſecrated wafer from pope Pius, and reſerved the uſe of it for this laſt period of her life.

She roſe in the morning with her uſual ſerenity, and dreſſed herſelf in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet, the only one ſhe had kept for herſelf; and on receiving the ſummons from the ſheriff, appeared with a compoſed and chearful countenance: her head was covered with a veil, extending to the ground; her beads hung at her girdle, and ſhe held a crucifix in her hand. In the porch ſhe was received by the earls and other gentlemen, and met by Sir Andrew Melvil, her ſteward, who bewailed his unhappy fate, in being appointed to carry the fatal tidings of her death to Scotland. Mary was deeply affected at the affection of her ſervant, and endeavoured to comfort him. She obſerved, that there was more reaſon to rejoice than to lament, as he would ſoon behold the ſorrows and miſeries of his queen and miſtreſs at an end; and after kiſſing him, with her face bedewed with tears, ſhe bid him farewell. Then turning to the noblemen, ſhe deſired that her ſervants might be permitted to attend her in her laſt moments. The earl of Kent refuſed this favour. Touched with his cruelty, ſhe cried, "I am the couſin of your queen; I am deſcended from the royal blood of Henry VII. I have been queen of France by marriage; I have been anointed queen of Scotland!" Striking expreſſions at that dreadful criſis! The reſt of the noblemen were affected, and it was agreed that ſhe might carry ſome of her ſervants with her.

She now entered the hall, where a ſcaffold, covered with black, was erected; and ſhe beheld, with uncommon fortitude, the two executioners, and all the preparations of death. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her by Beale, clerk of the council: ſhe kept a profound ſilence during the ceremony, but ſeemed wholly unaffected, while the numerous ſpectators that crowded the hall were diſſolved in tears. The dean of Peterborough began a tedious diſcourſe; in which he exhorted her to abjure the catholic religion, and acknowledge the juſtice of her ſentence, threatening her with eternal perdition if ſhe refuſed. She anſwered, with great vivacity, "Give yourſelf no farther trouble; I was born, have lived, and will die a catholic." The earl of Kent was greatly offended at a crucifix ſhe held in her hand, and deſired her to part with that popiſh trumpery, as he called it; adding, that ſhe ſhould carry Chriſt in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with great preſence of mind, that it was not eaſy to have ſuch an object in the hand without the heart's being affected.

Her private devotions being ended, ſhe began, with the aſſiſtance of her women, to diſrobe herſelf; on which her ſervants burſt into tears and lamentations. She turned about, laid her finger on her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence, gave them her bleſſing, and requeſted their prayers. After which one of her maids covered her eyes with a handkerchief; and, without fear or trepidation, ſhe laid herſelf down; and, amidſt the tears and mournful ſilence of the ſpectators, received the fatal ſtroke. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So periſh all the enemies of queen Elizabeth!". And the earl of Kent was the only perſon who replied, "Amen."

Thus died Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her impriſonment in England; a princeſs of conſummate beauty, uncommon underſtanding, and diſtinguiſhed by ſuch qualities of mind, both natural and acquired, as rendered her the moſt lovely of women. But her connections with the profligate Bothwell, joined to the effects of a blind and headſtrong paſſion, betrayed her into actions which nothing can excuſe, nothing can alleviate; and afford us a ſtriking inſtance of the inconſtancy of the human heart, and the frailty of our nature. The rigorous treatment ſhe met with from Elizabeth, ſeems to authoriſe her to lay ſchemes for regaining her liberty, but not to conſpire againſt her life. The prevalent ſpirit and principles of that age, together with a bigotted zeal for the catholic religion, which ſhe had acquired during her long captivity, induced her to join in a deſign repugnant to humanity.

When Elizabeth was informed of the death of the captive princeſs, ſhe affected the utmoſt grief and rage. None of her miniſters dared to approach her. She openly declared, that the execution had been done without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclinations. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, calling heaven and earth to witneſs, that it was her reſolution to have ſpared the blood of Mary. She committed Daviſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the ſtar-chamber for his offence. The miniſter well knew the danger of a conteſt with his ſovereign; he acknowledged his guilt, and ſued for pardon. The queen was inexorable; a tedious impriſonment, and a fine that reduced him to beggary, were the reward of his ſervices. No body was deceived by this behaviour of the queen; they knew that diſſimulation coſt her nothing. Daviſon wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, containing many curious anecdotes. He declared, that on the departure of the French and Scottiſh ambaſſadors, who had made ſtrong repreſentations in favour of Mary, ſhe commanded him to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princeſs. She ſigned it readily, ordered it to be ſealed, and appeared in ſuch good humour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him, in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick, though I fear he will die with ſorrow when he hears it." At the ſame time, ſhe blamed Paulet and Drury, that they had not before eaſed her of this trouble, and wiſhed Walſingham would bring them to a compliance in that particular. "I told her (ſays Daviſon) that Paulet had abſolutely refuſed to act any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and juſtice." The queen was very angry, and accuſed him and others of perjury, in having taken the oath of aſſociation, whereby they had bound themſelves to revenge her wrongs, and yet refuſed their aſſiſtance when it was wanted. "But (added ſhe) there are others who will do it for my ſake."

The grief of the king of Scotland was real: he gave way to the moſt violent complaints and menaces, and abandoned himſelf to the wildeſt reſolutions. He refuſed to admit Cary, who brought the letter of Elizabeth, into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from the Engliſh court; war and vengeance ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. Great part of the nobility catched the flame, and a rupture with England ſeemed inevitable. When the court went into mourning, lord Sinclair appeared in a ſuit of armour, and ſaid, his dreſs only was the proper mourning for the queen of Scotland. Elizabeth was alarmed at theſe warlike appearances; and, as ſoon as the firſt flame was abated, ſhe had recourſe to conciliating meaſures. Walſingham wrote a long letter to James, in which he intimated the dangers to which Scotland would be expoſed in a war with England; the inconveniencies that muſt attend his receiving ſuccours either from France or Spain; and how abſurd it would be for James to riſque his expectations of the crown of England, by irritating the people. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the peaceable temper of the young prince, prevailed over his reſentment, and a good correſpondence with the Engliſh court was gradually reſtored.

Having thus diſſipated the northern ſtorm that threatened to diſcharge its fury on England, Elizabeth was more at leiſure to watch the motions of Philip of Spain, a far more formidable enemy, who had, for ſome time, been making preparations for invading England. A prodigious number of ſhips were equipping in his ports; and though he had not yet declared war againſt England, no body was deceived in his intentions. But the navy of Elizabeth was able to diſpute the prize of victory with the ſovereign of the New World. Drake was ſent, with a ſtrong fleet, to inſult the coaſts of Spain, intercept the ſupplies of naval and military ſtores continually ſending to Cadiz, and deſtroy the ſhipping of the enemy in their own harbours. Drake executed his commiſſion with great courage and ſucceſs, burning and deſtroying above an hundred ſail of ſhips, moſt of them laden with proviſions and military ſtores; and after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Liſbon, he ſailed for the Weſtern Iſlands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the Eaſt-Indies. He ſucceeded, and returned to England with an immenſe booty. But the moſt valuable acquiſition was a pacquet of papers found on board the galleon, by which the Engliſh learned the nature of the oriental commerce, and inſpired them with the thoughts of eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India Company.

Soon after this ſucceſsful expedition, Thomas Cavendiſh returned from his voyage round the world. He was a gentleman of Devonſhire, who having ſpent his fortune at court, reſolved, if poſſible, to retrieve it by an attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World. He fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of an hundred and twenty tons, another of ſixty, and a third of forty. With thoſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the South Seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took no leſs than nineteen veſſels richly laden; and returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in triumph. His ſailors and ſoldiers were dreſſed in ſilk; his ſails were of damaſk; his top-ſails cloth of gold; and his booty proportional to this magnificence. It is eaſy to imagine that ſuch remarkable ſucceſs muſt animate others to attempt expeditions of a ſimilar kind.

But the Engliſh were not equally ſucceſsful in the Netherlands. Leiceſter had intruſted the command of Zutphen and Deventer to Stanley and York, two of his creatures; who, inſtead of defending thoſe important poſts, treacherouſly delivered them up to the duke of Parma. Alarmed at theſe practices, the ſtates ſent an embaſſy to the Engliſh court, requeſting that the government might be taken from the earl of Leiceſter, and given to ſome more able and prudent general. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her partiality for her favourite, recalled Leiceſter; and Maurice, the young prince of Orange, being appointed governor of the United Provinces, ſoon ſhewed himſelf worthy of his father. The lord Willoughby was made general of the Engliſh forces in the Low Countries, and received orders to ſubmit to the authority of prince Maurice.

A. D. 1588. But the preparations of Philip of Spain principally engaged the attention of Elizabeth. That hypocritical monarch, though he had not yet declared his intention, was preparing to take his revenge, and to ſeize the crown of England. Pope Sextus V. not leſs ambitious than Philip, excited him to the enterprize: he again excommunicated the queen, and publiſhed a cruſade againſt her, with the uſual indulgences. All the ports of Spain reſounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; the Spaniards ſeemed to threaten the annihilation of the Engliſh. Elizabeth, who was well informed of the ſtorm that was gathering againſt her, took every precaution to render the attempts of the enemy abortive: ſhe augmented her navy, and exerciſed her militia. Nothing was neglected; fear was a ſtranger in the Engliſh council.

Philip had ſpent three years in preparing for an invaſion of England; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious ſtrength, was called the Invincible Armada, was now completed. A conſecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was laviſhed on this occaſion. This tremendous armament conſiſted of the following particulars: nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers; eight thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeamen; two thouſand and eighty galley-ſlaves; and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa-Croce, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the armada; and by his counſels and directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain, but ſent either a ſon, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and eſtates in England, which was conſidered as an eaſy conqueſt. The duke of Parma, in order to inſure ſucceſs, was ordered to provide tranſports ſufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and land them in England as ſoon as the Spaniſh fleet appeared on the coaſt of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occaſion. Her fleet at that time conſiſted of no more than twenty-eight ſail, and thoſe, for the moſt part, ſmall veſſels; but the alacrity of her ſubjects ſufficiently atoned for the weakneſs of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry, teſtified the greateſt zeal on this occaſion. The city of London fitted out thirty ſhips, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ſhips at their own expence. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The main fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth; while a ſmaller fleet, conſiſting of forty veſſels, under the command of lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

The Engliſh land forces were ſuperior in number to thoſe of Spain; and though inferior in diſcipline and experience, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the liberties and laws of their country. Twenty thouſand men were cantoned along the ſouthern coaſts of England; another body of diſciplined forces encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, whom the queen, on this occaſion, created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunſdon commanded a third army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, for the defence of her majeſty's perſon. Arthur, lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were conſulted about the management of the war; and, purſuant to their advice, all the landing-places on the coaſt from Hull to the Land's-End, and thence to Milford-Haven, were fortified and garriſoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received inſtructions for interrupting the diſembarkation of the enemy, waſting the country before them, attacking their rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a ſufficient force could be aſſembled to give them battle. Sir Robert Sydney was ſent into Scotland, in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt. The Scottiſh monarch was ſufficiently diſpoſed to cultivate an union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection reſulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips which Philip had either purchaſed or hired in the Daniſh harbours. But her chief hopes of ſucceſs were placed on the affections of her people. The very papiſts themſelves, though they knew the pope had abſolved them from their oaths of allegiance, exerted themſelves on this occaſion. Conſcious that they could not expect to be intruſted with authority, ſeveral of the young nobility ſerved as volunteers, either in the fleet or army: ſome equipped ſhips at their own expence, and gave the command of them to proteſtants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vaſſals in ſupport of their ſovereign. Party diſtinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himſelf in the defence of his country.

The queen, to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expreſſed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She aſſured her troops, that the weakneſs of her ſex ſhould not prevent her marching at their head againſt the Spaniſh invaders; that ſhe would behold and reward their bravery herſelf; and that ſhe would ſooner periſh on the field of battle than live to ſee the ſlavery of her people. "My arm (ſaid ſhe) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." The whole army catched the heroic ardour of the queen; they were impatient to meet the enemy, and convince the haughty Spaniards that they ſtill poſſeſſed all the ſpirit of their anceſtors.

The death of the marquis of Santa Croce prevented the ſailing of the armada. The duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the deſign abortive. At length the invincible fleet ſailed from Liſbon on the twenty-ninth of May; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempeſt, the fleet was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received conſiderable damage. After a delay of two months, the armada ſailed once more to proſecute the intended enterprize. The fleet conſiſted of one hundred and thirty ſhips, of which near a hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden than any that had ever before appeared on the coaſt of England. The Spaniſh admiral was ordered to ſail as near the coaſt of France as poſſible, in order to join the prince of Parma, and avoid meeting the Engliſh fleet, which might occaſion ſome delay in the enterprize; for it was never imagined that they could make any effectual oppoſition. But an accident induced the Spaniſh admiral to neglect this prudent advice. He took a fiſhing-boat in his paſſage, the maſter of which informed him, that the Engliſh admiral, perſuaded that the late ſtorm, which ſcattered the armada, had prevented any attempt being made this ſeaſon, had laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged the greater part of his ſeamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spaniard determined to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhips in Plymouth harbour before he joined the prince of Parma. He accordingly ſteered towards that port, hoping to obtain an eaſy victory. The armada was diſpoſed in the form of a half-moon, and ſtretched to the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the extremity of one diviſion to that of the other. The ocean ſeemed to groan beneath its burden, and the winds to be tired with impelling ſo enormous a weight. But this tremendous appearance diſmayed not the Engliſh; they knew their huge veſſels were ſo ill conſtructed, and ſo difficult to be managed, that they would not be able to ſupport themſelves againſt the repeated attacks of ſhips at a diſtance. Experience ſoon convinced them that they were not miſtaken. Two of the largeſt ſhips in the Spaniſh fleet were ſoon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced ſlowly up the channel, the Engliſh followed their rear, and haraſſed them with perpetual ſkirmiſhes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of ſucceſs: the deſign of attacking the Engliſh navy in Plymouth was laid aſide, and they directed their courſe towards Calais, in order to join the prince of Parma.

The alarm had now reached the coaſt of England, and the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their ſhips from every harbour, to join the admiral, who ſoon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty ſail. He ſtill hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and diſtreſſed them with repeated attacks. At laſt the armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of ſucceſs vaniſhed, by a ſtratagem of the Engliſh admiral. He filled eight of his ſmaller ſhips with combuſtible materials, and ſetting them on fire, ſent them, one after another, into the midſt of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themſelves to flight in a very precipitate and diſorderly manner. In the midſt of this confuſion, the Engliſh fell upon them with ſo much fury, that twelve of their largeſt ſhips were taken, and many more greatly damaged.

The Spaniards were now convinced that the intention of theſe prodigious preparations was entirely fruſtrated; and would willingly have abandoned the enterprize, and returned immediately to their own ports, could they have done it with ſafety: but this was impoſſible: the wind was contrary; and the only chance of eſcaping, was that of making a tour of the whole iſland, and reaching at laſt the Spaniſh harbours by the ocean. But a violent ſtorm ſoon overtook them, and compleated the deſtruction of the invincible armada; not half the number of veſſels returned to the ports of Spain. It is ſaid that Philip, being informed of theſe diſaſters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for leaving him ſo much; while the Spaniſh clergy, confounded at an event ſo contrary to their expectations, aſſigned a very ridiculous cauſe for it, namely, that ſome infidel Mahometans were ſuffered to continue in a catholic kingdom.

A public thankſgiving was ordered by Elizabeth; and ſhe herſelf repaired, in great ſolemnity, to St. Paul's, to perform that ſacred duty; and eleven ſtandards taken from the enemy were hung up in the church, as trophies of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh. The queen beſtowed rewards on many of her officers who had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in defence of their country; and the whole kingdom was one continued ſcene of joy.

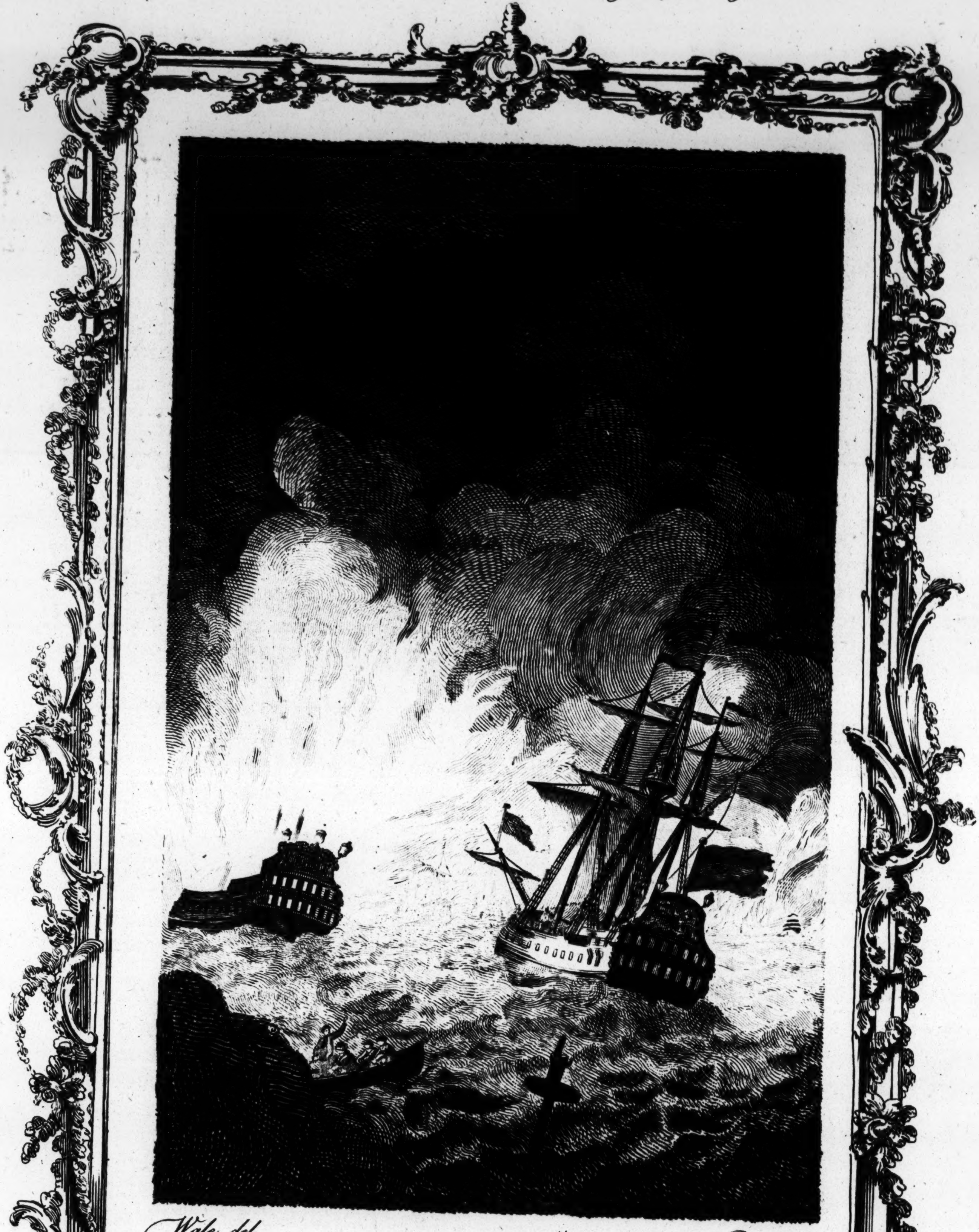
Soon after the diſperſion of the Spaniſh armada, Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite, paid the debt of nature. He had diſcovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was even ſuſpected of cowardice; yet he was entruſted with the chief command of the Engliſh at a time when the Spaniards were expected to invade the kingdom; a partiality that might have proved fatal to Elizabeth, had the prince of Parma landed his troops in England. But the queen's affections ſeemed to terminate entirely with his death: ſhe cauſed his goods to be expoſed to ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf for the money ſhe had lent him.

A. D. 1589. Nothing is more ſeductive than victory. The Engliſh having defeated the Spaniſh armada, attempted to take the kingdom of Portugal from Philip, and give it to Don Antonio, a baſtard of the houſe of Braganza. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders of this romantic enterprize. About twenty thouſand volunteers engaged in the ſervice. The ſhips were hired, as well as the arms and ſtores provided, at the expence of the adventurers. The queen contributed only ſix ſhips and ſixty thouſand pounds towards this expedition.

The fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the fifth of April, arrived ſafely at the Groyne, and ſoon became maſters both of the place and harbour. They now ſailed for the coaſt of Portugal; and in their paſſage were met by the young earl of Eſſex, who had equipped a few ſhips at his own expence, and ſailed on a cruize againſt the Spaniards. This reinforcement revived the ſpirits of the adventurers; they ſeized the town and caſtle of Panicha, and determined to march to Liſbon by land, Drake promiſing to follow with his fleet. On their arrival, they became maſters of the weſtern ſuburb of Liſbon without oppoſition; but the next day a large body of Spaniards ſallied from the citadel, and cut off ſeveral of the Engliſh, with ſome of their beſt officers. The earl of Eſſex behaved with the moſt ſurpriſing courage on this occaſion: he led the Engliſh againſt the aſſailants, and drove them back to the citadel. A revolt of the citizens was every moment expected; but after waiting two days, without any appearance of an inſurrection being made in favour of Don Antonio, the Engliſh abandoned the enterprize, and marched to Caſcaris, a little town at the mouth of the Tagus. Here they found their fleet under the command of Drake, who had not been able to enter the river, the paſſage being defended by all the Spaniſh gallies, and a battery of fifty pieces of cannon. It was now determined not to make any farther attempt upon the capital; and, after blowing up the caſtle of Caſcaris, and burning Vigo, they returned to England, after loſing a great number of men by ſickneſs and fatigue.

In

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wale del.* *Walker sculp.*

*Defeat of the* **SPANISH ARMADA** *in 1588.*

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In the mean time, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and voted double ſupplies to the queen; who knowing that the puritans formed a majority in the houſe of commons, laid a ſtrict injunction on the members not to meddle with eccleſiaſtical matters. A motion was, however, made, for reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: but the fear of diſpleaſing the queen had ſo great an effect on the members, that the motion was not ſeconded. Nor were the commons ſucceſsful in their attempts to rectify the abuſes of purveyance, by which the officers of the crown took up at diſcretion, for the queen's ſervice, or rather under pretence of that ſervice, whatever proviſions and carriages they thought neceſſary. The price was fixed much lower than the current value, and the payment always diſtant and uncertain. Hence the moſt enormous abuſes were continually practiſed on the ſubject. But Elizabeth put a ſtop to their proceedings: ſhe told them, that ſhe had already given orders for making a ſtrict enquiry into the abuſes complained of, and would ſhortly complete the deſign; but would not permit them, by laws moved without her conſent, to bereave her of the honour attending theſe regulations.

The affairs of England were now in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Scots, ſince the death of Mary, were no longer terrible. James, ſurrounded by factions, inveſted with little authority, and naturally inclined to repoſe, was ſo far from being able to give the Engliſh any diſturbance, that he found it his intereſt to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. He had lately married a daughter of the king of Denmark, and by that means loſt the favour of the catholic party. Philip of Spain had ſufficiently ſeen his error, to attempt a new invaſion: he was not ſo fond of enterprize to ſquander the treaſures of his kingdom in enterprizes big with abſurdity. Elizabeth was therefore now able to aſſiſt the Hugonots in France, who were ſtill perſecuted by the league. The duke of Guiſe, more abſolute than Henry III. had compelled that prince to take up arms againſt them, and alſo againſt the king of Navarre, the preſumptive heir of the crown. Elizabeth furniſhed the latter with large ſums; and, by her aſſiſtance, he had gained a victory over the league at Goutray. He could not, however, maintain his advantage, becauſe the Germans, who were marching to his aſſiſtance, were defeated by the duke of Guiſe. Unforeſeen events, however, changed the face of things in France. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with the admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the king, took up arms againſt him, and Henry was obliged to fly from his capital for ſafety. He, however, diſſembled his reſentment, entered into a negotiation with the league, and loaded Guiſe and his partizans with offices and favours. Deceived by theſe appearances of friendſhip, Guiſe, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to court, and were both aſſaſſinated by the king's orders. This perfidious conduct rendered the league more furious and formidable than ever. The citizens of Paris renounced their allegiance, and were followed by thoſe of many conſiderable places in the kingdom. Henry finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſtorm that was gathering round him, was obliged to have recourſe to the Hugonots for aſſiſtance; he joined the hero whom he had been obliged to treat as an enemy. At the ſame time, he inliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry; and being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, threatening the ſevereſt revenge againſt the inhabitants. But the city was ſaved by the reſolution of Jaques Clement, a Dominican monk. Inflamed by the bloody ſpirit of bigotry which diſtinguiſhed this century, he embraced the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life to ſave the church from the perſecutions of an heretical tyrant. He found means to be admitted into the king's preſence, and plunged a dagger into the breaſt of his ſovereign, who expired on the firſt of Auguſt. The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. aſcended the throne, but found he had a kingdom to conquer, and ſubjects to ſubdue.

Towards the cloſe of this year died the famous Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, one of the moſt able and accompliſhed miniſters that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more diſtinguiſhed by his great abilities than his unſullied virtues. Though he had paſſed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was firſt married to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Eſſex, the great favourite of queen Elizabeth.

A. D. 1590. Elizabeth perceiving that Philip aimed at univerſal monarchy, and that the firſt ſtep towards accompliſhing that alarming deſign was the depoſition of Henry IV. ſhe ſent that prince a body of troops, which did him ſignal ſervice. The famous ſieges of Paris and Rouen, which the duke of Parma had the honour of raiſing, deceived, however, the hopes of the queen. She ſeemed diſſatisfied with the conduct of her ally, and complained of his expoſing the Engliſh too much on every occaſion; a complaint that ſeems not to have been well founded, as it was undoubtedly owing to the valour of thoſe troops, eſpecially to their officers, who, under the command of the young earl of Eſſex, riſqued every thing for glory. But while the Engliſh were gathering laurels in the fields of France, the queen ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England. He was a perſon of great abilities, unſhaken probity, firmly attached to the conſtitutions of his country, and a munificent patron of learning.

A. D. 1591. Deſirous of depriving Philip of part of the treaſure of the Indies, the true ſource of all his power, Elizabeth reſolved to diſtreſs him in that part of the world. Accordingly the lord Thomas Howard was diſpatched, early in the ſpring, to the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, to intercept the galleons in their return to Europe; but the Spaniſh monarch, apprized of her deſign, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five ſail, and ſent them to the Azores, to convoy the India ſhips. Howard, who knew nothing of this ſtrong fleet, eſcaped with difficulty. His little ſquadron was riding at anchor in the harbour of Flores when the Spaniſh fleet appeared. He, however, found means to put to ſea, by which the enemy were diſappointed in their hopes of taking him and his whole diviſion. Sir Richard Grenville, in the Revenge, was not ſo fortunate: he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and all hopes of eſcaping were cut off. In this deſperate ſituation he attempted to break through the Spaniſh fleet, but was diſappointed; and after an engagement of fifteen hours with the whole force of the enemy, he was obliged to ſurrender, but not before he was mortally wounded. The reſt of the ſquadron returned to England, diſappointed, indeed, in their expectations of acquiring part of the riches of the New World, but not in eſſentially diſtreſſing the enemy; for the Plate fleet had been ſo long detained at the Havannah, through fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged to put to ſea at an improper ſeaſon; in conſequence of which, the greater part of them were loſt before they reached the ports of Spain.

A. D. 1592. Though Henry IV. had obtained ſome advantage over the league, the catholics were far from being intimidated: they made the moſt violent efforts againſt their ſovereign, and the cardinal legate publiſhed the pontiff's bull for the election of a popiſh king. They intended to have given the crown to Philip; and the duke of Parma marched a powerful army into France, to over-awe the aſſembly, which the Spaniſh party propoſed to be held at Rheims or Soiſſons. But the duke of Mayenne, ſenſible of the conſequences, ordered the aſſembly to be held at Paris. This, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the plan of the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops out of Normandy, in order to fight the Spaniſh general before he could advance into the heart of the country. What the conſequence would have been, it is impoſſible to ſay; but all the vaſt deſigns of Philip were rendered abortive by the death of the prince of Parma, who paid the debt of nature in the forty-fifth year of his age. Even Elizabeth herſelf is ſaid to have dropped ſome generous expreſſions to the memory of that great man; and, perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accompliſhments. His great merits were ſoon conſpicuous after his death. No other general had authority ſufficient to maintain a proper diſcipline in the Spaniſh troops. The ſoldiers mutinied, and a great number of them deſerted.

Elizabeth, though ſhe aſſiſted Henry, did not lay aſide her favourite ſcheme of humbling the pride of Philip, by cutting off the ſinews of his ſtrength in the Weſt-Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent with a ſquadron of fifteen men of war, either to attack Panama, or intercept the Plate fleet in their return to Europe. No man was ever better adapted to enterprizes of this kind than Sir Walter: his ſchemes were great, but difficult, if not impracticable to any capacity but his own: his learning was not inferior to his knowledge, his conſtancy to his courage, nor his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greateſt undertakings. Having been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he ſailed three months later than he intended; and after paſſing the Land's-End, he learned, that orders had been ſent from Spain to ſtop the return of the Plate fleet to Europe that ſeaſon. This intelligence, together with a violent ſtorm which ſeparated his fleet, obliged him to alter his plan of operations. He ſent one part of his ſquadron, under Sir Martin Forbiſher, to cruize on the coaſt of Spain; and another part under Burroughs, a brave ſea officer, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland was alſo at ſea with three men of war, and had chaſed a galleon into Flores, juſt as Burroughs arrived at that iſland; while the Spaniſh fleet, which was then at ſea, went in ſearch of Forbiſher. Burroughs would have made himſelf maſter of the galleon which had taken ſhelter in Flores, had not a dead calm ſucceeded, and given the Spaniards an opportunity of unloading the treaſure, and ſetting the ſhip on fire. He had, however, the good fortune, ſoon after, to take another galleon, after a deſperate engagement, in which the greater part of the Spaniſh crew, conſiſting of ſix hundred men, were either killed or wounded. The Engliſh gained both riches and honour by this capture. The money publickly known amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to be at leaſt equal in value. But though Elizabeth exerted all her power to recover the riches that had been ſecreted, no diſcovery was made.

A. D. 1593. The expences of theſe expeditions amounted to one million two hundred thouſand pounds; ſo that Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her ſtrict œconomy, could not ſupport ſo heavy an expence without the aſſiſtance of parliament. But however preſſing her wants might be, ſhe ſupported all her haughtineſs towards the parliament. When the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons demanded for the members aſſembled in parliament, perſonal ſecurity, freedom of debate, and acceſs to the throne, ſhe anſwered, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, that their perſons ſhould be ſafe while they abuſed not this privilege; that liberty of ſpeech was granted the commons, but they muſt know in what that liberty conſiſted: it was not a liberty of ſaying what they pleaſed; it extended no farther than Yes or No; and that ſhe would not refuſe them acceſs to her perſon in weighty and important matters, at a convenient ſeaſon, and when the cares of government would permit. At the ſame time, ſhe enjoined the ſpeaker, if he perceived any idle heads ſo negligent of their own ſafety, as to attempt any reformation in the church, or innovation in the commonwealth, to refuſe the bills offered for that purpoſe, till they were examined by ſuch as were better qualified to conſider of thoſe things, and more able to judge of their propriety.

But notwithſtanding the imperious and menacing air of this ſpeech, the puritans were not intimidated. Peter Wentworth ventured to tranſgreſs the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He preſented a petition to the upper houſe, requeſting that they would join with the commons in a ſupplication to her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to entail the ſucceſſion of the crown. Elizabeth was offended at this attempt, however reſpectful and cautious. Wentworth was ſent to the Tower; and Sir William Bromley, who ſeconded the motion, to the Fleet priſon. Even this arbitrary proceeding could not repreſs their farther attempts for freedom. Morrice, attorney of the court of wards, expoſed, in their proper colours, the enormous abuſes of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and made a motion for redreſſing theſe grievances. Exaſperated at the temerity of Morrice, the queen ſent for the ſpeaker, and told him, that ſhe had aſſembled the parliament for two purpoſes only; to maintain the uniformity of the national religion, and to provide for the defence of the kingdom againſt the enormous power of Spain; that their deliberations muſt turn intirely on theſe points; that ſhe had already enjoined them not to meddle either with the affairs of the ſtate or religion; and wondered how any perſon could be ſo aſſuming as to attempt a ſubject ſo expreſsly contrary to her prohibition. Morrice felt the weight of the queen's reſentment: he was ſeized in the houſe by the ſerjeant at arms, diſcharged from his office, diſabled from acting in his profeſſion, and confined ſome years in Tilbury caſtle. So determined was the queen to ſupport her prerogative, and ſo ſtrong was the love of liberty and independence in the puritan party.

A ſevere bill was ſoon after paſſed againſt the nonconformiſts of all perſuaſions. It was enacted, that any perſon above ſixteen years of age, who obſtinately refuſed, during the ſpace of a month, to attend the public ſervice of the church of England, ſhould be committed to priſon; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he perſiſted three months in his refuſal, he muſt abjure the realm; and that if he either refuſed this condition, or returned from his baniſhment, he was to ſuffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy. Both catholics and puritans had reaſon to complain of this law, which, under almoſt any other reign, might have occaſioned a civil war. But the imperious Elizabeth had ſubdued the people, partly by fear, and partly by the eſteem ſhe had gained by her magnanimity. The commons ſeemed intirely paſſive under this haughty treatment; they granted extraordinary ſupplies without the leaſt difficulty.

The king of France, notwithſtanding all his heroic qualities, and the great aſſiſtance he received from the Engliſh, ſoon perceived that arms alone would never make him maſter of his kingdom. He found it impoſſible to triumph over the rage of a party, whom religious zeal had rendered the moſt obſtinate rebels. A conſpiracy was even formed in his own court, for electing ſome catholic prince to fill the throne of France, if Henry any longer delayed to embrace the eſtabliſhed religion. The more ſenſible among the proteſtants perceived the neceſſity of ſatiſfying the catholics. Henry accordingly abjured Calviniſm, either from conviction, or, as it is rather ſuppoſed, from political motives. But however that be, the papiſts triumphed greatly in gaining ſo illuſtrious a proſelyte; and the dreadful diſputes which had for ſo many years deluged France with blood, began to ſubſide. Elizabeth, who was herſelf chiefly attached to the proteſtants by political reaſons, reproached Henry for this intereſted converſion in a very angry letter. Senſible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were ſtill their common enemies, ſhe liſtened to his apologies, and continued her aſſiſtance: ſhe even entered into a new treaty with him, whereby it was ſtipulated, that no peace ſhould be made but with the conſent of both parties.

Philip confined not his intrigues to England only; he endeavoured to excite freſh diſturbances in Scotland; and large ſupplies were promiſed by the governor of the Netherlands, if the catholics would attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from James, and give it to a prince of the Romiſh perſuaſion. The project was, however, principally levelled againſt England; for though the Spaniards promiſed to ſend an army into Scotland, it was only to cover their enterprize againſt Elizabeth, whom they intended to aſſaſſinate; and, during the general conſternation, which they imagined muſt attend her death, they propoſed to invade England, which would then become an eaſy conqueſt. They proceeded ſo far in this deteſtable ſcheme, that ſeveral of their agents were diſcovered and executed. Elizabeth complained loudly of theſe baſe attempts in every court of Europe, and determined to take a noble revenge in the field of battle.

A. D. 1595. While the queen was making preparations for carrying the war into the territories of Spain, ſeveral noble atchievements were performed at ſea by the Engliſh; but the moſt remarkable was an expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a large tract of land in South America, rather poſſeſſed than inhabited by the Spaniards. He had, at his own expence, ſent one Whiddon to view the coaſt, and make all the obſervations in his power. His report confirmed Raleigh in his reſolution of endeavouring to wreſt that extenſive country out of the hands of the Spaniards. His undertaking was ſo generally applauded, that both the treaſurer and admiral of England contributed to the expences of fitting out a fleet for carrying the deſign into execution. Accordingly, on the ſixth of February, Sir Walter ſailed from Plymouth; and on the twenty-ſecond of March, took the city of St. Joſeph, in the iſland of Trinidada, and made Boreo, the Spaniſh governor, priſoner. Having procured all the information poſſible with regard to the ſtrength and riches of Guiana, Raleigh manned his long-boats with about a hundred men, and proceeded above four hundred miles up the river Oroonoko; but met with ſo many difficulties from the navigation and the heat of the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages ſo brave and dangerous an undertaking deſerved. It is certain, however, that he made great diſcoveries; and though we have no authentic account of the riches he acquired in this undertaking, there is ſufficient reaſon to believe they were very conſiderable. He was received with the higheſt applauſe on his return, and a very pompous account of his voyage was publiſhed.

A. D. 1596. The neceſſary preparations being made for carrying the war into the very heart of Spain, a powerful fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and ninety veſſels, having on board ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen, ſailed from Plymouth on the firſt of June. The fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, and the land forces by the earl of Eſſex. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and formed a council to the admiral and general.

Every precaution was taken to render the expedition ſucceſsful. The general rendezvous was appointed at Cadiz, and armed tenders were diſpatched before the fleet, to intercept every ſhip that could carry any intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned that the harbour was full of merchant ſhips of great value; and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without the leaſt apprehenſions of a viſit from an enemy. This intelligence greatly encouraged the Engliſh, and promiſed a fortunate iſſue to the enterprize.

Sir Walter Raleigh propoſed to attack the ſhips and veſſels in the bay; and was ſtrongly ſeconded by the young earl of Eſſex, who burnt with an eager deſire of ſignalizing his courage on this important occaſion. The motion was agreed to; and it was determined that Raleigh ſhould lead the attack in the Warſpite, and be ſeconded by Sir George Carew in the Mary Roſe, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion, Sir Francis Vere in the Rainbow, vice-admiral Croſs in the Swiftſure, Sir Coniers Clifford in the Dreadnought, and the lord Thomas Howard in the Nonpareil.

The Spaniards, in order, if poſſible, to render the attempt of the Engliſh abortive, ranged their gallies under the walls of the city, ſo as to flank the Engliſh ſhips as they paſſed: ſome culverins were planted to ſecure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery, both of Fort St. Philip and the curtain of the fortification, were brought to bear on the Engliſh fleet. Beſides theſe, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons, which were covered by Fort Puntal, ſituated in the middle of the harbour.

At break of day Sir Walter, at the head of the Engliſh van, advanced to the attack, and received the fire from Fort St. Philip, the curtain, and ſeventeen gallies; but he anſwered only by a flouriſh of his trumpets, purſuing his courſe with amazing intrepidity, in order to encourage the ſhips that followed him, and reſerve his fire for the body of the enemy. After a long and moſt deſperate engagement, Sir Walter prepared to board the Spaniſh admiral, a ſhip of fifteen hundred tons; but the Spaniards perceiving his intention, ran her on ſhore, and ſet her on fire. Three other galleons followed the example of their admiral, but two of them were ſaved, and brought away by the Engliſh boats.

During this engagement, the earl of Eſſex, with five hundred men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Five hundred Spaniards advanced about four hundred paces from the city to meet him; but were ſtruck with a panic, retired into the city with the utmoſt precipitation, and were cloſely followed by the Engliſh. Cadiz was now in the utmoſt conſternation; and before any meaſures could be taken for making a proper defence, the Engliſh had forced the gate, and were ſoon in poſſeſſion of the market-place. The garriſon and inhabitants retired to the caſtle and town-houſe, but ſoon offered to capitulate; and it was agreed that their lives ſhould be ſaved on their paying ſeventy thouſand ducats. A prodigious quantity of ſilver was found in the place, and ſent immediately on board the Engliſh fleet.

While Eſſex was employed in the reduction of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to burn the merchant-ſhips at Port Real. The Spaniards offered to pay two millions of ducats for their ranſom; but Raleigh rejected the offer, ſaying, that he came to deſtroy, and not to ranſom the ſhips of the enemy. The Spaniards, however, found means to unload ſome of their ſhips, and ſet fire to others, in order to deprive the Engliſh of their riches. Beſides the merchant-ſhips, two galleons, thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, were taken by the Engliſh; beſides which, they deſtroyed a prodigious quantity of military and naval ſtores prepared for an intended expedition againſt England. The whole loſs was eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats.

No Engliſhman of note periſhed in this memorable conqueſt, ſo glorious to the Engliſh and fatal to the Spaniards, except Sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the city; and the victory was obtained with the loſs of two hundred men only. Beſides the vaſt riches loſt by the Spaniards, and the ruin of their trade to the New World for that year, they were obliged to ſubmit to the mortifying conditions of ſeeing one of their principal ſea-ports in the hands of an enemy whom they hoped to conquer.

This ſucceſs was regarded by Eſſex only as a ſtep to farther conqueſts. He inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion

ſeſſion of Cadiz, and undertook, with four hundred men and three months proviſions, to defend the place againſt all the attempts of the enemy, till ſuccours could arrive from England. But this offer was rejected; nor were his ſchemes for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, aſſaulting the Groyne, or taking St. Andero and St. Sebaſtian, accepted. All the other ſeamen and ſoldiers, ſatisfied with the honour they had acquired, were impatient to return home in order to ſecure their plunder. Eſſex complained of their want of ſpirit in this enterprize, and the queen herſelf was not pleaſed at their return without attempting to intercept the India fleet: but the great ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt Cadiz covered all their miſcarriages. Effingham was created earl of Nottingham, a promotion which gave great offence to Eſſex, becauſe it was ſaid, in the preamble to his patent, that this dignity was conferred upon him for his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, a merit which Eſſex inſiſted belonged principally to himſelf; and even offered to maintain his claim by ſingle combat, againſt Nottingham, his ſon, or any of his family.

A. D. 1597. Exaſperated by the loſſes he had ſuſtained by the taking of Cadiz, Philip determined to make another effort for the conqueſt of England. He accordingly aſſembled a formidable fleet early in the ſpring, at a time when Elizabeth thought him abſolutely diſabled from executing any ſcheme of revenge. His fleet rendezvouſed at Ferrol, and having taken on board the land forces deſtined for the expedition, ſteered directly for England; but before they reached the channel, a violent ſtorm diſperſed the fleet, and rendered the attempt abortive for that year. In revenge for this attempt Elizabeth determined to attack Tercera, the principal iſland of the Azores; and, if poſſible, intercept the Spaniſh flota, in their return from the Weſt Indies. A large armament, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty-two ſhips, was accordingly fitted out with the utmoſt expedition, and ſix thouſand land forces were embarked. The command of the whole expedition was given to Eſſex, together with one of the diviſions of the fleet; the ſecond diviſion was commanded by lord Thomas Howard, and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh: lord Montjoy, was appointed lieutenant-general under Eſſex; and Sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance. The principal volunteers were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich.

The deſtination of the fleet, which ſailed on the ninth of July, was firſt againſt Ferrol and the Groyne, in order, if poſſible, to ſuprize the Spaniſh fleet in theſe harbours; and afterwards againſt the Azores. But contrary winds, ſtorms, and a fatal quarrel between the earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh, broke theſe meaſures, and the fleet returned to England about the end of October, without having performed any memorable action.

The war with Spain though ſucceſsful, exhauſted the queen's treaſure, and ſhe was obliged to call a parliament to obtain ſupplies. Theſe were readily granted; but the commons, notwithſtanding their former attempts miſcarried, ventured to preſent a petition to the queen againſt the abuſe of monopolies. Her anſwer was conceived in general terms, without promiſing to redreſs the evil. But on diſmiſſing the parliament ſhe told them, in her ſpeech from the throne, "That with regard to excluſive patents, ſhe hoped her loving and faithful ſubjects would not take away her prerogative, the chief flower in her garden, and the principal pearl in her diadem; but that they would rather leave theſe things to her diſpoſal." It was hardly to be expected, that the liberties of the people of England could gain ground under a government ſupported with ſo much vigour and ability.

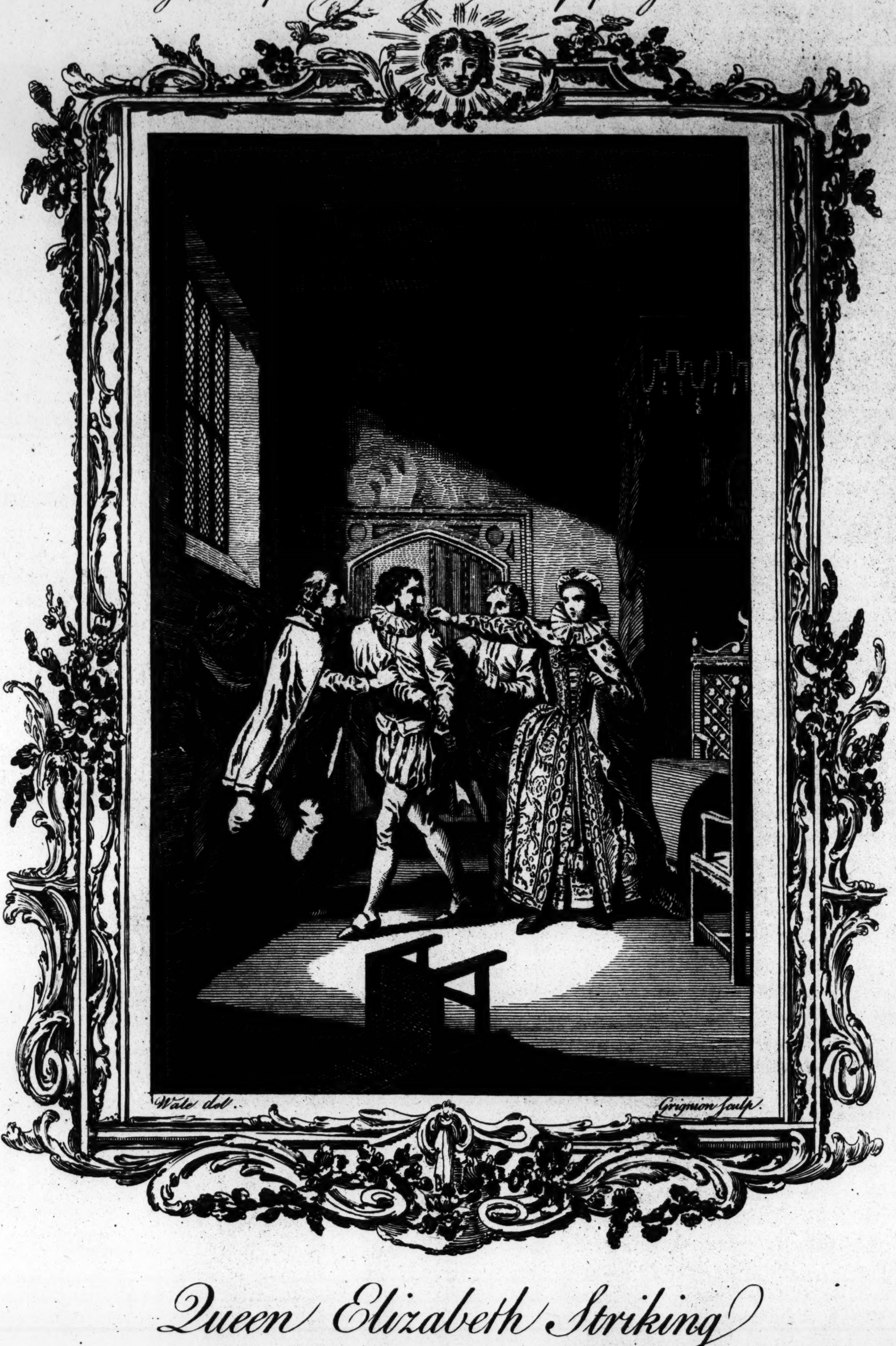
A. D. 1598. France was now reduced to the moſt deplorable ſituation. Torn in pieces by diſcord, fanataciſm, and civil wars, a peace became in ſome meaſure neceſſary for Henry, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the happineſs of his people. He communicated to his allies the propoſals of the court of Spain, and ſignified his deſire of concluding a general treaty of peace. Elizabeth and the States-general were alarmed at this deſign, and ſent ambaſſadors to oppoſe the pacific ſentiments of the French monarch. He ſhewed them at once the ſolidity of his reaſons and the rectitude of his views; and as Philip would not treat with the Hollanders upon the condition of acknowledging them a free people, nor Elizabeth negotiate without their concurrence, he concluded, at Vervins, a ſeparate peace; whereby he recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured himſelf leiſure to attend the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom. Some of the chiefs of the Engliſh miniſtry, particularly lord Burleigh, who beſt merited the queen's confidence, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; but all his reaſons were urged in vain. That ſpirited princeſs, at other times ſo attentive to the prevention, now liſtened not to the ears of adverſe fortune. She no longer dreaded the attempts of the Spaniards; the armada's of Philip had loſt their terror. Animated with the hopes of ſharing in the riches of America, and deeply intereſted in the fate of the new republic, ſhe prefered an honourable war to the advantages of a peace, which muſt have entailed miſery and ſlavery upon Holland. The earl of Eſſex encouraged her in theſe ſentiments. He repreſented to her, that the defence of the Hollanders was the original cauſe of the war; and that it was at once unſafe and diſhonourable to abandon the cauſe ſhe had undertaken to defend, till ſhe had placed them in a ſtate of greater ſecurity, and procured them that liberty for which they had ſo long and ſo nobly contended.

The arguments of Eſſex, whoſe perſon was very agreeable to the queen, prevailed: the favourite ſeemed daily to gain the aſcendant over the miniſter. That nobleman was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his underſtanding than by his birth and figure. He was bold, generous, ſincere, a firm friend, active, and paſſionately fond of glory; but carried away by his paſſions, and incapable of ſubmitting to the rein of prudence. Theſe paſſions at laſt proved his deſtruction. The Hollanders conſidered Elizabeth as their guardian angel, and readily ſubmitted to any terms ſhe pleaſed to require. The debt they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thouſand pounds; of which ſum they agreed to pay thirty thouſand pounds a year during the continuance of the war, and theſe payments were to be continued till they had paid four hundred thouſand pounds. They alſo agreed to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns while England continued the war with Spain; and that if Philip ſhould attempt an invaſion of England, to aſſiſt the queen with a body of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe.

This treaty was ratified on the eighth of Auguſt, and ſoon after Philip II. of Spain expired at Madrid, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. The ſatisfaction of Elizabeth at this event was greatly leſſened by the loſs of lord Burleigh, her zealous and faithful counſellor. That truly great man had long and earneſtly requeſted his miſtreſs to grant him ſome moments of interval between buſineſs and the grave; but he aſked in vain. He continued immerſed in all the fatigues of office till death, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, gave him that repoſe which was denied him by Elizabeth. Lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many miniſters have lived with leſs envy, none ever died with greater reputation. He was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to buſineſs; he had been regarded as the chief miniſter near forty years, and his death, by a rare inſtance of fortune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and the people.

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Queen Elizabeth Striking*
*the* **EARL** *of* **ESSEX.**

Nothing but his own imprudence could now have ſhaken the credit of Eſſex; but his lofty ſpirit could ill ſubmit to that implicit deference which Elizabeth's temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Diſputing, one day, on ſome affair with the queen, he carried matters ſo high, as to turn his back upon her with an air of contempt. Elizabeth's anger, which was naturally prompt and violent, roſe on this provocation, and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear. The paſſion of Eſſex was too violent to be reſtrained. He laid his hand upon his ſword. and ſwore that he would not have taken ſo groſs an affront from her father Henry himſelf. The admiral and vice-chamberlain interpoſed between the ſovereign and the ſubject, and prevented any farther conſequences at that time; but Eſſex left the court, with a ſeeming reſolution never more to return. His friend Egerton, the chancellor, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion by proper acknowledgments, to acknowledge his faults, and conſider his duty and his fortune. He conjured him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country. Eſſex anſwered, in a letter full of reſentment, and which breathed all the violence of his haughty ſoul; but was, at the ſame time, ſo ſpirited, that it would be injuſtice not to lay it before the reader. “My very good lord, Though there is not that man this day living whom I would ſooner make the judge of any queſtion that might concern me, than yourſelf, yet you muſt give me leave to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeal from all earthly judges; and if in any, then ſurely in this, when the higheſt judge on earth has impoſed on me the higheſt puniſhment, without trial or hearing. Since then I muſt either anſwer your lordſhip's argument, or abandon my own defence, I will force my aching head to do me ſervice for an hour. I muſt firſt deny my diſcontent, which was forced, to be an humorous diſcontent; and that it was unſeaſonable, or has ſo long continued, that your lordſhip ſhould rather condole than expoſtulate with me. Natural ſeaſons are expected here below, but violent and unſeaſonable ſtorms come from above. There is no tempeſt equal to the paſſionate indignation of a prince; nor at any time ſo unſeaſonable, as when it lighteth on thoſe that might expect a harveſt of their lawful and painful labours. He that is once wounded, muſt needs feel the ſmart till the hurt is cured, or the part become ſenſeleſs: but cure I expect none, her majeſty's heart being obdurate againſt me; and ſenſeleſs I cannot be, becauſe formed of fleſh and blood. But you ſay, I may aim at the end: I do more than aim; I ſee an end to all my fortune; I have put a period to all my deſires. In this courſe do I any thing more for my enemies? When I was at court, I found them abſolute; and therefore I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love; and now I am a hermit, they ſhall bear no envy for their love of me. Or do I forſake myſelf, becauſe I enjoy myſelf? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruin my honour, becauſe I leave following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe badge or mark of the ſhadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, becauſe I reſerve myſelf to encounter with him? Or becauſe I keep my heart from buſineſs, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord, I give every one of theſe conſiderations its due weight; and the more I weigh them, the more I find myſelf juſtified from offending in any of them. As for the two laſt objections, that I forſake my country when it has moſt need of me, and fail in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my ſovereign; I anſwer, that if my country had, at this time, any need of my public ſervice, her majeſty, who governs it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one public, to diſcharge carefully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to me; the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and body, which have been nouriſhed in it. I am freed from the firſt, by being diſmiſſed, diſcharged, and diſabled, by her majeſty; from the other nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occaſion of my performance ſhall ſooner offer itſelf, but I ſhall meet it half way. The indiſſoluble duty which I owe to her majeſty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have, nor ever can fail in: the duty of attendance is no indiſſoluble duty. I owe her the duty of an earl and lord-marſhal of England. I have been content to do her majeſty the ſervice of a clerk, but I can never ſerve her as a villain or ſlave. But yet you ſay I muſt give way to the times: ſo I do; for now I ſee the ſtorm approaching, I have put myſelf into the harbour. Seneca ſays, we muſt give way to fortune: I know that fortune is both blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as far as poſſible out of her way. You ſay the remedy is not to ſtrive: I neither ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy. But you ſay, I muſt yield and ſubmit: I can neither yield myſelf to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid upon me to be juſt. I owe ſo much to the Author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be falſhood, nor falſhood to be truth. Have I given cauſe, you aſk, and yet take ſcandal when I have done? No, I gave no cauſe, not ſo much as Fimbria's complaint againſt me, for I received the whole ſword into my body. I patiently bear all, and ſenſibly feel all that I then received, when this ſcandal was given me. Nay more, when the vileſt of all indignities is done me, does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit of princes, ſhew no ſenſe of princes' injuries: let them acknowledge an abſoluteneſs on earth, that do not believe an abſolute infiniteneſs in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it: my cauſe is good, I know it; and whatever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering every thing that can or ſhall be impoſed upon me. Your lordſhip, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourſelf a looker-on; and me a player of my own game, ſo you may ſee more than I. But give me leave to tell you, that ſince you only ſee, and I am alone the ſufferer, I muſt, of neceſſity, feel more than you.”

The friends of Eſſex imprudently ſhewed this ſpirited letter; but notwithſtanding this additional affront, the queen's partiality for that young nobleman was ſo ſtrong, that ſhe forgot every provocation. He ſoon became the only confidant of Elizabeth, and the ſole director of the affairs of the kingdom. But few are capable of enjoying the height of proſperity; it darkens the eye of wiſdom, and becomes the precipice of deſtruction to folly. Eſſex was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the queen's favour, than he abuſed it. The troubles which ſtill ſubſiſted in Ireland opened a new ſcene for his ambition, and he raſhly engaged in an undertaking which terminated in crimes and misfortunes.

The ſtrict œconomy of the queen had hitherto prevented her from keeping a ſufficient force in Ireland to ſubdue the rebels; and the policy of legiſlation, the only means of forming conquered ſavages into uſeful ſubjects, had been entirely neglected.

They were treated rather like wild beaſts than men; and the Iriſh, in return, thought nothing ſo glorious as that of ſhaking off the yoke of the Engliſh. Their firm attachment to the church of Rome heightened their averſion to their proteſtant oppreſſors; while their bogs and inacceſſible woods afforded them retreats, and formed ramparts impenetrable to the enemy.

Hugh O'Neill, whom the queen had created earl of Tyrone, and whoſe treachery was equal to his ferocious valour, excited a great rebellion; and having received aſſiſtance from the king of Spain, gained advantages conſiderable enough to make the court of London very uneaſy. He had already aſſumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Iriſh liberty. It was therefore determined to proſecute the war with vigour, and ſubdue the rebels by extraordinary efforts. The queen caſt her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto leſs accuſtomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed with talents that would ſufficiently atone for his want of experience. Jealous of every occaſion that offered for diſtinguiſhing himſelf, Eſſex repreſented, that this expedition required a man of birth, experience and reputation, much ſuperior to thoſe of Mountjoy, and at laſt procured the appointment for himſelf. Had he liſtened to the advice of his enemies, he could not have engaged in a more fatal uudertaking. But Eſſex was incapable of caution; he imagined that every difficulty would give way before him; and that his preſence, at the head of a numerous army, would be ſufficient to huſh the ferocious Iriſh into peace. The queen's preparations were equal to the tenderneſs ſhe cheriſhed for her favourite, and her deſire of ſubduing the flagitious rebels. She raiſed an army of twenty thouſand men, a force conſidered as abundantly ſufficient for finiſhing the war in a ſingle campaign. Eſſex was created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and furniſhed with a commiſſion more ample than any that had hitherto been granted. He was empowered either to continue or finiſh the war; to pardon the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; an authority never granted to any of his predeceſſors.

A. D. 1599. Eſſex ſet out for his government about the middle of March, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an affection to his perſon, had attached themſelves to his fortunes; and attended by the acclamations of the populace, by whom he was greatly beloved. The firſt act of his authority in Ireland was an indiſcretion, though of the generous kind. He appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe, though the queen had enjoined him not to employ that nobleman; and even repeated orders were hardly ſufficient to induce him to revoke the commiſſion. Any other man would have fallen a victim to ſuch temerity. The reſt of his conduct was conformable to this beginning. Inſtead of leading his powerful army into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, and putting an end to the rebellion, by reducing the chief, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the Iriſh council to march into Munſter, ſituated at the other extremity of the kingdom. He indeed reduced the rebels to ſubmiſſion, but he loſt a very conſiderable part of his army in the attempt; and had no ſooner left the country, than they again revolted. By this time the ſeaſon was conſiderably advanced, his army ſickly, and greatly reduced in their numbers; ſo that he was obliged to requeſt a reinforcement of two thouſand men, in order to enable him to march againſt Tyrone. The troops were immediately ſent by Elizabeth, and Eſſex at laſt advanced into Ulſter againſt the chief of the rebels. Tyrone, though at the head of an army greatly ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, wiſely avoided a deciſive action, and propoſed a conference with Eſſex, in order, as he pretended, to put a ſtop to the flames of civil diſcord, which had ſo long waſted Ireland. The offer was accepted, and the two generals met without any of their attendants. Tyrone behaved, during the conference, with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and a ceſſation of arms was concluded till the firſt of May. By this treaty the expenſive expedition of Eſſex was rendered abortive, and affairs continued on the ſame footing as before. The queen did not fail to let him know that ſhe was highly diſſatisfied with his conduct, but commanded him to continue in Ireland till farther orders.

The haughty Eſſex was now ſufficiently alarmed. Perſuaded, that if he continued any longer at a diſtance from the court, he ſhould loſe all his influence with the queen, while his enemies enjoyed the malignant ſatisfaction of triumphing in his fall, he determined to diſobey the orders of Elizabeth. He accordingly left Ireland, and arrived at London before any one was the leaſt apprized of his intentions. He immediately repaired to court, and preſented himſelf before the queen, covered with duſt and ſweat. Whether Elizabeth's tenderneſs awaked at the ſight of her favourite, or whether ſurprize prevented her from attending to proprieties, ſhe gave him a very kind and flattering reception; and, on his departure, he was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many troubles and ſtorms abroad, he had found at home a ſweet and pleaſing calm.

But this placid interval was deceitful. Like the momentary ceſſations in a ſtorm, the tempeſt returned with all its force. Eſſex ſoon learned how much his preſumption and his faults had weakened his influence over Elizabeth's heart, which was leſs tender than haughty. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined before the privy council. His anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, but not ſufficient to ſatisfy Elizabeth: ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper; and none of his friends, not even his counteſs, were permitted to viſit him. This diſgrace ſeemed to humble his pride; he dropped many expreſſions of humiliation and ſorrow, none of reſentment. He fell ſick, and his life was thought to be in danger. The queen appeared greatly intereſted in his recovery: ſhe ſent him a meſſage by Dr. James, that if ſhe thought ſuch a ſtep conſiſtent with her honour, ſhe would herſelf pay him a viſit. This proof of her tenderneſs had the moſt ſalutary effect, and the favourite nobleman ſoon recovered his health.

The departure of Eſſex from Ireland revived the courage of Tyrone. The Engliſh army, now without a leader, was not ſufficient to ſtop his progreſs: he reduced the whole province of Ulſter to obedience; and being encouraged by a bull ſent from pope Clement VII. granting him and his adherents the ſame indulgences as thoſe who fought againſt the Turks in the recovery of the Holy Land, he flattered himſelf with being ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom. He was alſo promiſed a ſupply of men and money from Spain; and having received a conſecrated plume from the pope, he called himſelf the champion of the catholic religion.

A. D. 1600. Alarmed at the progreſs of the rebels, the queen ſent lord Mountjoy into Ireland. The whole iſland, at his arrival, was in a very deſperate ſituation; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was not diſcouraged. He advanced immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, and ſoon penetrated into the heart of that county, the principal ſeat of the rebels. He drove them from the open fields, and obliged them to take refuge in their bogs and foreſts. Sir George Carew had equal ſucceſs in Munſter, and the queen's authority was once more eſtabliſhed in Ireland. The ſucceſs of Mountjoy rendered the conduct of Eſſex leſs excuſable at court, though his popularity increaſed with his misfortunes. The miniſtry was accuſed of malice, and the queen herſelf of injuſtice. Alarmed at the prejudices of the people, Elizabeth determined to bring Eſſex to an open trial before the privy council. Coke, the attorney general, opened the cauſe againſt him, and treated him with the cruelty and inſolence which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed on the unfortunate. Eſſex made no defence; he declared he would never have any conteſt with his ſovereign, and that he ſhould readily ſubmit to any judgment they might think proper to pronounce againſt him. The chancellor's ſentence, on this occaſion, is remarkable. "If the earl of Eſſex (ſaid he) had been tried in the ſtar-chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual impriſonment in the Tower; but ſince we are now in another place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl-marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe this, and all the reſt of his ſentence." The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon was ordered by the queen to draw up a narrative of the whole proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the nation that ſhe had acted with the utmoſt lenity. Bacon, who was firmly attached to Eſſex, gave the whole tranſaction a very favourable turn for his patron: he painted, in the moſt elaborate expreſſions, the dutiful ſubmiſſion made by that nobleman before the council. The queen, when Bacon read the paſſage to her, could not forbear ſmiling; and obſerved, that old love could not eaſily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped her majeſty meant it of herſelf.

Eſſex received his chaſtiſement with ſo much humility, that the queen, perſuaded that it was ſincere, gave him proofs that ſhe had not entirely withdrawn her countenance from him. She gave orders that his ſentence ſhould not be recorded, and reſtored him to his full liberty; but at the ſame time adviſed him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and ordered him not to appear at court. Eſſex immediately prepared for his departure into the country; but before he ſet out, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hands, and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he never could recover his uſual chearfulneſs till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment; and that, in the mean time, he would retire into a country ſolitude, and labour aſſiduouſly to atone for his former offences. Pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, the queen replied, that ſhe wiſhed his actions might be conformable to his expreſſions; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience, ſhe would take ſome time to try his ſincerity. She added, "That if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry."

A. D. 1601. Happy had it been for Eſſex, could he have conformed to that ſubmiſſion he knew ſo well how to deſcribe; but his reſtleſs paſſions were too powerful to be guided by the rein of prudence. Tho' bleſſed with the ſociety of an amiable and ſenſible wife, with whom he peruſed the writings of the ancients, ſo capable of healing the diſeaſes of the mind by leſſons equally ſolid and agreeable, he could not eſcape the illuſions of ambition; he cheriſhed a paſſion that preyed upon his repoſe. Elizabeth reflected not, that this haughty ſpirit, when driven to extremities, was capable of trampling under foot every ſpecies of duty, as well as the laws of his country. By puſhing her precautions too far, ſhe inflamed his reſentment. He loſt all hopes of her favour, forgot her former kindneſſes, and flew to revenge. He imprudently followed the intereſted counſels of ſome needy friends who lived upon his bounty, and determined to have recourſe to violent meaſures. To increaſe the number of his partizans, he paid his court to the catholics, and ſecretly ſollicited the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance. He acquainted him, "that whatever appearances the Engliſh court affected, a reſolution was formed to place the Infanta of Spain on the throne of England; that to facilitate this deſign, all places of power, all poſts of importance, were in the hands of thoſe who were ſworn enemies to the Stuart family; the lord high-admiral had the command of the navy and army; Buckhurſt was at the head of the treaſury; Cobham was warden of the cinque ports; Cecil lord-lieutenant of the north; Raleigh governor of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; and Carew preſident of Munſter; places very favourable for landing the Infanta." He added, "that the queen's underſtanding was ſo greatly impaired, that ſhe was incapable of acting for herſelf, and was entirely guided by her miniſters; that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for him to act openly againſt this conſpiracy, by ſending ambaſſadors immediately to the Engliſh court, to demand a public declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, all creatures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and council."

But Eſſex placed his chief dependence for ſupport on the puritans, whoſe manners he now entirely adopted. The moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect reſorted to his houſe, which now became a kind of pulpit, where the fervours of fanaticiſm conſtantly diſcharged themſelves. The genius of the age was ſo entirely devoted to theſe rhapſodies, that the language of the reformation had more attractions for the people than pleaſure itſelf: nothing more effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public than theſe religious entertainments. The ambitious Eſſex ſpared not the queen in his diſcourſes; he repreſented her as an old woman, whoſe temper was as crooked as her perſon. Elizabeth was informed of theſe liberties, which highly incenſed her againſt him. He could not have attacked her in a more tender part. Elizabeth was always fond of flattery, and loved to be complimented on her beauty; nor could either her own good ſenſe, or old age itſelf, cure her of this prepoſterous infirmity.

Eſſex had now formed a ſelect council of malecontents, conſiſting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John Littleton of Frankel. The reſt of his friends, according to a liſt he produced at Drury-houſe, the uſual place of their meeting, conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of the firſt noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Here all their plans were laid, and all their reſolutions formed. Among other criminal projects debated in this aſſembly, was that of the moſt proper method of taking up arms; and it was at laſt agreed, that the firſt attack ſhould be made upon the palace; that Sir Chriſtopher Blount, at the head of a choice detachment, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the gates; that Davis ſhould ſeize the hall; Danvers the guard and preſence-chamber; and that Eſſex, attended by a ſelect number of his partizans, ſhould ruſh in from the Meuſe, oblige the queen to remove his enemies, aſſemble a parliament, and ſettle a new plan of government.

Elizabeth was informed of all theſe reſolutions, and took the neceſſary precautions to render them abortive. Eſſex never doubted but the citizens of London, by whom he was greatly beloved, would take up arms at the firſt ſignal. He was, however, miſtaken. The court had taken meaſures to prevent it; and when he appeared in the city, accompanied with about two hundred men, he found that his ſeditious exhortations had no effect. They gazed at him as he paſſed along the ſtreets, but none took up arms in his defence. Diſappointed of aſſiſtance, he returned to his own houſe, which was ſoon ſurrouuded by a detachment of the guards commanded by the admiral. He at firſt determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and periſh like a ſoldier with the ſword in his hand, rather than by the axe of a baſe executioner. But he ſoon after abandoned this reſolution; and, notwithſtanding all his bravery, ſubmitted at diſcretion.

Elizabeth, who had behaved on this occaſion with the greateſt tranquillity and preſence of mind, ſoon gave orders for trying the moſt conſiderable of the priſoners. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned on the nineteenth of February. The trial was ſoon finiſhed; the crime was notorious. Far from making any defence, Eſſex gave himſelf up entirely to the ſentiments of religion, which he had before politically affected, and not only acknowledged himſelf guilty, but alſo impeached his friends; a circumſtance, which at other times, he would have conſidered as the moſt infamous baſeneſs. The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon, is reproached with having pleaded on the trial againſt Eſſex his friend and benefactor, without being obliged to it by any office. Blemiſhes appear in the characters of the greateſt men; Bacon was at this time ambitious of making his fortune.

It now remained with Elizabeth to pardon or execute her favourite nobleman, and ſhe long balanced between juſtice and clemency. She felt all the force of an ill-extinguiſhed paſſion, and if the earl had ſollicited her pardon, love would certainly have granted it. She conſidered this obſtinacy as the conſequence of contempt, and ſigned the warrant for his execution. He ſuffered in the court-yard of the Tower, purſuant to his own requeſt, on the twenty-fifth of February. His behaviour in his laſt moments were conformable to his condition, penitent and reſigned. He reflected not on his enemies, but prayed for the life of the queen and the proſperity of his country.

Thus fell Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He was deſcended from a royal lineage on the female ſide, and endowed with ſuperior talents and heroic qualities. He was generous, liberal, and humane, a patron of learning, in which he himſelf held a conſiderable rank, a warm friend and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuoſity of temper which he could not reſtrain. He ruined himſelf for want of knowing how to enjoy good fortune with moderation. The people, by which he was too much beloved, were irritated by his death; and the queen, who was accuſed of cruelty, no longer heard the uſual acclamations when ſhe appeared in public.

Henry IV. of France, deſirous of forming a cloſe connection with Elizabeth, in order to eſtabliſh a plan for effecting a perpetual balance of power in Europe, made a journey to Calais; and Elizabeth, in hopes of having a perſonal interview with a prince ſhe ſo highly eſteemed, repaired to Dover. Some conſiderations, however, prevented their meeting; but the queen expreſſing a deſire of conferring on ſome buſineſs of importance with a miniſter in whom an entire confidence might be placed, Henry ſent over Roſny, afterwards duke of Sully. What appears very extraordinary is, that both theſe princes, without communicating their ſentiments to each other, had conceived the ſame deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and eſtabliſhing a juſt equilibrium between the powers of Europe. It principally conſiſted in uniting the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, into one republic. But the wounds which France had received during the civil wars were not yet healed; the attention of Henry was ſtill neceſſary to recover the languiſhing ſtate of his country. The execution of this deſign therefore was put off, and never after reſumed.

The death of Philip II. did not put a period to the deſigns of the Spaniards for diſturbing the peace of Elizabeth. The ſame councils ſtill continued, and the ſame meaſures continued to be purſued. The preparations for an expedition againſt Ireland had been for ſome time finiſhed, but ſuſpended on account of the troubles that broke out in Spain. Theſe having now ſubſided, Don John d'Aquila was ſent at the head of a body of troops into that kingdom, and made religion a pretence for the enterprizes of ambition and rebellion. He aſſumed the title of "General of the Holy war, for the preſervation of the faith in Ireland." Care had been taken to authorize theſe meaſures by bulls from Rome; and d'Aquila endeavoured to perſuade the people, that a queen deprived of her authority by the pope, had no longer any right to the crown; that her ſubjects, abſolved from their oaths of allegiance by the holy father, ought to take up arms againſt her, and drive her from a throne of which ſhe ought to be conſidered as an uſurper. He added, that the ſole intention of his coming was to aſſiſt them in that religious undertaking, and to deliver them from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and exerted all his abilities to break its force. The Iriſh ſhewed every where ſigns of a general inſurrection, and the utmoſt vigour was neceſſary to prevent it. He immediately laid ſiege to Kinſale, which the Spaniards had taken immediately after their landing; but he had hardly began his operations before he received intelligence, that another body of two thouſand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo were landed, and had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimore and Berehaven. He found himſelf therefore obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. Tyrone immediately advanced to the relief of Kinſale; but Mountjoy, having received information of his deſign, advanced to meet him at the head of part of his army, totally defeated the rebels, and took ſeveral of them priſoners. Tyrone himſelf eſcaped into Ulſter, but was utterly incapable of giving the Engliſh any farther diſturbance. The Spaniſh general now perceived that all reſiſtance would be in vain, and immediarely offered to ſurrender all the places held by the Spaniards in Ireland, and evacuate the kingdom. The conditions were accepted, and the Spaniards embarked for their own country. This defeat ſtruck the rebels with terror. They ſaw the foreign forces on whom they ſo greatly depended, incapable of giving them any ſupport, and deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the Engliſh.

But notwithſtanding Mountjoy's ſucceſs, the war in Ireland was very burdenſome to the queen, and ſhe was obliged to call a parliament in order to obtain ſupplies. No oppoſition was made to the requeſt of her majeſty; but the commons revived the great queſtion with regard to monopolies, ſo deſtructive to trade and burdenſome to the people. The ſmall revenues of the crown being inſufficient for the queen to confer favours or rewards on thoſe that had ſerved her faithfully, ſhe ſupplied the defect by laviſhing excluſive privileges; and thoſe who were provided ſold them to others. In conſequence of theſe monopolies, almoſt every kind of merchandize was advanced at the pleaſure of individuals; and that liberty which conſtitutes the very ſoul of commerce was no longer known. The effects were viſible by a continual decline of trade; and the nation felt all the vexatious effects of avarice, ſupported by the royal authority. Nor was the abuſe confined to the greater objects of commerce, it extended even to the common neceſſaries of life; ſalt, oil, vinegar, paper, cloths, iron, lead, ſkins, bottles, bruſhes, and many other articles; when this aſtoniſhing liſt was read in the houſe of commons, one of the members aſked, with great vivacity, "Is not bread among the number?" And obſerving that the houſe ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the queſtion, "Yes, bread! added he, if things continue on the ſame footing, we ſhall ſee that monopolized before the next parliament." But it appeared uſeleſs to complain, as abſolute authority was then conſidered as the baſis of the Engliſh government. The courtiers, accordingly, ſupported that tenet with all their eloquence. Bacon aſſerted that the royal prerogative ought neither to be conteſted nor examined; that it gave the ſovereign the power of extending what was reſtrained by the laws, and of reſtraining what the laws had made free and open. Another obſerved, that it would be a frivolous attempt to bind up the queen's hands by act of parliament; becauſe ſhe was poſſeſſed of an unlimited diſpenſing power, and conſequently could extricate herſelf

ſelf whenever ſhe pleaſed; and even if the ſtatute ſhould contain a clauſe excluſive of that power, ſhe could equally diſpenſe with that clauſe, and conſequently with the ſtatute itſelf. One of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the Deity had given to princes the power that belonged to himſelf; and attempted to prove his aſſertion from a paſſage in the Pſalms, "I have ſaid that ye are Gods." But notwithſtanding theſe ſtrange poſitions of the courtiers, many of the members ſtrongly oppoſed this alarming abuſe; and the laſt parliament having preſented a petition to the throne without effect, they propoſed to paſs a bill againſt all monopolies whatever. The queen perceived this reſolution, and wiſely avoided the blow. She was unwilling to refuſe the royal aſſent to a bill, that however it might leſſen the prerogative of the crown, could not fail of being very advantageous to her people. She therefore ſent for the ſpeaker, and ordered him to acquaint the houſe, that ſhe would immediately ſuppreſs all ſuch excluſive grants as were moſt burdenſome to her ſubjects.

Struck with aſtoniſhment at the goodneſs and condeſcenſion of the queen, the joy of the commons was exceſſive. They had always been uſed to the tone of abſolute authority, and haughty refuſal, and could hardly contain themſelves within the bounds of decency, at finding the royal prerogative at laſt give way to the intereſt of the nation. One of the memqers obſerved, that this meſſage from the queen was a kind of goſpel of glad-tidings, and ought to be written in indelible characters on the tablets of the heart. They voted, that the ſpeaker, at the head of eighty members, ſhould return her majeſty their humble thanks for this inſtance of parental regard. The ſpeech delivered by the ſpeaker on this occaſion, was more proper to be addreſſed to the Supreme Being than an earthly monarch. So fulſome was the language of flattery! Nor did they wait till ſhe had ſatisfied them with regard to the particular monopolies ſhe meant to aboliſh, they immediately voted her four times the uſual ſupply. An inſtance then without example. But they well knew the imperious diſpoſition of the queen, and that by giving even the moſt diſtant hint of their being diſſatisfied with her promiſe, would have forced her into a denial of their requeſts. Thus Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from what was then conſidered as the right of the crown, maintained her dignity, and preſerved the affections of her people. Her ſucceſſors imitated not her example in this particular: they wanted her addreſs as well as her power, to triumph over the principles of liberty.

A. D. 1602. The remaining events in the reign of Elizabeth are neither very numerous, nor very important. Exaſperated at the Spaniards for having involved her in ſo many difficulties by fomenting the rebellion, and aſſiſting the inſurgents in Ireland, ſhe reſolved to find them ſufficient employment at home. She accordingly ordered a ſquadron of nine ſhips to be fitted out, under the command of Sir Richard Leveſon and Sir Richard Monſon, with orders to ſail on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. This fleet left England early in the ſpring, and ſoon after part of the ſquadron fell in with the galleons loaded with treaſure; but were not ſtrong enough to attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The other diviſion alſo met with a fleet of very rich ſhips, and was, for the ſame reaſon, obliged to let them purſue their courſe unmoleſted. Theſe diſappointments induced the two admirals to join the little ſquadrons, and purſue the deſign of the expedition in company. For ſome time they met with no ſhips of the enemy, and it was determined, in order to prevent the expedition from being entirely fruitleſs, to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, where they were informed a rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was defended by a caſtle mounted with heavy pieces of cannon; eleven gallies were moored near the entrance, and the militia of the country, amounting to near twenty thouſand men, appeared on the ſhore. But all theſe indications of a powerful oppoſition was not ſufficient to intimidate the Engliſh. They broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, burnt, and put to flight the gallies, and made themſelves maſters of the carrack. With this prize they returned to England, where her loading was valued at near a million of ducats; a very ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards, and a ſtill more conſiderable ſupply to Elizabeth.

Though the catholic religion was not tolerated in England, great numbers of people ſtill profeſſed the tenets of Rome; the kingdom was full of prieſts of that perſuaſion; and a very rancourous quarrel now broke out between the jeſuits and the ſecular clergy, on the following occaſion: one Blackwell, a perſon entirely devoted to the intereſt of the jeſuits, had been placed over the ſeculars as their ſuperior. Not content with exerciſing the common juriſdiction, he oppreſſed them in the moſt cruel manner; and when they appealed to the pope for redreſs, the ſuperior repreſented them as ſchiſmatics and heretics. The moſt bitter invectives were publiſhed by both parties, and the whole body of the catholic clergy ſeemed to be engaged in this furious conteſt. Whether the whole affair was ſerious, or a ſcheme to lull the government into a fatal ſecurity, while the Spaniards ſtruck ſome deciſive blow, is now impoſſible to be known; but it is certain that the biſhop of London, from political motives, fomented this diviſion, which at laſt roſe to ſuch a height, that the council of ſtate thought proper to interpoſe their authority; and perceiving that their diſputes were incompatable with the peace of the nation, commanded them all to depart the kingdom immediately.

During theſe tranſactions lord Mountjoy improved ſo well his late victory in Ireland, that Tyrone and his friends were ſoon reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; and many of them, after concealing themſelves in woods and moraſſes, where they lived rather like beaſts than men, thought proper to abandon their retreats, and ſubmit to the mercy of the Engliſh government. They were received with kindneſs, and the terms impoſed upon them were ſo mild and generous, that Tyrone himſelf, ſeeing all hopes either of ſucceeding or eſcaping to the continent, were vaniſhed, applied, in the moſt abject manner, both to the queen herſelf and the governor, for pardon. The queen was long reſolved not to ſhew the leaſt favour to that ferocious and perfidious rebel, but being continually importuned by her council, who repreſented the prodigious expence ſhe had been at, in maintaining an army in Ireland to purſue the rebels, and that by ſhewing clemency to the great leader in every inſurrection, ſhe would infallibly reſtore tranquillity to that diſtreſſed kingdom, and introduce a proper legiſlation among the people; ſhe was at laſt prevailed upon to recede from her reſolution. She ſigned his pardon, and ſent it to Mountjoy; ſacrificing her reſentment to the peace of her ſubjects, who had ſo long felt all the dreadful effects of civil diſcord.

A. D. 1603. The terms to which the lord-deputy was reſtrained were, however, thought ſo ſevere by the council, that they apprehended Tyrone would never ſubmit to them. Had that furious leader perceived even the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſupporting him againſt the Engliſh, there is not the leaſt doubt but he would have rejected the conditions with diſdain; but he was deprived of every reſource, and enjoyed only the wretched alternative of accepting the queen's pardon on her own terms, or periſh with hunger. He choſe the former, and on the thirteenth of March, repaired to Mellefont, where he preſented himſelf upon his knees before the lord-deputy, and in that ſubmiſſive poſture received his pardon. O'Rourk, another active chief in the late inſurrections ſurrendered about a month after Tyrone; and thus that dreadful rebellion which had raged in Ireland with the utmoſt violence during eight years, and had coſt the queen near four hundred thouſand pounds annually, was entirely ſuppreſſed; the whole kingdom was reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection, and taſted the pleaſures attendant on tranquillity.

Elizabeth was not long capable of enjoying the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this conſiderable part of her dominions in a ſtate of peace. She had, for ſome time, fallen into a ſtate of melancholy, was obſerved to be continually in tears, and to labour under ſome extraordinary affliction. She had always been particularly careful of her health, but now obſtinately refuſed all the remedies preſcribed by her phyſicians. Her council uſed every method in their power to prevail upon her to recede from this fatal reſolution, but in vain. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſecretary Cecil, begged her, on their knees, to take what was neceſſary for her ſuſtenance and relief; but ſhe refuſed their requeſt, and, in an angry tone of voice, deſired they would leave off their importunities, and ſuffer her to die in quiet.

Various opinions have been formed with regard to the cauſe of this profound melancholy: ſome aſcribed it to her repentance for having granted a pardon to Tyrone; others to the chagrin of ſeeing her courtiers turn their eyes upon the king of Scotland as the preſumptive heir to the Engliſh crown, and their ſhewing diſpoſitions to neglect her at a time when ſhe laboured under the debilities of age and infirmities; while others attributed it to her paſſion for Eſſex, which a very remarkable incident had lately revived. After his return from his expedition to Cadiz, ſhe made him a preſent of a ring, which ſhe deſired him to keep as the pledge of her affection; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that whatever diſgrace might attend him, or whatever prejudices ſhe might entertain againſt his conduct, yet, on ſight of that precious pledge, ſhe would recollect her former tenderneſs, be ready to give him a favourable hearing, and to liſten candidly to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his miſfortunes, preſerved this pledge of her majeſty's affection; and, when under ſentence of death, reſolved to try the experiment. He accordingly prayed the counteſs of Nottingham to carry the ring to Elizabeth; but the earl, her huſband, the capital enemy of Eſſex, would not ſuffer her to execute the commiſſion. The queen waited for this ring with the moſt paſſionate anxiety, and conſtrued her not receiving it as a mark of contempt. Exaſperated at what ſhe conſidered as the higheſt affront, ſhe ſigned the warrant for his execution. Some time after, the counteſs being ſeized with a violent illneſs, was ſtung with the deepeſt remorſe for her conduct; and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe revealed the fatal ſecret. Aſtoniſhed at this alarming confeſſion, Elizabeth burſt into the moſt violent paſſion of grief and rage. She ſtruck the dying counteſs in her bed, telling her, "That God might pardon her, but ſhe never could." This remarkable fact has been rejected by many hiſtorians as romantic; but from the proofs collected by Dr. Birch, in his memoirs of this princeſs, the truth of it ſeems to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

From that moment Elizabeth abandoned herſelf to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy, without diſcovering the cauſe which preyed upon her ſpirits. A miſerable languor ſoon reduced her to the utmoſt extremity, and it was viſible to all about her that her end was approaching. The council had frequent meetings, and ſeriouſly deliberated on the neceſſity of fixing the ſucceſſion. The counſellors themſelves were in general firmly attached to James; but they were fearful of the conſequences that might reſult from the intrigues of the catholic and puritan factions; and therefore reaſonably concluded, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of the Scottiſh monarch would greatly tend to ſtrengthen his title. The lord high admiral declared, that when ſhe was firſt ſeized with this dreadful diſtemper, ſhe had ſaid the following words to him in private, "My throne has always been filled by a ſucceſſion of princes, and ought only to go to my next heir." This declaration was not conſidered as ſufficiently explicit; and it was thought proper, that the lord high-admiral, the lord keeper, and ſecretary Cecil, ſhould, in the name of the whole council, intreat the queen to reveal her intention with regard to the perſon ſhe wiſhed to wear her crown. They found her on the very brink of eternity, and almoſt ſpeechleſs; but ſhe had ſtrength ſufficient to repeat the ſubſtance of her former declaration to the lord high-admiral, "that ſhe herſelf had filled a royal throne, and deſired to have a royal ſucceſſor." Cecil thought that even this declaration was not ſufficiently explicit, and requeſted her to make a farther explanation. "I deſire (ſaid ſhe) that a king ſhould ſucceed me; and who ſhould that king be, but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scotland?" This declaration being made, the archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired her to put her whole truſt in the Almighty, and fix her thoughts on that great and merciful Being, who alone could ſupport her in the hour of death. She anſwered, that ſhe did put her whole truſt in him, nor had her thoughts in the leaſt wandered from him. Soon after, her voice failed, and ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours; and ſhe expired without one ſtruggle, pang, or convulſion, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

The character of Elizabeth has been often drawn, both by the pens of adulation and ſatire. But notwithſtanding all her faults, and all her vices, ſhe will always be ranked, by the candid and judicious, among the greateſt monarchs in Europe. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her indefatigable vigilance, her heroic fortitude in danger, her unavaricious œconomy, her penetration, and addreſs in difficulties, add a luſtre to her reputation that all the efforts of her enemies have never been able to tarniſh; they were hardly ever equalled, perhaps never ſurpaſſed by any monarch, ancient or modern. At the ſame time, the meanneſs of vanity, the weakneſs of love, the tranſports of jealouſy and anger, the artifices of duplicity, and the thirſt of deſpotiſm, have expoſed her memory to very juſt reproaches. But it ſhould be remembered, that in the midſt of all her attempts to become arbitrary, ſhe ſtill ſecured the affections of her people. She even, on many occaſions, gave them proofs of her confidence. "I will never believe any thing of them (ſaid ſhe) that parents will not believe of their children." In a word, her private character is very exceptionable, but her princely qualities render her the object of undiſputed applauſe.

Thoſe who are deſirous of forming an adequate idea of the ancient conſtitution of England, would do well to ſtudy the reign of Elizabeth, as there remain monuments ſufficiently numerous to aſcertain the moſt noted acts of her adminiſtration. At the ſame time, the great popularity ſhe always enjoyed, ſufficiently demonſtrates, that ſhe did not infringe the eſtabliſhed liberties of the people. During the reign of the Tudors, the principles of deſpotiſm took deep root in the kingdom. Elizabeth found theſe principles confirmed when ſhe aſcended the throne; and though ſhe carried them to their full extent, ſhe was better beloved by her ſubjects than any of her predeceſſors. The conſtitution was ſwallowed up by the prerogative, and every attempt againſt it was termed rebellion. Arbitrary courts of juſtice, eſtabliſhed and maintained by that prerogative, were the terrible ſupports of deſpotiſm. The ſtar-chamber, a court which every true Engliſhman now reflects upon with horror, extended its juriſdiction to all manner of offences, contempts, and diſorders, not cognizable by the common law. Penalties, fines, impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment, were there inflicted at diſcretion. The judges were mere dependants upon the court, becauſe they were removable at pleaſure. They only gave their opinions when the ſovereign was preſent, he being then the only judge. The court of high commiſſion was equally formidable to the ſubject, and equally deſtructive to liberty. Its principal object was that of hereſy, a ſubject on which ſo many raſh judgments are continually formed. The manner of proceeding, and the ſentences promulgated againſt even opinions which were not juſtly puniſhable, rendered it a powerful inſtrument of tyranny. The martial law was not only exerciſed on military people, but on all without diſtinction, in caſes of inſurrection and public diſorder: it was even extended to thoſe who brought bulls from Rome, foreign libels, or prohibited books. Nothing could be more arbitrary than that rigorous law; nothing more repugnant to the principles of genuine juſtice. In a word, Elizabeth wanted no power but that of impoſing taxes; and even that her prerogative ſupplied, by granting monopolies, requiring forced loans and free gifts, by purveyance, embargoes on merchandize, and many other burthenſome expedients. The parliament, indeed, aſſumed the legiſlative power, but the crown, in fact, exerciſed it, by edicts and proclamations. At the ſame time, even the laws themſelves were rendered uncertain, by virtue of the diſpenſing power of the ſovereign. We may judge of the deſpotic authority of Elizabeth by the following curious anecdote preſerved by ſeveral of our hiſtorians. Dr. Haywarde having dedicated an hiſtorical performance to Eſſex during the time of that nobleman's diſgrace, the queen was ſo highly offended at his preſumption, that ſhe enquired of Bacon, whether the book contained any thing that might impeach the author of high-treaſon? "I find nothing of that," replied the ſage, "but there is ſufficient matter to convict him of felony." "Which are the paſſages?" aſked the queen haſtily. "The author" ſaid Bacon, "is guilty of theft, having tranſlated many paſſages from Cornelius Tacitus, and inſerted them in his text." This anſwer did not ſatisfy the queen; ſhe pretended that the perſon who had put his name to the performance was not the writer; and added, that ſhe would have him racked, in order to oblige him to produce the real author. "No, madam," anſwered Bacon, "it is not the writer but the ſtyle that ought to be put to the torture. Let the doctor have pen, ink, paper, and books, and let him be enjoined to continue the ſtory; and I will undertake, on comparing the ſtyle, to determine whether he is the real author or not." Thus an innocent man of letters would have been put to the torture, for no other crime than that of having given to Eſſex, that munificent patron of the learned, a public teſtimony of his reſpect, had not the wit and addreſs of Bacon prevented it.

The abſolute authority of the crown was not, however, without its advantages, both in maintaining the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and in giving vigour to the councils, and expedition to the buſineſs abroad. But, at the ſame time, it was found, by melancholy experience, that arbitrary power is by no means ſo well calculated as regular juſtice to maintain good order, and reſtrain licentiouſneſs among the people.

Before we conclude theſe obſervations on the reign of Elizabeth, it is but juſtice to ſay ſomething with regard to her œconomy, in which ſhe ſurpaſſed moſt of the Engliſh princes. Her ordinary revenue did not exceed five hundred thouſand pounds a year. During the whole courſe of her reign, ſhe received no more from parliament than twenty ſubſidies, and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is not eaſy to compute the exact value of theſe ſubſidies, becauſe they were always decreaſing: they fell, during the courſe of this reign, from one hundred and eighty-two thouſand pounds ſterling, to eighty thouſand. The war with Spain coſt, in two years, one million three hundred thouſand pounds; and that in Ireland, during ten years, more than three millions. It is aſtoniſhing how Elizabeth could undertake and execute ſuch great things with ſuch ſmall reſources. The foreign trade of England conſiderably increaſed; but monopolies and excluſive privileges greatly injured the inland trade of the kingdom. The navy, though conſiderably augmented, was very weak in compariſon of what it became afterwards. Before the reign of this princeſs, it was uſual for the monarchs of England to have recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; but their credit was ſo low, that, beſides the exorbitant intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, one of the greateſt and moſt enterprizing merchants of that age, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen, and the money was regularly paid. This eſtabliſhed her credit in the city, and ſhe was no longer obliged to have recourſe to foreigners for aſſiſtance. In the year 1660, the queen granted the firſt charter to the Eaſt-India Company.

The ſtate of the Engliſh manufactures was very low at this period, and foreign wares of almoſt all kinds were preferred. The perſecutions in France and the Low Countries afterwards drove a great number of foreigners into England; and, by their aſſiſtance, both the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom were greatly improved. It was then that Sir Thomas Greſham built, at his own expence, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange, for the reception of merchants. The queen, highly pleaſed with his public ſpirit, viſited the ſtructure, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

A remarkable revolution in the manners of the people happened during this reign, but it by no means contributed to augment the power of the crown. The old hoſpitality of the nobility every day declined, and even their houſes were far leſs numerous. The queen, by proclamation, obliged them to obſerve a reſtriction in that article, and from that moment their influence declined. They had fewer retainers, and, conſequently, were leſs able to form plots and conſpiracies. A taſte for luxury prevailed among them, by which their fortunes were ſoon impaired; while the merchant and mechanic were enriched at their expence and prodigality. In conſequence of this, the towns became more populous; and the country people, by means of agriculture, acquired an independency, which reſcued them from the yoke of the nobility. The barons were now no longer formidable to the crown; but what it gained on one hand, it loſt on the other. The commons grew more jealous of their privileges: they encroached upon the prerogative, and gave, at laſt a mortal blow to monarchy. We ſhall ſee how this was effected in the ſubſequent reigns of the Stuarts.

The Engliſh began early to cultivate maritime affairs, and made diſcoveries in various parts of the world. In the year 1536, Henry VIII. encouraged a ſociety of merchants to ſend two ſhips, in order to make diſcoveries in the northern parts of America, where it was hoped a paſſage to India might be found. The attempt proved abortive with regard to the principal intention, but it laid the foundation of that beneficial fiſhery which the Engliſh ſtill carry on at Newfoundland.

Edward VI. was very deſirous of making diſcoveries in the north-eaſt parts of Europe; and encouraged a company of Engliſh merchants to ſend Sir Hugh Willoughby with three ſhips, in order to open a new paſſage to Ruſſia by the northern ocean, and, if poſſible, to purſue their courſe to China. The attempt proved unfortunate to the commander in chief, who being obliged, by the ſudden approach of winter, to take ſhelter in an obſcure harbour of Ruſſian Lapland, was there, with his whole crew, frozen to death. One of the ſhips, commanded by Richard Chancellor, was more fortunate, by reaching the White Sea, on the coaſt of Ruſſia. Chancellor landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, in order to wait of the Czar John Bazilowitz, then engaged in the Livonian war. At this time the Ruſſians had neither harbours nor ſhipping on the ſhores of the Baltic; their rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried into Livonia, and thence diſtributed to the different parts of Europe. Chancellor reached the Czar's court at Moſcow, and was kindly received by the emperor; who, deſirous of opening a trade from one

one of his own ports with the Engliſh, granted the merchants of that kingdom very extenſive privileges.

The trade to Turkey was begun in 1583, and a company eſtabliſhed for carrying it on with ſpirit and advantage. Before that time, the emperor of the Turks had always conſidered England as a province of France. The power and reputation of Elizabeth deſtroyed this erroneous opinion: he gave the Engliſh a kind reception, and granted them even larger privileges than thoſe he had before given to the French.

Notwithſtanding the attempt made in 1536 for finding a north-weſt paſſage to India proved abortive, the Engliſh were not diſcouraged. Sir Martin Forbiſher made a ſecond attempt, and penetrated much farther than any European before his time. He diſcovered the Streight which ſtill bears his name; and made ſo many flattering diſcoveries, that though he ſucceeded not in his principal deſign, a ſecond voyage was attempted ſome years after, but no north-weſt paſſage could be found.

The firſt attempt of the Engliſh for eſtabliſhing a trade to the coaſt of Guinea was made by Mr. John Hawkins, about the year 1562. He purchaſed a conſiderable number of negroes in Guinea, and carried them to Hiſpaniola, where he diſpoſed of his ſlaves and Engliſh merchandize, and loaded his veſſels with hides, ſugar, and ginger; commodities that found a quick ſale in England, and rendered the voyage very lucrative to the merchants.

Two attempts were made, during the reign of Elizabeth, for ſettling colonies in America, and both proved abortive. One was attempted by Sir Humphry Gilbert in Newfoundland, and the other by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. Raleigh procured a charter from the queen in 1584: but notwithſtanding all the attempts of that great man, who ſeemed born for making diſcoveries, he ſucceeded not in his deſign; all the ſettlements in America owe their eſtabliſhments to later times.

Soon after the revival of learning in Europe, it was cultivated with attention by the princes and nobility of England. Henry VIII. was conſidered as one of the moſt learned perſons of his time. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a very uſeful treatiſe into Engliſh in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age, her ſex, and her ſtation, may be conſidered as a prodigy of learning. She was familiarly acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and catched their noble ſentiments at a very early age. Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books, and was familiarly acquainted both with the Greek and Latin languages. But cardinal Wolſey may be conſidered as the father of revived learning in England. Wolſey had a ſoul exquiſitely ſuſceptible of the glory ariſing from a patronage that gives a ſurer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The fame of Leo X. who reſtored the arts in Italy, excited his emulation; he was deſirous of diſſeminating the ſeeds of literature in his native country. The learning of the Engliſh was then uſeleſs and heavy; they were totally ſtrangers to taſte. Wolſey ſaw this, and had the virtue to attempt the improvement of the one, and the introduction of the other. He was himſelf well acquainted with many branches of learning, as well as maſter of all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. But it was not enough for Wolſey to confine his love of learning and the muſes to his own example and munificence, without planting thoſe ſeminaries which, in ſucceeding ages, were productive of many of the nobleſt fruits of ſtudy. He ſearched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of the ſoil does for a mine of treaſure. His houſe, like Cicero's Tuſculanum, was the retreat of the learned. Whenever he found a foreigner celebrated for his literary acquiſitions, he ſettled on him a handſome ſalary, and invited him to England. He intended to procure copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for his college at Oxford; which, if finiſhed according to his plan, would have been the nobleſt foundation in the world.

Henry Howard, earl of Surry, was one of the greateſt ornaments in the court of Henry VIII. He was famous for the tenderneſs and elegance of his poetry, in which he excelled all the writers of his time. His great merit excited the jealouſy of Henry; and, after the formality of a trial, he was condemned and executed for high-treaſon on the nineteenth of January, 1547.

Archbiſhop Wareham ſhone as a divine, a lawyer, and a ſtateſman; but was at laſt ſupplanted in the king's favour by Wolſey. Eraſmus makes honourable mention of this prelate, whom he eſteemed a perfect model of the epiſcopal character. He died on the 23d of Auguſt 1532.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was one of the moſt learned perſons of his age, and has been juſtly eſteemed one of the chief ornaments of our church and nation. He was in high eſteem with Henry VIII. for his learning, his ſincerity, his prudence, and his moderation. But he fell a ſacrifice to the bigotted fury of queen Mary, on the 21ſt of March, 1556.

Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was a polite ſcholar, and one of the moſt perfect characters of his age. The celebrated Eraſmus, one of whoſe excellences conſiſted in doing juſtice to the merit of his friends, tells us, that he was comparable to any of the ancients.

John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, was one of thoſe great men that aſſiſted in the revival of learning in England. No higher teſtimony need be given of the merit of Collet, than his great intimacy with Eraſmus. There was a remarkable ſimilitude of manners, of ſtudies, and of ſentiments in religion, between theſe illuſtrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and expoſe them, in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the Engliſh for that reformation in religion, and the reſtoration of learning, which ſoon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the firſt that revived the literature of the ancients in England. He founded St. Paul's ſchool, and died in 1519.

William Tindale, canon of Chriſt-church, Oxford, and deſervedly ſtiled the Engliſh apoſtle, was the firſt that tranſlated the New Teſtament into Engliſh from the Greek. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through with the whole: but his attempt provoked the catholic clergy, and he was burnt for hereſy at Wilford, near Bruſſels, in 1536.

Sir Thomas More was a great maſter of the elegant learning of the ancients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the higheſt reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an iſland ſuppoſed to be newly diſcovered in America. He was beheaded, for denying the king's ſupremacy, on the ſixth of July, 1535.

Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Aſcham, tutor to queen Elizabeth, were the politeſt ſcholars of their time in the univerſity of Cambridge. Among other uſeful attempts for the improvement of learning, they introduced the true pronunciation of the Greek in that ſeat of the muſes.

Richard Hooker, ſome time maſter of the Temple, and afterwards rector of Biſhop's Bourn, in Kent, was one of the moſt celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "Eccleſiaſtical Polity", which is a defence of the government of the Engliſh church againſt the cavils of the diſſenters, is written with a claſſic ſimplicity, and eſteemed one of the completeſt works, both for ſtyle and argument, that ever appeared in the Engliſh language. Queen Elizabeth uſed to call him "The judicious Hooker", an epithet by which he is ſtill diſtinguiſhed. He died on the ſecond of November, 1600.

Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the univerſity; and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle, at a tournament, in a private converſation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambaſſador. His talents were equally adapted to proſe or verſe, to original compoſition or tranſlation. His Arcadia was not only admired for its novelty, but continued to be read longer than ſuch compoſitions generally are, and has paſſed through fourteen editions. He died the ſixteenth of October, 1586.

John Stow was one of the moſt induſtrious antiquaries this kingdom has produced. He was bred a taylor, but quitted his employment to purſue his beloved ſtudy of the hiſtory and antiquities of England, to which he had an invincible propenſity. His principal works are his "Survey of London", his "Additions to Hollingſhed's Chronicle", and his "Annals". The folio volume, commonly called "Stow's Chronicle", was compiled from his papers after his deceaſe. He died the fifth of April, 1605.

Sir Thomas Bodley deſerves to be mentioned here, as a man of letters; but much more for the ample proviſion he has made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford, and in which he ſtands unrivalled. In 1599, he opened his library, a mauſoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themſelves endure. He died the twenty-eight of January, 1612.

John Gerrarde, a ſurgeon of London, was the greateſt Engliſh botaniſt of that age. He publiſhed his herbal in 1597, which has, ever ſince its firſt appearance, been conſidered as a very uſeful work.

Edmund Spenſer, the celebrated author of the "Fairy Queen", was the father of the Engliſh heroic poem, and of true paſtoral poetry in this iſland. He ſtands diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is diſtinguiſhed from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious verſification. The ſtanza of Spenſer, and the old words which conſtantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him reſemble the original. But Parnaſſus proved a very barren ſoil to Spenſer. Elizabeth was far from having a juſt ſenſe of his merit. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney, he languiſhed without a patron, and died, in want of bread, in 1599.

Beſides the writers already enumerated, many others flouriſhed during this period of hiſtory. John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancaſhire, tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh, with notes. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins tranſlated the Pſalms into metre, as we ſtill hear them ſung in many of our churches. John Leland, the famous antiquarian, flouriſhed in this period. Fairfax tranſlated Taſſo with eaſe and elegance; and Harrington, Arioſto with tolerable accuracy.

Several diſcoveries, ſome of them very uſeful to this kingdom, were made during this period of hiſtory. One Owen is noted, as being the firſt who caſt braſs cannon in England, ſome ſpecimens of which are ſaid to be ſtill in the Tower of London. They were caſt about the year 1536. Muſquets, or hand-guns, were introduced in the year 1521. Theſe ſuperſeded the practice of bows and arrows, which were ſoon after laid aſide.

About the year 1535, glaſſes were firſt manufactured in England: the finer ſort of it was made in Crutched-Friars, London; and the flint glaſs, little inferior to that of Venice, at the Savoy-houſe in the Strand.

The firſt manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1563, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London. Before that time, they were imported from Germany; but the art was ſoon improv'd by the Engliſh, and large quantities were ſoon after exported to different parts of the world.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine, or ſteel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of ſtockings. This was not above twenty years after the Engliſh had been taught the art of knitting them with wires or needles, by the Spaniards. Mr. Lee's invention has been of great advantage to the ſtocking manufacture, by enabling the Engliſh to export vaſt quantities of all kinds to foreign countries.

We have the beſt authority for fixing the firſt manufacturing of ſail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble of an act made for encouraging that uſeful manufacture. Before that time it was imported from France and Germany.

About the ſame time, that uſeful inſtrument, the teleſcope, was diſcovered by one Janſſen, a ſpectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand. He knew not, however, the theory, on which the inſtrument depended, and therefore never made them of any conſiderable length: eighteen inches was the utmoſt extent of his inſtruments. Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand duke of Tuſcany, was the artiſt that perfected the diſcovery, and rendered it of the greateſt ſervice in aſtronomical obſervations; and hence the teleſcope has acquired the name of Galileo's tube.

The progreſs made in the mathematical arts was chiefly confined to the ſtudies of Dee, and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh.

# BOOK XI.

## From the beginning of the reign of James I. to the reſtoration of Charles II.

# JAMES I.

A. D. 1603. THE heirs male of the houſe of Tudor failing, James, king of Scotland, great-grandſon of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. had an inconteſtible right to the crown of England. The will of Henry VIII. had, indeed, ſet aſide the claim of that family; but the teſtament was now odious to the nation, and Elizabeth had named James as her ſucceſſor. The whole nation appeared greatly intereſted in favour of their new monarch, he was received in the capital with the greateſt rejoicings, and crowned at Weſtminſter on Monday the twenty-fifth of July, by Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the acclamations of the people. But James, though far from diſliking the adulation of his ſubjects, hated the buſtle of a mixed multitude; he was much fonder of eaſe and tranquillity.

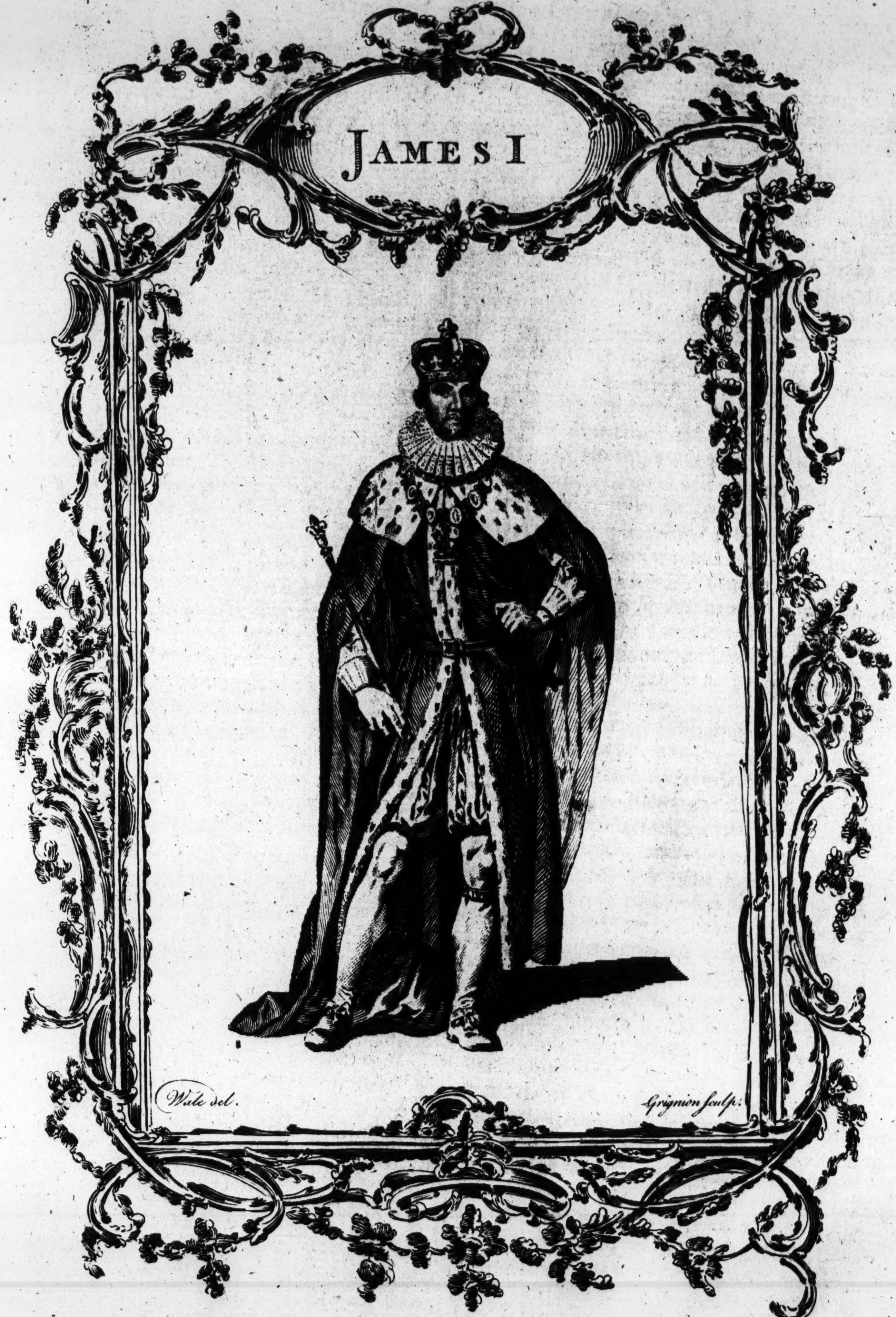
He was not, however, inſenſible to their affections; and began his reign with laviſhing a profuſion of titles on his courtiers; no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons received the honour of knighthood, within ſix weeks after his aſcending the Engliſh throne. By ſo indiſcriminate a method of beſtow-favours, he imprudently leſſened the rewards of merit. Titles were no longer marks of diſtinction; and being diſtributed without choice or deliberation, they were conſidered rather as proofs of the facility and good nature of the prince, than the marks of any determined friendſhip and eſteem. To ridicule this imprudent manner of laviſhing titles, a paſquinade was affixed to the gate of St. Paul's, advertiſing that an artiſt had diſcovered the beſt method of retaining, in weak memories, the names of the new nobility.

The greater part of theſe honours were conferred upon the Scots, at which the Engliſh were offended, and it might have occaſioned national quarrels, had not James prudently reſolved to employ only Engliſhmen in the adminiſtration. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively lord Effindon, viſcount Cranborne, and earl of Saliſbury, was always regarded as prime miniſter and chief counſellor. He was the ſon of the famous Burleigh, whoſe name, it was natural to ſuppoſe, muſt be odious to James, as the declared enemy of his mother, and the chief cauſe of her tragical cataſtrophe; but Cecil had taken care to make his peace with James before the death of Elizabeth. Skilled in the arts of cunning and duplicity, he had for ſome time before the queen's deceaſe, kept up a correſpondence with James, and informed him of every thing tranſacted in the Engliſh council that regarded his intereſt. Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, who had not taken the wiſe precautions of Cecil, and had been at the head of the faction which brought the earl of Eſſex to the ſcaffold, immediately felt the effects of the new monarch's prejudice, and were diſmiſſed from their employments,

The eyes of all the ſovereigns of Europe were fixed in anxious expectations upon James, from the moment of his aſcending the Engliſh throne; they beheld in him the ſon of a princeſs who died a martyr to the cauſe of popery, and who had ſuffered a long ſeries of troubles in a kingdom whither ſhe had fled for protection. The hopes of the catholics and the fears of the proteſtants were equally excited on this occaſion; and ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Chriſtendom ſoon appeared at the Engliſh court, in order to compliment the king on his new acquired dignity, and to conclude with him new treaties and alliances. Beſides envoys from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Naſſau, aſſiſted by the famous penſionary Barnevelt, repreſented the ſtates of the United Provinces; Aremberg was ſent by the archduke Albert, and Taxis was ſoon expected from Spain.

Henry IV. of France could not reflect, without concern, that James, in one part of his life, had entered into negotiations with Spain, and thought he had every thing to dread from ſuch an union, eſpecially if James, whoſe real diſpoſition was as yet unknown, ſhould diſcover an enterprizing genius. The marquis of Roſny, afterwards the famous duke of Sully, a miniſter worthy of Henry IV. was charged with the affairs of France at the Engliſh court. That able ſtateſman propoſed a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to invade the territories of the houſe of Auſtria on every ſide, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the Engliſh monarch was little adapted to ſuch vaſt enterprizes; the love of peace was his ruling paſſion, and Roſny found James to be maſter of ſo much art and diſſimulation, that all his addreſs was inſufficient to diſcover the real intentions of the Engliſh monarch. He refuſed to make any declaration but in general terms, of his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with France. A ſolemn conference was, however, at laſt held, and it was agreed that the Dutch ſhould have the liberty of levying forces both in France and England; that the two monarchs ſhould ſupply that republic with the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France, but that one third of it ſhould be deducted to diſcharge a debt due from that monarch to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either the territories of France or England, the contracting princes ſhould aſſiſt each other, Henry with a force of ten thouſand, and James with that of ſix thouſand men.

The tranquillity which reigned in England was now diſturbed by a conſpiracy ſaid to have been formed in the kingdom againſt the government. The deſign was to place Arabella Stuart, a near relation of James, and deſcended equally with him from Henry VII. on the Engliſh throne. She had been long a ſtate priſoner in the Tower, and poſſibly never knew that the leaſt deſign was formed for her liberty. Indeed the whole conſpiracy is ſtill a myſtery; time itſelf has afforded no clue that will help us to unravel it. But however that be, Sir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Grey, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Sir George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookſby, and Anthony Cappely, with two prieſts, Watſon and Clarke, were ſent to priſon. The trial of theſe conſpirators, if indeed any conſpiracy


JAMES I
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ſpiracy ever exiſted, was imperfect and confuſed; no ſigns of guilt appeared; no regular plot had been formed. A few paſſionate words, flowing from the diſappointed ambition of the diſmiſſed courtiers, compoſed perhaps their whole crime. Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, who managed the proſecution on the part of the crown, uſed the moſt violent and opprobrious terms on this occaſion. He called Raleigh a traitor, a monſter, a viper, a ſpider of hell; terms that ſufficiently point out the manners of the age, and will for ever throw a ſtain on the character of that famous pleader. Raleigh, however, defended himſelf with ſurprizing temper, eloquence, and courage; but notwithſtanding all the force of his arguments, he was found guilty by his jury, contrary to all law and the principles of equity. The two prieſts were executed, Cobham, Grey and Markham were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh alſo was reprieved, but not pardoned, and he continued many years after in confinement.

Secure from this danger, James turned his thoughts towards theological controverſies, of which he was much fonder than of the duties of a king. The ſeverities of Elizabeth had reſtrained the partizans of the Roman church; but the fanaticiſm of the puritans was not to be ſubdued. Theſe fiery diſciplinarians expected better treatment under a prince who had been trained up by their own ſect in Scotland. But James was too well acquainted with their independent principles, was too jealous of his new authority, and too much a friend to pleaſure, to ſhew them any favour in a country where they were not the predominant party. He was, however, very willing that a conference ſhould be held at Hampton-court, where he himſelf undertook to preſide in perſon.

A. D. 1604. The conference was opened on the fourteenth of January, and James, in quality of preſident, diſplayed his uncommon talents in diſputation. They diſputed not upon doctrine, the proper object of controverſy, but on ſimple ceremonies, the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm, the wedding-ring, the ſurplice, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus: theſe were the topics debated before this aſſembly, and theſe were the mighty particulars that had excited ſo violent a miſunderſtanding between the two parties, and ſet the whole nation in a flame. Great expectations were formed by the leaders of both parties on the iſſue of this debate; but ſurely they muſt have been totally unacquainted with the dictates of the human heart, who could expect that a candid indifference, and a ſincere ſearch after truth, would be obſerved in a theological enquiry, ſo long and warmly debated in the kingdom. It muſt, however, be owned, that the king from the firſt opening the controverſy, was ſtrongly biaſſed in favour of the epiſcopal party; he frequently ſaid, with a deciſive tone of voice, "No biſhop, no king;" and the primate obſerved, that his majeſty, doubtleſs, ſpoke by the Spirit of God. The alteration of ſome few paſſages in the liturgy were the only fruit of this conference. Each party retained their former prejudices, increaſed by the animoſity of a public diſputation.

James was perſuaded that in ſupporting the epiſcopalians, he ſupported his own prerogative. They admitted a ſeries of ſubordination, and acknowledged the king as ſupreme head of the church; whereas the diſſenters were infected with the levelling principles, and conſidered all men as equal. The love of liberty had taken conſiderable root in Europe, eſpecially in England, where it was carefully nouriſhed by the puritan party. This is, with great probability, attributed to the taſte that now prevailed for letters, which enlarged at once the ideas and the views of men. The works of the ancients, and the hiſtory of ſo many celebrated commonwealths, could not fail of cheriſhing a republican ſpirit, in proportion as they cultivated the underſtanding.

The parliament, whoſe meeting had been deferred on account of the plague, which raged ſo dreadfully in London, that no leſs than thirty thouſand perſons died of it in one year, aſſembled on the nineteenth of March, when James opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. Though few productions of that age ſurpaſſed this ſpeech, either in ſtile or matter, yet it is deſtitute of that majeſtic reſerve, which ſhould always be obſerved by a king in his addreſſes to the great council of the nation. The general propoſitions are, however, juſt, and the following paſſage demands the applauſe of every lover of Engliſh liberty. "When I have done all that I can do for you, I do nothing but what I am bound to do, and am accountable to God ſhould I do the contrary; for I acknowledge that the moſt eſſential difference between a lawful king and an uſurping tyrant, conſiſts in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant thinks that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his deſires and unreaſonable appetites; the righteous and juſt king, on the contrary, acknowledges, that he himſelf is only ordained for promoting the wealth and proſperity of his people; and that his greateſt and principal happineſs muſt conſiſt in their proſperity. If you are rich I cannot be poor; if you are happy I cannot be unfortunate: and I proteſt that your welfare ſhall be the conſtant object of my ſtudy and attention. That I am a ſervant is moſt true; and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, conſidering them in number, and in different ranks; ſo, if we will take the people as one body and maſs, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, ſo muſt a righteous king acknowledge himſelf to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him: For though a king and people are relative, yet can he be no king if he is deſtitute of ſubjects; but there are many people in the world, that are without a king. I ſhall therefore never be aſhamed to confeſs it my principal honour to be the great ſervant of the commonwealth, and ever think the proſperity thereof to be my greateſt felicity." The reſt of the ſpeech was calculated to effect an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and in expreſſing his favourable intentions towards the Roman catholic party; he even dropped ſome ſevere expreſſions againſt the puritans.

This ſpeech produced not the deſired effect. The proteſtants were alarmed at the advances made towards the catholics, and the puritans were enraged to hear the king profeſs himſelf their open enemy. The commons determined now to ſhake off that puſillanimity which had rendered them ſo ſubſervient to the orders of the crown in the preceding reign, and to aſſert their privileges with ſpirit and firmneſs. A caſe ſoon offered for carrying their deſign into execution. Sir Francis Goodwin having been declared duly elected knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks by the committee of elections, after a full hearing on a petition of Sir John Forteſcue, the king commanded the commons to re-conſider the caſe, and to conſult the judges on the occaſion. This the commons abſolutely refuſed, and a breach between the king and his parliament would probably have been the conſequence, had not the moderation of Goodwin diſengaged the king from an affair which might have been attended with fatal effects. It had been the common practice during the late reign, when any perſon was declared diſqualified to ſit in the houſe, by the chancellor, for him to iſſue his writ for a new election. The houſe now oppoſed this act of prerogative, as injurious to the freedom of elections and the privileges of parliament. They aſſerted, that they alone had the right of iſſuing writs for filling vacancies; and the crown made no difficulty of confirming it. Happily James poſſeſſed neither capacity to perceive the conſequence, nor ſufficient art and vigour to check the firſt attempts of liberty.

Nor was the privileges of elections the only grievance the commons attempted to remove. They endeavoured to free trade from the ſhackles of monopoly, which the imperious, and in this inſtance, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth had laid upon it. Their endeavours failed indeed of ſucceſs; but the very deſign deſerves to be remembered with applauſe. The ſame fate attended a ſimilar attempt to free the people from the burden of purveyance. They offered the king fifty thouſand pounds a year if he would conſent to aboliſh it. James refuſed to comply, and the deſign became abortive.

The ſame ſpirit of independence urged the commons to oppoſe the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which true policy muſt have conſidered as the greateſt advantage to both. The king was very deſirous of completing this union. He told the parliament, "that he juſtly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animoſities of theſe hoſtile nations, and reduced the whole iſland under one empire, enjoying tranquillity within itſelf, and ſecurity from all foreign invaſions." He added, "that while his ſubjects of both kingdoms reflected on the diſaſters of former times, he hoped they would entertain the ſtrongeſt deſire of ſecuring themſelves againſt a return of ſimilar calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments and privileges." But theſe reaſons, however powerful when conſidered without prejudice, loſt their effect. The commons aſcribed the exceſſive zeal of the king to that partiality in favour of his ancient ſubjects, of which, on other occaſions, they thought they had ſufficient reaſon to complain. So ſtrangely will prejudice warp the reaſoning faculty of human beings!

When the queſtion of a ſupply was brought before the houſe, the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition appeared among the commons. The ſmalleſt ſupply, however reaſonable and neceſſary, appeared to them unreaſonable and exorbitant. James, deſirous of concealing his wants from the parliament, and determined not to ſuffer the mortification of a refuſal, ſent a meſſage to the commons, informing them, that he deſired no ſupply. This conduct of the parliament diſplayed the principles which were now taking root in the nation. James foreſaw not the conſequences: he relied upon the rights of the crown, without imagining that his ſubjects could have any rights to throw in the oppoſite ſcale againſt them.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, the peace with Spain was finally concluded. This treaty contained ſome articles not at all favourable to the ſtates of the United Provinces; but as they were never executed, nor any complaints made on that head by the Spaniards, it is natural to imagine, that, by ſome ſecret agreement between the contracting parties, they were never intended for any thing more than mere form. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the town of Oſtend capitulated, after a three years ſiege. The Spaniards found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins to recompenſe them for the vaſt ſums of money, and the incredible number of lives they had loſt in making the conqueſt. James gave himſelf no concern about the loſs of this fortreſs, reſolving to improve his preſent connection with Spain. He accordingly diſpatched the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral, with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to that court, attended by a numerous and magnificent retinue. The Spaniards were extremely ſurprized on their arrival, when they beheld the blooming countenances, and graceful appearance of the Engliſh, whom their bigotry, inflamed by their prieſts, had repreſented as ſo many monſters and demons from the infernal regions.

We come now to relate an event which has not its parallel in hiſtory, namely, the gun-powder plot, which affords a ſtriking inſtance of the human mind, when blinded by religious prejudices. The catholics, perſuaded at firſt that the ſon of Mary Stuart would mitigate the ſeverity of the laws in their favour, were enraged to find themſelves treated with the ſame rigour: they forgot the real duties of religion to indulge the principles of a blind and headſtrong zeal. Cateſby, a gentleman deſcended from an ancient family, of good parts, and maſter of a conſiderable eſtate, had formed a plan for overturning the Engliſh government; and in order to carry the deſign into execution, had made ſeveral journies to the court of Philip, in order to procure an army of Spaniards to land in England: but the late peace having rendered his plan of an invaſion abortive, he formed a moſt extraordinary method of revenge; and declared his intention to Piercy, a deſcendant from the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland. The hardſhips under which the catholics laboured was often the ſubject of their converſation; and Piercy, in a fit of enthuſiaſtic zeal, hinted a deſign of aſſaſſinating the king. Cateſby anſwered, that the attempt, if ſucceſsful, could not poſſibly remove the evil; that a more general revenge was neceſſary, in order to reſtore the catholic religion in England. The whole royal family, the nobility, and the parliament, are (ſaid he) equally infected with the ſame hereſy, and muſt all be deſtroyed, before a catholic prince can be placed upon the throne, and religion reſtored to its ancient purity. Nor is this undertaking either impoſſible or difficult. They will all aſſemble on the firſt meeting of the parliament, and afford us an opportunity of a ſure and ample vengeance. A mine may eaſily be run under the parliament-houſe; and a few barrels of powder, properly placed, will bury all our enemies in one common ruin." Piercy was highly pleaſed with the contrivance of Cateſby; and it was agreed between them to communicate the deſign to a few of their friends, and, among the reſt, to Thomas Winter, who was immediately diſpatched to Flanders in ſearch of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal for the catholic religion, and courage to execute any deſperate enterprize, they were well acquainted.

Thus far every thing had ſucceeded according to their wiſhes. Fawkes was found, and entered into the conſpiracy with all the ardour of bigotted enthuſiaſm. A houſe was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to aſſemble; and it was agreed to carry a mine from the cellar under the room in which the parliament met; and the very moment when the king was delivering his ſpeech to both houſes, to ſet fire to the magazine, and deſtroy the whole aſſembly by one dreadful blaſt: thus making the very ſpot, where the edicts for proſcribing the catholic religion had received their ſanction, the ſcene of this dreadful cataſtrophe.

A. D. 1605. Theſe conſultations were held in the month of December of the preceding year; and it being expected that the parliament would meet in February, the work was immediately begun, and carried on with aſtoniſhing perſeverance. They never deſiſted from their labour, relieving one another by turns; and that no alarm might be given to the neighbourhood, they entered Piercy's houſe by night, and carried with them proviſions ſufficient to ſupport them till the mine was compleated. They had alſo provided themſelves with fire-arms and ammunition, fully determined, in caſe of being diſcovered, to periſh rather than be taken.

On the ſecond of February they had nearly pierced the wall through three yards thick; and were greatly terrified at hearing a noiſe, which they knew not how to account for, as it ſeemed to proceed from the other ſide of the wall. A diſcovery was now greatly feared, and the conſpirators prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but, upon inquiry, it was found, that the place from whence the noiſe proceeded was a large vault under the houſe of lords, filled with coals, which were now ſelling off, and that the vault was to be lett to the higheſt bidder. This opportunity was not to be neglected; Piercy immediately hired the place, depoſited in it thirty-ſix barrels of powder, and covered the whole with faggots. Every thing was now ready for the dreadful blaſt; but the parliament being prorogued to the fifth of November, the conſpirators had more time to finiſh that diabolical undertaking. More faggots were carried into the vault, and the doors boldly thrown open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, or that ought to be concealed.

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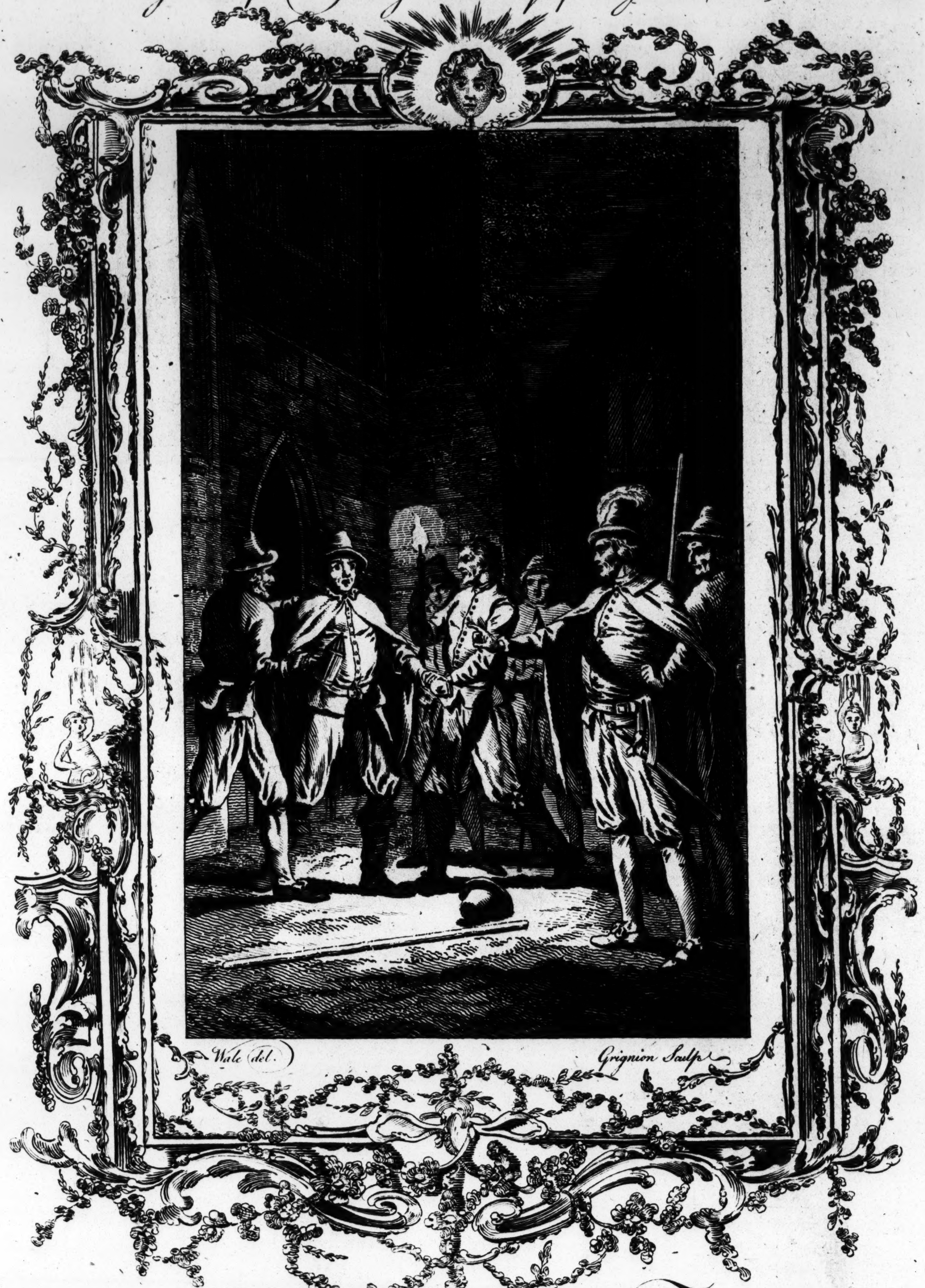

*Wale del.* *Grignion Sculp.*

GUY FAWKES. *Seiz'd by order of* Sr. Thos. KNEVET

The ſucceſs that had hitherto attended their undertaking rendered them confident of ſucceſs; and they began to deliberate on the beſt method of executing the remaining part of the project. The duke of York, whoſe tender age would not ſuffer him to be preſent at the opening of the parliament, muſt be ſecured, as well as his ſiſter the princeſs Elizabeth, then at lord Harrington's houſe in Warwickſhire. Piercy undertook to ſecure or aſſaſſinate the duke; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Grant, who were now let into the ſecret of the conſpiracy, engaged to aſſemble their friends, under pretence of a hunting-match, ſeize that princeſs, and immediately declare her queen. Some propoſed to apply immediately to foreign courts for aſſiſtance; but this was thought too dangerous; and it was reſolved to make no application of that kind till the plot had taken effect.

At laſt the day for carrying this infernal ſcheme into execution approached; and the conſpirators, without the leaſt remorſe of conſcience, waited with impatience for its arrival. The ſecret, though known to above twenty perſons, had been kept with the utmoſt caution. Not a ſyllable had tranſpired, nor one of the conſpirators had abandoned the enterprize, either through fear of puniſhment, or the hopes of reward. Religious frenzy had ſtifled at once the voice of conſcience and the ſoft whiſpers of humanity. A bigotted partiality to preſerve a profeſſor of the catholic religion, at laſt ſaved the kingdom from deſtruction.

The following letter was ſent, about ten days before the meeting of the parliament, to lord Monteagle, ſon to lord Morley, a catholic peer. "My "lord, Out of the love I bear to ſome of your "friends, I have a care of your preſervation. There-"fore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, "to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance "at this parliament; for God and man have con-"curred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. "And think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but "retire yourſelf into your country, where you may "expect the event in ſafety: for though there be no "appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they will receive "a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they ſhall "not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be "contemned, becauſe it may do you good, but can "do you no harm: for the danger is paſt as ſoon as "you have burned this letter. And I hope God will "give you the grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe "holy protection I commend you."

This letter gave Monteagle ſome uneaſineſs. It had been delivered to his ſervant by an unknown hand, and ſeemed to contain ſome myſtery which it was not eaſy to explain. Had his own ſafety alone been concerned, in all probability, he would have ſlighted the notice, as he was inclined to think it was nothing more than an attempt of his enemies to prevent his attendance in parliament; but fearing leſt the king's life might be in danger, he carried it directly to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. The miniſter was alſo inclined to treat it with neglect; but as the words ſeemed to convey an ambiguous meaning, he determined to lay it before his majeſty. The king was of a different opinion: he conjectured, from the ſerious and earneſt ſtyle of the letter, that ſomething very dangerous and important was intended; and that the effect, which was repreſented to be at once both ſudden and terrible, ſeemed to denote ſome contrivance by gun-powder. He was, however, of opinion, that either nothing ſhould be done, or enough to prevent the danger; and that therefore the ſearch ſhould be deferred till the day before the meeting of the parliament, when the vaults under the parliament-houſe ſhould be carefully inſpected. Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the lord chamberlain, who was obliged by his office to ſee every thing in readineſs for his majeſty's coming, viſited all the places about the parliament-houſe. He ſlightly inſpected the cellar, in one of the corners of which ſtood Fawkes, who paſſed for Piercy's ſervant. The lord chamberlain was ſtruck with the appearance of the man, in whoſe countenance all the marks of ferocious courage were conſpicuouſly painted. Piercy was known to be a very rigid papiſt, and to reſide very little in town: the large quantity of fuel was, therefore, conſidered as a little extraordinary, and it was thought neceſſary to make a more particular inſpection of the cellar; but, at the ſame time, it was reſolved, that this ſearch ſhould be made in ſuch a manner as ſhould render it effectual, without giving the leaſt alarm. Theſe reſolutions being taken, Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of the peace, with proper attendants, was ſent about midnight to examine the cellar, under pretence of ſearching for ſtolen goods. Fawkes had juſt finiſhed all his preparations, and was coming out of the cellar when Knevet arrived. The daring conſpirator was immediately ſeized; and, after removing the billets, the barrels of powder were diſcovered. Fawkes had a dark lantern in his hand; and the matches, with every thing neceſſary for ſetting fire to the powder, were found in his pockets. The guilt of this determined conſpirator was now ſufficiently apparent; and knowing that all denial would be in vain, he avowed the deſign, and that it would have been executed on the morrow; at the ſame time, expreſſing the utmoſt regret that he had loſt the opportunity of ſetting fire to the powder, and of ſoftening his own death with the pleaſure of periſhing with his enemies. He expreſſed the ſame intrepid boldneſs when examined before the council. He ſhewed not the leaſt concern but for the failure of the enterprize, nor could the threats of torture prevail upon him to diſcover his accomplices. This obſtinacy continued two or three days; but being cloſely confined in the Tower, and the rack placed before him, his courage at laſt forſook him, and he made a full diſcovery of the whole contrivance, and named all his accomplices.

The conſpirators who then reſided in town, though they knew that the letter to Mounteagle had alarmed the miniſtry, and even that a ſearch was intended to be made by the lord chamberlain, never abandoned their hopes of ſucceſs till they heard that Fawkes was taken. It was then, indeed, too evident that the whole plot was diſcovered; and they fled immediately into Warwickſhire, where Sir Everard Digby, perſuaded that the attempt had ſucceeded, was already in arms to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth, who had prevented their deſign by flying to Coventry. The whole county was now alarmed; and Sir Richard Walſh, high conſtable of Worceſterſhire, aſſiſted by a great number of the inhabitants, ſurrounded the conſpirators in Holbeach. Their number, including all their attendants, never exceeded eighty; but notwithſtanding their inferiority, they prepared for a vigorous defence, determined either to periſh or eſcape. But misfortune ſtill purſued them. A quantity of powder laid before the fire to dry, taking fire, diſabled them from making any defence. The people ruſhed in upon them. Cateſby and Piercy were killed by a ſingle ſhot: Winter, Digby, Rookwood and Bates, were taken, and carried to London, where they made a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy, and, together with Garnet the jeſuit, died by the hands of the common executioner.

The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conſpiracy, though the only grounds of ſuſpicion were, his having admitted Piercy, his kinſman, into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without tendering him the oath of ſupremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholic noblemen, were alſo tried in the ſtar-chamber, and fined, the former in ten thouſand, and the latter in four thouſand pounds. The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a penſion of five hundred pounds for his life, as a reward for diſcovering the letter which occaſioned the whole conſpiracy to be rendered abortive. Some Roman catholic authors have maintained that the gunpowder plot was nothing more than an idle chimera; but their aſſertations are founded on no hiſtorical evidence; the fact is certain; and however incredible it may appear that the human mind ſhould be capable of forming ſo horrid a contrivance, the whole is founded on proofs impoſſible to be invalidated.

This aſtoniſhing diſcovery occaſioned the meeting of parliament to be put off till the ninth of November, when the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he endeavoured to reſtrain the fury of the Engliſh againſt the catholics. He obſerved, that it would be highly unjuſt, it would be criminal, to involve the whole body of catholics in the guilt of a few; that it could not be ſuppoſed they were all diſpoſed to engage in committing ſuch horrid barbarities; that all men who embraced the tenets of the Roman church, ſhould not be conſidered as ſupporters of the pope's power of dethroning king's, or ſanctifying aſſaſſination; for though the wrath of heaven is denounced againſt crimes, yet innocent error may obtain favour. "For my own part, added he, conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhall never alter my plan of government: while I puniſh guilt with one hand, I will ſupport and protect innocence with the other."

A. D. 1606. The moderation of James was not, however, agreeable to his ſubjects, particularly the puritans, who repreſented his lenity as a proof, that his heart was inclined to the doctrines of Rome. But this ſuſpicion was not ſufficient to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects from him; the commons even laid aſide their parſimonious tenets and granted him a conſiderable ſupply. But while the parliament were cloſely engaged in the buſineſs of the nation, and the paſſions of the people warmed by the recent guilt and and obſtinacy of the conſpirators, a report was ſuddenly ſpread, that James and his principal favourites were aſſaſſinated at Oking, about twenty miles weſt of London. The account was very circumſtantial; James was ſaid to have been ſtabbed with a poiſoned knife, and that the murderers were compoſed of Engliſh Jeſuits, Scots in diſguiſe, Frenchmen and Spaniards. The court and city gates were inſtantly ſhut; the guards at both were doubled; the citizens were put under arms; and Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preventing a ſurprize, and ſtanding a ſiege. The parliament was ſitting when the report arrived, and all buſineſs was immediately ſuſpended. Sir Maurice Berkley and two other perſons were diſpatched to know the truth, while terror and confuſion ſeemed to have ſeized every order and rank of men. A ſmall ſpace of time was, however, ſufficient to remove this univerſal conſternation. In about two hours the report became doubtful, and in three a proclamation was publiſhed by the privy-council, informing the people that no unfortunate event happened. James himſelf reached London about two in the afternoon, and was met at Hyde-park by the whole houſe of commons, with the ſpeaker at their head.

The ſupply, though very conſiderable, obtained from parliament, was ſoon ſquandered by the king's profuſion. What conſiderably increaſed the royal expence, was a viſit he received from his brother-in-law the king of Denmark. The whole court was employed in feaſting and revelry, in maſques and interludes. In the midſt of theſe rejoicings, the prince of Vaudemont, third ſon to the duke of Lorraine, attended by ſeven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty domeſtics, arrived at court, and greatly increaſed the ſplendor that then reigned in every part of the palace.

The parliament met again at Weſtminſter on the eighteenth of November, when the project for an union between the two kingdoms was again the object of parliamentary diſcuſſion. James was very deſirous of completing this union; and pointed out, in an excellent ſpeech, the advantages that both kingdoms muſt receive from ſo neceſſary a treaty. But all his reaſonings were in vain; the parliament, ſwayed perhaps by the vulgar motive of national antipathy, reſiſted all his efforts, and the projected treaty became abortive. It was left to latter times, and to an age more capable of perceiving the real advantages of the nation, to complete an union of ſo much importance to both kingdoms.

A. D. 1607. Though the principal ſubject debated in parliament during this ſeſſion, was the union between the two kingdoms, it was not the only one; the puritans exerted themſelves as uſual in bringing in bills againſt pluralities; reſtraining the execution of eccleſiaſtical canons not confirmed by parliament; and moved for a toleration of thoſe who oppoſed the ceremonies of the church: but all their efforts were in vain: James had too ſeverely felt the effects of ſuffering that ſect to gain an aſcendancy in the government. In the mean time an inſurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, occaſioned by large tracts of land being incloſed, whereby the people were deprived of their right of commonage. A body, conſiſting of three or four thouſand men, roved about the country, demoliſhing incloſures, and laying open the lands that had been taken from them. They were headed by one John Reynolds, a perſon of very low condition, but who had acquired great authority among the multitude. Several proclamations were publiſhed, and the ſheriffs raiſed the poſſe of their reſpective counties againſt them, but carefully avoided a general engagement. At laſt James publiſhed a conciliating proclamation, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to proceed againſt them by martial law, and promiſing them mercy, and redreſs of their grievances. This produced the deſired effect: the people laid down their arms, and returned to their reſpective habitations. A few weeks after this commotion ſubſided, James, though no ſupply had been granted him by the parliament, paid a debt of ſixty thouſand pounds contracted by Elizabeth, who, about nine years before, had borrowed that ſum of the citizens of London, and left it undiſcharged at her deceaſe.

A. D. 1608. Nothing memorable occurs in the tranſactions of this year, but the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, lord high-treaſurer. He was ſucceeded in his office by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a nobleman of great talents, and every way qualified to inſtruct James in the methods uſed by former kings for raiſing money without the aſſiſtance of parliament.

A. D. 1609. Early in the ſpring was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that memorable war, which had, for near half a century, been carried on with the utmoſt fury, between Spain and the ſtates of the United Provinces. Every ſtratagem had been tried, and every force exerted to annihilate a people who had made ſuch uncommon efforts in defence of their independence. At laſt the haughty Spaniard, finding the commerce of his kingdom entirely ruined, and his provinces expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the maritime forces of the ſtates, conſented to acknowledge as a free people, thoſe whom he had ſo long treated as rebellious ſubjects, and ſolemnly to relinquiſh all pretenſions to ſovereignty over them. This event was at once mortifying and diſſatisfactory to James, who always conſidered the Hollanders as rebels. It was his avowed maxim in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their princes on any account whatever. He therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings.

A. D. 1610. Nothwithſtanding the many artifices made uſe of by James for levying money upon his ſubjects, he ſoon found his exchequer empty, and was obliged to ſummon a parliament to obtain the neceſſary ſupplie s. The nation being enriched by commerce, and the revenues of the crown not augmented in proportion to the price of proviſions, the king found himſelf poor in the midſt of public wealth. Œconomy, indeed, was not one of James's virtues: he was laviſh of his treaſures to his rapacious courtiers, and always in want, becauſe he wanted ſufficient fortitude to reſtrain, within proper bounds, his paſſion for conferring favours. The taſk of procuring a ſupply to his majeſty was undertaken by the earl of Saliſbury, who, in order to conciliate the affections of the commons, aſſured them that the king was reſolved to redreſs all their grievances, and then proceeded to explain the cauſes which obliged the king to have recourſe to his parliament for a ſupply. He enumerated the debts of the late queen, which the king had diſcharged; the maintaining an army of nineteen thouſand men in Ireland; the great ſums he had expended in diſcharging the debts contracted by Elizabeth; in his own journey, and that of his houſhold, from Edinburgh to London: in entertaining the king of Denmark and foreign ambaſſadors; in ſupporting three courts, for himſelf, the queen and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He repreſented to them, that Elizabeth, though a ſingle woman, had received very large ſupplies during the laſt years of her life, which alone was expenſive to her; that ſhe had, notwithſtanding, alienated a great part of the crown lands, an expedient, which, though it ſupplied the preſent neceſſities, multiplied thoſe of her ſucceſſor. Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons, were urged by the treaſurer, to obtain a large ſupply from the parliament; but they were urged in vain; the commons determined to avail themſelves of the king's poverty in order to keep him in dependence. They complained loudly of the king's prodigality, and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen: while others affirmed that his real intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpations, and, at laſt, to bury the liberties of Engliſhmen in the gulph of prerogative. But being unwilling to ſhock the king with an abſolute denial, they expreſſed their willingneſs to comply with the king's deſires, provided they did not exceed the bounds of reaſon. Accordingly, the earl of Saliſbury moved for a conference with the commons; where he propoſed that an adequate ſupply might be granted for his majeſty's preſent occaſions, and that two hundred thouſand pounds a year ſhould, for the future, be added to the royal revenue, in order to ſupport the dignity of the crown. Fired at this propoſal, the commons voted one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to more than one ſixth part of what had been aſked for the king's preſent occaſions; and abſolutely refuſed to ſettle any ſtanding revenue, unleſs the king would conſent to purchaſe it with ſome valuable conſideration. By the ancient right of poundage the king was to have five per cent. on all merchandize, but as the ancient rates were followed, which did not amount to one third of the real value, he thought he might make ſome improvements, and theſe were made with great moderation. This did not, however, ſatiſfy the commons, they preſented a remonſtrance on that ſubject, in which they ſaid, that ſuch a practice threatened ruin to the ancient liberties of the kingdom, and invaded the properties of the people. They even paſſed a bill for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe taxes; together with another of more importance, againſt eccleſiaſtical regulations made without the authority of parliament; but they were both thrown out by the lords.

Theſe bold attempts, with others of a ſimilar nature, could not fail of being very diſagreeable to a prince firmly attached to the arbitrary principles of his anceſtors. He told the parliament in his ſpeech, that he would never agree to have his power diſputed, but ſhould always be willing to explain the motives of his conduct, and to regulate it by the laws. In a work publiſhed in England, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms, "A good prince, though above the laws, will make his actions conformable to them, and thus ſet an example to his people, whilſt he himſelf is not amenable nor ſubject to the laws." Convinced that the royal authority hath no bounds even in England, he found, with indignation, that bounds were preſcribed to it. At laſt he diſſolved the parliament, but did not by that means weaken the new ſyſtem. Theſe agitations ſeemed to announce thoſe violent ſtorms, which, in the reign of his ſucceſſor overwhelmed the throne.

A. D. 1611. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Henry IV. of France, who, by his experience and good ſenſe, was become one of the greateſt politicians, as well as generals, of the age. That prince ſaw, that while the houſe of Auſtria, through its widely extended branches, was always ready to embrace every opportunity of aggrandizing itſelf, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling that ambitious family. But all his great deſigns were blaſted in a moment by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. That infamous miſcreant had for ſome time followed the king in his incurſions, in queſt of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpoſe. That very morning he intended to ſtab him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs; but was prevented by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneaſy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay, "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be at quiet? About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach with the duke d'Epernon, and ſeveral other noblemen. In paſſing through the ſtreet de la Roquelaer, which is very narrow, a ſtop was made by two loaded carts: the king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the ſtreet, while the other ſtept behind to tie his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpoſe. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, ſharp on both ſides. ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not perceived by any perſon while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; ſo that had he thrown the knife under the coach, he might have eſcaped unnoticed: but he ſtood upon the wheel fixed like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him on your life!" and the miſcreant was taken alive. On his examination he boldly confeſſed he perpetrated the murder, becauſe the king would not take up arms againſt the Hugonots, and that his making war againſt the pope was nothing leſs than making war againſt God; "becauſe the pope was God, and God was the pope." The fanatical villain ſoon after ſuffered for his treachery all the torments a human being is capable of ſupporting. This dreadful aſſaſſination put the finiſhing ſtroke to the honours of fanaticiſm. The catholic religion appeared more odious than ever, though there were fanatics alſo among the reformers.

The diſcovery of the principle on which this regicide had been committed, gave James great uneaſineſs; and as the Jeſuits were univerſally believed to have been the authors of it, James thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove from his perſon, men who held ſo deteſtible a doctrine. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued commanding all Jeſuits and prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion to depart the kingdom immediately, and all recuſants not to come within ten miles of the court. At the ſame time the juſtices of the peace in every county were ordered to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to all catholics. But theſe precautions did not divert James from exerting himſelf to improve the navigation and commerce of the kingdom. He encouraged diſcoveries of every kind that had a tendence to promote the happineſs of his people. He erected large ſtorehouſes for the benefit of victualling his ſhips and ſupplying them with military ſtores, and carried naval architecture to a much greater degree of perfection than it ever before had reached in England. His care for promoting the intereſt of the Eaſt-India company, ought alſo to be mentioned with honour. That company, which had been incorporated by queen Elizabeth, had hitherto ſubſiſted under great diſadvantages, from the difficulty and length of their voyages, and the barbarous diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the countries they had diſcovered; but the large returns of a fortunate voyage, induced them to apply to the king for an enlargement of their charter, by which they propoſed to increaſe the trade, the ſhipping, the ſtrength, and the wealth of the kingdom, and to deprive the Turks and Perſians of the commerce of the Eaſt-Indies. James entered into all theſe conſiderations with an attention becoming the father of his people; he granted them a perpetual charter, enlarged their patent, and formed them into a body corporate and politic. He alſo prohibited the importation of pepper by any other traders, and fixed the retail price of that commodity. Theſe privileges tended greatly to increaſe the ſtrength and opulence of the company; much larger ſhips, and more in number, were ſent annually to India than before.

James was, however, much better fitted to ſhine in a college than on a throne. He made light of politics, while controverſy excited all his zeal. The famous preacher Arminius, of Amſterdam, had been choſen profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, and had been accuſed by the Calviniſts with teaching abſurd doctrines concerning free-will and predeſtination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained maſters of the field of diſputation, and his chair was now filled by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treaties in defence of the Arminian principles. James oppoſed the doctrine of Arminius, and conſidered Vorſtius as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic reputation. The royal diſputant, therefore, attacked the profeſſor with all the rage of arrogance and preſumption. Fearful of the conſequences that might enſue from this ſcholaſtic warfare, the ſtates thought proper to deprive Vorſtius of the chair he had filled with ſo much reputation. The king was appeaſed by this mark of condeſcenſion in the ſtates, though he very charitably hinted to them, "That as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left it entirely to their own chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames." The ſtates, however, had too much ſenſe and humanity to underſtand his majeſty's meaning; they even procured a chair for the ejected profeſſor in another univerſity. But theſe diſputes did not terminate ſo fortunately; the verticious penſioner Barnevelt, one of the greateſt men the republic ever ſaw, and who juſtly deſerved the name of father of his country, fell a victim to the fanatical enthuſiaſm of the oppoſite party. The learned and illuſtrious Gratius was alſo committed to priſon, for defending Barnevelt.

But amidſt theſe theological diſputes, in which James was engaged, he forgot not a project he had formed in favour of humanity, and which did him more real honour than all his ſcholaſtic divinity. This was the civilizing of the Iriſh, and making them acquainted with the happineſs that attends a well-regulated ſociety. During the ſpace of four hundred and forty years that Ireland had been ſubjected to England, the inhabitants of that iſland retained their ancient manners, which had no other tendency than that of keeping the people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder. Involved in ſtupid ignorance, they were a wretched prey to the tyranny of their conquerors. The cuſtom of the Iriſh, like that of other barbarians who formerly over-ran Europe, was to puniſh the greateſt crimes by fines only. Murder itſelf was atoned for in this manner; and every perſon, according to his rank, had a certain rate or value affixed to him: this rate was called his Eric. When Fermanagh was formed into a county, the viceroy of Ireland told Maguire, that he ſhould ſend him a ſheriff or provoſt. "Your ſheriff (ſaid the Iriſhman) ſhall be well received; but tell me beforehand his eric, that if my people kill him, I may be able to levy the money upon the county." James aboliſhed this, and many other barbarous cuſtoms, ſecured and determined their property, defended the people from the oppreſſions of the nobility, puniſhed all crimes with ſeverity, introduced agriculture into that fruitful but uncultivated country, maintained a ſufficient number of troops to keep good order among the people, aboliſhed their prejudices, and enlightened their underſtandings with the rays of learning. In a word, after proceeding regularly, during the courſe of a few years, he came, at length, to govern, by juſtice and the laws, a people who appeared incapable of acknowledging them. He frequently boaſted of the management of Ireland as his maſter-piece; and it will appear, upon the neceſſary inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation: it doubtleſs forms the moſt glorious monument of his reign.

About the ſame time, James gave an agreeable ſpecimen of his impartiality, in the execution of Robert Creighton, lord Sanquhar, who had baſely aſſaſſinated one Turner, his fencing-maſter. In vain was all the intereſt made by ſeveral of the nobility in his favour. The king obſerving how much the Engliſh were provoked at his attachment to his countrymen, liſtened not to the interceſſions that were made to ſave him: he prudently ſuffered the law to take its courſe, and Sanquhar fell a victim to his crime.

A. D. 1612. Henry, prince of Wales, the object of national affection, paid the debt of nature on the ſixth of November, in the ſeventeenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promiſing talents, and of an amiable character. He ſpent his time in ſtudies becoming a prince, and exerciſed himſelf in the moſt manly diverſions. He poſſeſſed the advantage of a fine perſon, and there was a martial turn in his diſpoſition which could not fail of being very agreeable to a warlike people. His death diffuſed an univerſal grief through the nation, and his tomb was watered with the tears of the Engliſh.

Nor was this the only loſs that James ſuſtained in the courſe of this year: his principal counſellor, the earl of Saliſbury, died on the fourteenth of May. His death was a great misfortune to James, who was thereby deprived of a very able miniſter, and one perfectly acquainted with the conſtitution and genius of the Engliſh. He was a perſon of great parts, honour and fidelity; a lover and encourager of virtue and learning in others.

A. D. 1613. On the fourteenth of February, the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with the elector Palatine was celebrated with great rejoicings. No expence was ſpared to render the entertainments on this occaſion as magnificent as poſſible. The nation were very much pleaſed with this match, as it promiſed the greateſt advantages to the proteſtant intereſt in Europe. But theſe hopes were, in the end, rendered abortive, and the marriage proved a ſource of diſcontent between James and his parliament.

The king, during his whole reign in Scotland, was hardly ever without a favourite; and both the Engliſh and Scots had, ever ſince his acceſſion, laboured inceſſantly to ſupply this defect in England; but, for ſome time, their attempts were rendered abortive. At laſt the lord Hay introduced Robert Carre, a Scottiſh gentleman deſcended from an ancient family, and who had formerly been a page of honour to the king in Scotland. Hay, without mentioning him at court, aſſigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of preſenting to the king his buckler and device. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, the unruly horſe, on which he was mounted, flung him, and broke his leg in the king's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern, ordered him to be carried to the palace, and to be attended with the utmoſt care. Carre was then about twenty years of age, of an eaſy air and graceful demeanour, extremely ambitious, and profoundly ignorant. James paid him a viſit as ſoon as the tilting was over, and Carre ſoon became the favourite of the monarch. Honours and eſtates were heaped upon him, and he was the channel through which the royal favours flowed to others. He was, however, ſenſible of his own ignorance and want of experience; but found a faithful friend and judicious counſellor in Sir Thomas Overbury, who endeavoured to inſtil into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion. By following the friendly admonitions of that great man, Carre enjoyed at once the higheſt favour of the prince, and the good wiſhes of the people. James, not content with knighting his favourite, created him viſcount Rocheſter, and inveſted him with the honour of the garter.

James, at his firſt mounting the Engliſh throne, ſhewed the greateſt favour to the families of Howard and Devereux: he reſtored young Eſſex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the houſe of Norfolk. He alſo married young Eſſex to the lady Frances Howard, ſecond daughter to the earl of Suffolk: but as ſhe was only in her thirteenth, and he in his fourteenth year, they were thought too young to cohabit together; and it was reſolved that the earl ſhould paſs ſome time in the Low Countries, where he enjoyed an opportunity of completing himſelf in the art of war. Upon his return, he found his counteſs the moſt celebrated beauty of the age, while he himſelf was conſidered as one of the moſt promiſing young noblemen in Europe; but he was ignorant that lord Rocheſter, the favourite, was his rival in the heart of his lovely bride. Preſuming on his great intereſt with the king, Rocheſter made profeſſions of love to the young counteſs, and was too ſucceſsful in his addreſſes; but the return of Eſſex interrupted the enjoyment of their guilty pleaſures. Eſſex claimed the privileges of a huſband, but met with an abſolute denial. Alarmed at this ſtrange behaviour, and ignorant of the cauſe, the young nobleman, for ſome time, exerted all his endeavours to gain her favour; but finding his attempts in vain, he determined to give himſelf no farther trouble, but leave her to purſue her own inclinations.

Had the counteſs been ſatisfied with being the miſtreſs of Rocheſter, all the misfortunes that afterwards attended both herſelf and the favourite, might, poſſibly, have been avoided; but loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe aſpired to be his wife; and accordingly prevailed upon her lover to uſe his influence with the king, in order to procure for her a divorce from Eſſex. Rocheſter imparted this ſcheme to Sir Thomas Overbury, his faithful counſellor; who, alarmed at the propoſal, uſed every argument in his power to divert his friend from ſo fooliſh and baſe an attempt. The warmth of his honeſt expoſtulations carried him ſo far, that he threatened Rocheſter with the loſs of his correſpondence and friendſhip, if he could ſo far forget his honour and intereſt, as to proſecute his intended marriage with a woman of ſuch abandoned principles. Rocheſter had the weakneſs to impart this converſation to the counteſs, who inſtantly vowed the ſevereſt revenge againſt this bold arraigner of her honour and conduct. The favourite himſelf was alſo ſo infatuated by her charms, that he joined with her in reſolving the ruin of Overbury. He accordingly repaired to court; and after extolling, in the higheſt manner, the great abilities of Overbury, inſinuated, that he was lately grown ſo inſupportably inſolent, that he could wiſh he was removed, by ſome honourable employment, to a greater diſtance from the ſeat of power. Far from ſuſpecting the cauſe of the favourite's application, James appointed Overbury his ambaſſador to a foreign court. On receiving notice of the honour conferred upon him, he conſulted with Rocheſter how he ought to proceed, as he conſidered his appointment as nothing more than an honourable baniſhment. The inſidious favourite, under pretence of not being able to ſupport his abſence, perſuaded him to reject the offer. Overbury followed his advice; but the favourite repairing immediately to court, repreſented the refuſal of Overbury as the higheſt inſolence. James, who could not bear the ſlighteſt contempt of his authority, ſent the unhappy Overbury to the Tower.

The troubleſome counſellor being thus removed from the ſcene of action, the divorce was ſollicited with ſuch ſucceſs, that the ſentence was ſoon pronounced; and the king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the counteſs, but alſo created him earl of Somerſet, that her ſecond huſband might not be inferior in dignity to her firſt. The nuptials were ſolemnized in the moſt magnificent manner; and nothing now was wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be ſatisfied. She uſed every art to effect her bloody purpoſe; and at laſt prevailed, both on her huſband and the earl of Northampton, her uncle, to engage in the atrocious deſign of taking him off by poiſon. Several attempts were accordingly made for this purpoſe, but the ſtrength of Overbury's conſtitution as often rendered them abortive. At laſt nature gave way to repeated attacks, and he died in the Tower on the ſixteenth of September, by a poiſoned clyſter. He was buried with the utmoſt diſpatch and ſecrecy; and tho' this precipitate interment cauſed a ſtrong ſuſpicion in the public, the horrid action was not diſcovered till ſome years after.

A. D. 1614. Without œconomy, and laviſh to his favourites, the reſources of James were ill proportioned to his wants. After ſelling baronets' titles to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds, and employing thoſe ſad expedients, the effect of which degrades more than it multiplies nobility, he found himſelf obliged to call a parliament. The commons, ſtill animated with the ſame ſpirit againſt the prerogative, determined to make an attempt for preſcribing it within proper bouuds. The office of a member of the houſe of commons, once regarded as a burden, was now, from the authority it aſſumed, become an object of emulation. The miniſtry had exerted their utmoſt efforts to procure a majority; but the meaſures of the court were ſo diſagreeable to the nation in general, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual; and inſtead of granting a ſupply, as deſired by the king, they reſumed the ſubject debated in the laſt parliament; and boldly remonſtrated againſt the regal uſurpations, in levying new cuſtoms and impoſitions by the ſole authority of the prerogative. Nor did they think their remonſtrances ſufficient: they applied to the lords for a conference, in order to concert meaſures to prevent, if poſſible, the ſame practice for the future; and ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, by circumſcribing the unlimited power of the crown. Informed of their intention, and determined to render the deſign abortive, James diſſolved the parliament, after a ſeſſion of about two months, in which not one ſtatute was enacted, nor any ſupply granted. The only reſult of their meeting was an increaſe of jealouſy between the prince and the people. In the ſpace of ſix hundred years, there are only three inſtances of the parliament's refuſing an aid to the crown. The commons ſeemed determined to provoke the indignation of the king: and James carried his reſentment ſo far, that he impriſoned ſome of the members who had been the leaders in this oppoſition; a ſtep which expoſed him ſtill farther to the hatred of the nation.

A. D. 1615. Deprived of the advantage of Overbury's bury's counſel, the earl of Somerſet found himſelf greatly embarraſſed in the management of public affairs. His ſmall experience rendered every thing difficult; he became odious to the court; and tho' the king's partiality continued, his inſolence and weakneſs gave his enemies ſo many advantages, that it was evident he muſt ſoon be removed. The queen herſelf was inſulted by this favourite minion, and joined the party formed againſt him. After many conſultations on the beſt method of effecting the ruin of Somerſet, it was agreed to give the king a new favourite. The ſcheme ſucceeded; and George Villiers, a young man remarkable for his beauty and effeminacy, was the object choſen for this purpoſe. James firſt beheld this gaudy object at a comedy acted at Cambridge, where he was conſpicuouſly placed, and immediately engaged the attention of the king. Villiers was conducted to court, and ſoon weakened the influence of the favourite. He was immediately knighted, and made a gentleman of the bedchamber, with the yearly penſion of a thouſand crowns.

Somerſet ſaw his fall was approaching, and exerted all his influence to avert it. But his efforts were in vain: the diſcovery of Overbury's murder reduced him to the level from which he had been raiſed by the hand of folly. The apothecary's boy, who had been employed in adminiſtering the poiſoned clyſter, revealed the whole ſecret to Winwood, ſecretary of ſtate. The evidence of the boy was confirmed by the information of the counteſs of Shrewſbury, then a priſoner in the Tower. That lady had found means to inſinuate herſelf into the confidence of Sir Jarvaiſe Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower; and being of an intriguing diſpoſition, ſhe drew the ſecret from him. James was ſoon informed of the atrocious deed; and the lieutenant being queſtioned, could not help betraying, by his countenance, the guilt that rankled at his heart. He confeſſed all he knew, and it was now determined to proſecute all the actors in this deteſtable tragedy. Accordingly Weſton, who had given Overbury the poiſon in tarts and jellies, and at laſt in a clyſter; Mrs. Turner, chief confident of the counteſs of Somerſet; Franklin, the apothecary, who had prepared the poiſon; and Sir Jarvaiſe Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended. All theſe, together with Somerſet and his counteſs, were convicted of the atrocious fact, on the fulleſt evidence. Somerſet and his counteſs only were pardoned; the reſt ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crimes. After ſome years impriſonment, James ſet them at liberty, and conferred on them a ſmall penſion, on which they lived retired in the country, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity.

The fortune of Villiers, in the mean time, grew with amazing rapidity. He was created duke of Buckingham, lord high-admiral of England, conſtable of Windſor, and, in a few years, loaded with thoſe honours and favours that might have rewarded the merit of many illuſtrious men. His family alſo was advanced to opulence. But this ſtrange and unworthy profuſion increaſed the king's neceſſities, and obliged him to raiſe money by very obnoxious means. He reſtored to the Dutch the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammakins, for three hundred thouſand pounds. Theſe places had been put into the hands of Elizabeth by the ſtates of the United Provinces, as ſecurities for the ſum of eight hundred and eighteen thouſand four hundred and eight pounds, which that princeſs had advanced during their war with Spain. The neceſſities of James obliged him to accept the ſmall ſum above-mentioned, and the places were accordingly delivered up on the fourteenth of June. From this period we may date the full liberty of the Dutch republic.

But the money was ſoon diſſipated, without the poſſibility of knowing how: none of the king's debts were paid; the navy was not repaired, nor had any money been ſent to the army in Ireland, though their wants formed the chief pretence for treating with the ſtates. At length it was diſcovered, that the lord treaſurer Suffolk had converted the greater part of the money received from Holland to his own uſe. As he was father-in-law to Somerſet, and conſequently no friend to Villiers the favourite, this opportunity to ruin him was readily embraced. The lord-treaſurer was accuſed in the ſtar-chamber, of ſeveral miſdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having ſecreted large ſums received from the Dutch. Sir Edward Coke, who carried on the proſecution againſt him for the crown, aggravated his miſdemeanors, his extortions, his miſmanagement of the king's treaſure, his boldneſs in applying it to his own uſe, the corruptions and artifices of his deputy Bingley, to abuſe the confidence of ſuch as had any buſineſs with his maſter. He produced ſeveral precedents of treaſurers who had been puniſhed for much ſlighter crimes than thoſe of the earl of Suffolk, and diſplayed the dangerous conſequences that muſt reſult from the corrupt adminiſtration of the public money. Had Suffolk thrown himſelf upon the mercy of the king, he would have been acquitted; but he endeavoured to invalidate the evidence brought againſt him, and juſtify his conduct againſt the malignant accuſations of his enemies. He failed in the attempt; and his judges pronounced him guilty He was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure. Nor did his deputy Bingley eſcape: he was ſeverely reprimanded, and fined two thouſand pounds.

Villiers now wholly engroſſed the royal favour; the friends of Somerſet were no longer capable of giving him any diſturbance. He accordingly began to exert his influence by filling all the places about the court with his own creatures. The lord chief-juſtice Coke was deprived of his office, on pretence of ſome trifling miſdemeanors: but the real cauſe of his diſgrace was his oppoſing the king in beſtowing a vacant biſhopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montague; and Bacon, on the death of Elleſmere, was appointed lord chancellor.

A. D. 1617. James, inſtigated both by political and religious motives, was very deſirous of eſtabliſhing in Scotland the worſhip and tenets of the church of England, ſo favourable to the authority of the crown; for at this time no people in the world were leſs ſubmiſſive to that authority than the Scots. The highlanders, divided into ſeven clans, or tribes, formed, as it were, a diſtinct nation, equally untractable and barbarous. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, where the feudal government ſtill ſubſiſted, were ſtrongly attached to their chiefs and their tribes, in whom they placed their greateſt confidence, and very little in their king, with whoſe weakneſs they had been acquainted. The kingdom was torn in pieces by internal diviſions, which had only been from time to time ſuſpended by their natural hatred of the Engliſh; and what was ſtill worſe, fanaticiſm raged in all its horrors. The authority of the biſhops ſcarce ſubſiſted; the puritan preachers, aſſuming to themſelves a character little inferior to that of the prophets or apoſtles, diſdaining all ſubmiſſion to the ſpiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were ſtrongly oppoſed. The prelates and abbots, however, ſtill maintained their ſeats in parliament, and the church was ſtill ſuppoſed to be repreſented by thoſe ſpiritual lords, in the ſtates of the kingdom. But their vaſt revenues, in which their real power conſiſted, were no more; the greater part had been ſeized by the more powerful barons, and what remained, after many delapidations, was, by act of parliament, veſted in the crown. James, when only king of Scotland, had yielded, much againſt his inclinations, to the aſcendency of the enthuſiaſts. When he came to the crown of England, he was more capable of making them feel the weight of regal power, and had gained conſiderable advantages over them by virtue of his right of ſupremacy. He was now reſolved to viſit his native country, in order to carry into immediate execution the plan he had formed for extending the epiſcopal power, and eſtabliſhing the ſuperiority of the civil government over the juriſdiction of the clergy. Had he proceeded gradually, and concealed his real intention, he might, in all probability, have ſucceeded; but he puſhed his deſign with too much violence, and by attempting to introduce ſome ceremonies uſed in the church of England, rendered the whole ſufficiently apparent, and in the end abortive. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by oppoſition, ſo poſſeſſed the minds of the Scottiſh reformers, that all rights and ornaments were rejected with diſdain, as uſeleſs burthens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous extacies, and cramping the divine ſpirit by which they ſuppoſed themſelves to be animated. Hence the enlivening intercourſes of ſociety, every ſweet or chearful amuſement, calculated to ſoften or humanize the character, were baniſhed from the kingdom. A gloomy and ſullen diſpoſition, the natural conſequence of fanaticiſm, eſtabliſhed itſelf among the people. James was, therefore, deſirous of infuſing a ſmall tincture of ceremony into the national worſhip, and of introducing ſuch rites as might, in ſome degree, occupy the mind, and pleaſe the ſenſes, without departing too far from that ſimplicity by which the reformation was diſtinguiſhed. He accordingly cauſed ſeveral of the churches to be adorned; an organ was erected in the king's chapel; and ſome attempts made to introduce the fine arts among a people then rude and ferocious. But every innovation from their mode of worſhip, was looked upon with horror and deteſtation. Every ſtep towards introducing ceremonies into the churches was conſidered as an approximation towards that ſpiritual whore ſo much the object of their execrations.

James had ſummoned a general aſſembly of the clergy to meet him at Aberdeen before the death of Elizabeth, but the demiſe of that princeſs rendering it neceſſary for him to repair to England, he prorogued it to the following year. Thoſe who diſavowed his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, regarded not his prohibition, but met at the time appointed. The king was exaſperated at this contempt of his authority, and committed them all to priſon. Such as thought proper to ſubmit were pardoned; but the reſt brought to their trial, and condemned for high-treaſon. None of them, however, were executed; but ſix of the moſt refractory were baniſhed the kingdom. This ſevere proceeding had intimidated the clergy, ſo that James met with much leſs reſiſtance in his attempt. But all his power and all his influence were exerted in vain: the Scottiſh miniſters refuſed to introduce the ceremonies he had recommended, and the deſign of the king was conſidered by the vulgar, as an attempt to baniſh the Chriſtian religion out of Scotland.

Nor was James more fortunate in gaining the affections of the puritanical ſect in England. Deſirous of ſoftening that gloomy diſpoſition which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom, he publiſhed a proclamation for allowing and encouraging, after divine ſervice, all kinds of lawful games and exerciſes, that the minds of the people might be exhilirated, and detached from that melancholy horror which was at once injurious to the health of the body, and deſtructive of the enlivening intercourſes of ſociety.

A. D. 1618. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, during his impriſonment of thirteen years in the Tower, had applied himſelf cloſely to ſtudy, and acquired ſo great a reputation for learning, that all his faults were forgotten. He was now as much lamented, as he had been before hated by the people. That great genius, that renowned warrior, educated amidſt naval and military enterprizes, treated with ſo much rigour, was conſidered as a valuable citizen, who ought to be reſtored to the ſtate. The favourable diſpoſitions of the public increaſing at once his deſire and hopes of liberty, he expected to obtain it by publiſhing, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth he had diſcovered a gold mine of immenſe value in Guiana. James, though he placed little confidence in this report, yet thinking Raleigh had already ſuffered ſufficient puniſhment, releaſed him from priſon, and gave him the command of thoſe adventurers, whom the deſire of ſharing in the pretended mine, had inſpired with a deſire of ſharing his fortunes; but abſolutely refuſed to grant him a pardon, though it ſeemed a natural conſequence, when he was entruſted with power and command.

As ſoon as his fleet, which conſiſted of twelve ſhips, was ready, he ſailed from Plymouth, and ſteered directly for Guiana in America. On his arrival he found the Spaniards had formed a ſettlement on the river Oronoko, built a ſmall town called St. Thomas, and were working ſome gold mines of ſmall value in the neighbourhood. Raleigh entered the mouth of the river with his whole fleet, but did not think it prudent to purſue his deſign againſt the rapid current of the river with his largeſt ſhips. He therefore detached five of his ſmalleſt veſſels under the command of his ſon and captain Keymis, who was ſaid to have diſcovered the mine in queſtion, during his former voyage with Sir Walter to that country, with orders to ſail up the Oronoko, as far as poſſible, in order to find the mountain in the bowels of which the mine was ſituated. But not being able to purſue their courſe, they landed near St. Thomas, where they were fired upon by the Spaniards. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a ſhot of which he immediately expired. Keymis and his companions were not diſmayed, they carried on the attack with the utmoſt vigour, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place. They found not, however, the riches they expected: the Spaniards were poor, and the produce of the mines inconſiderable. Keymis was now requeſted to lead them to the mine he had before diſcovered, but abſolutely refuſed; and the Engliſh, after burning the town, returned to the reſt of the fleet at the mouth of the river. Raleigh, finding himſelf diſappointed in the promiſes of Keymis, threatened him with the king's diſpleaſure, which that officer prevented by retiring to his cabbin, and putting an end to his own life.

It was now ſuſpected by Raleigh's companions, that they had been deceived by their leader; that he had never any aſſurance of their being any ſuch mine he pretended to be in ſearch of; that he had always intended to plunder St. Thomas; and, after encouraging his ſoldiers with the ſpoil of that place, to have proceeded to invade the other Spaniſh ſettlements; hoping by ſuch daring enterprizes to repair the ruins of his ſhattered fortune, and flattering himſelf with being able to purchaſe, by his wealth, the pardon he had before ſollicited in vain. They therefore abſolutely refuſed to make any farther attempts on the Spaniſh ſettlements, and obliged him to return to Plymouth, where he was arreſted by his majeſty's order, and conveyed to the Tower.

During the abſence of Raleigh, the Spaniſh ambaſſador had made loud complaints at the court of London, of the depredations committed by the Engliſh under that intrepid commander; and a reſolution was taken to carry the former ſentence paſſed againſt him into execution. The king accordingly liſtened to the advice of his council, and ſigned the warrant for his execution. Raleigh now called forth all the force of his mind, and met death with the greateſt intrepidity. When he came upon the ſcaffold he touched the edge of the executioner's axe, and ſaid, "This is a ſharp but ſure remedy for all ills." His ſpeech to the people was calm and eloquent, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf from the crimes laid to his charge, and load his enemies with the public hatred. Having finiſhed his harangue, he, with the utmoſt indifference, laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow.

His fate was regretted by the whole body of the nobility; and the Engliſh patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with ſilent indignation. The public clamour againſt the puſillanimous adminiſtration of James was, by this event, greatly increaſed. It was thought an inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice to execute a ſentence, which had been ſo long ſuſpended, and tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new truſt and commiſſion; eſpecially as he was then the only man in England who enjoyed a high reputation for valour and military experience.

James had formed the moſt ridiculous notion, that it was unworthy a prince of Wales to marry any but the daughter of a king. Gondomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, in order to open a negotiation with the Engliſh monarch, dropped ſome hints that the infanta Maria, would not be refuſed if demanded for the king's ſon; and in order to render the temptation irreſiſtible to the neceſſitous monarch, he gave the greateſt hopes that an immenſe dowry would be given with that princeſs. The hopes of accompliſhing ſo advantageous a treaty induced the king to embrace the propoſal with the greateſt avidity: and, after many formalities and ſcruples had been diſcuſſed by the Spaniſh council, certain articles were tranſmitted by lord Digby, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Madrid, for his approbation. They were in ſubſtance as follows;

"That the pope's diſpenſation ſhould be obtained by the ſole act of the Spaniſh monarch.

"That the children of this marriage ſhould not be conſtrained in matters of religion, nor their titles prejudiced in caſe they embraced the doctrines of Rome.

"That the infanta's family, being ſtrangers, may be catholics, and ſhall have a decent place appointed for celebrating divine ſervice according to the church of Rome; and the eccleſiaſtics and religious perſons enjoy the liberty of wearing their religious habits.

"That the marriage ſhould be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the inſtructions of the council of Trent; and after the infanta's arrival in England, ſuch ſolemnization ſhould be uſed as may render the marriage valid according to the laws of that kingdom.

"That the princeſs ſhould have a competent number of chaplains, and a confeſſor, being ſtrangers, one of whom ſhould have power to govern her family in religious matters."

Though theſe articles excited the clamour of the nation, yet, if we except that part which permits the religious and eccleſiaſtics to wear their proper habits, they differ very little from thoſe afterwards agreed upon by the ſame prince and a princeſs of France, and which were approved of by the Engliſh parliament. Gondomar had, however, no authority to conclude the marriage on theſe terms. The whole intention of the Spaniſh court ſeems to have been only to amuſe the king in order to prevent his ſending a powerful aſſiſtance to the proteſtants in Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more ſtrongly in Europe than at this period; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, were as jealous of their rights as the Engliſh themſelves. The ſpirit of independence had taken root in Germany ever ſince the reign of Charles V. The example of the inhabitants of the United Provinces was always preſent with theſe people, who pretended to the ſame privileges, and thought themſelves in a better condition to demand them, than even the Hollanders themſelves. The emperor Matthias having procured his couſin Ferdinand of Auſtria, to be elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and obliged the other archdukes to yield him up Auſtria, the inhabitants of theſe three ſtates joined in complaining, that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to their privileges; religion alſo made a part of the grievance of the Bohemians, who ſoon became furious.

In the midſt of theſe confuſions, Matthias paid the debt of nature, and Ferdinand of Auſtria was placed on the imperial throne. This new dignity, however, made no impreſſion upon the proteſtants of Bohemia, whoſe power was now conſiderable. They inſiſted on having liberty to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; upon which the council of ſtate iſſued a declaration againſt the proteſtants, peremptorily refuſing to grant their requeſt. Exaſperated at this denial, they repaired to the palace, and threw three of the emperor's officers out of the window. This outrage expoſed them to the fury of Ferdinand. They knew they had nothing to expect from his clemency, and therefore determined either to ſucceed in an attempt to recover their liberties, or periſh in the glorious cauſe. They conſidered themſelves as entitled to depoſe a king they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to the Elector Palatine, ſon-in-law to the king of England. Frederick accepted the offer, and was actually elected king of Bohemia. James complained of this proceeding in the electors, as diſloyal, imprudent, and diſhonourable. He could by no means approve of the maxims of elective governments, and was perſuaded that Ferdinand, by a kind of preſcriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia. He accuſed his ſon-in-law of forcing him either to deſert his cauſe, or break off his negotiation with Spain. He alſo complained of his duplicity, in having deſired his advice with regard to his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and actually received it before the meſſenger could arrive at London. The popularity of Frederick's cauſe was, notwithſtanding theſe reproaches, ſo great in England, that James found himſelf under a kind of neceſſity of doing ſomething in his favour. He could not, however, be prevailed upon to give his ſon-in-law the title of king of Bohemia; and iſſued orders, forbidding the clergy to pray for him in the churches under that appellation.

A. D. 1619. The new emperor, Ferdinand II. who poſſeſſed greater abilities than generally fell to the ſhare of the Auſtrian princes, prepared himſelf, with great diligence, for the recovery of his authority. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his intereſt a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire declared in his favour; even the elector of Saxony, the moſt powerful among the proteſtants, and the king of Poland, eſpouſed his cauſe. The Spaniſh monarch, who conſidered his own intereſt as inſeparably connected with the younger branch of his family, ſent him powerful ſuccours from Italy, and from the Low Countries, and alſo furniſhed large ſums of money for the ſupport of Ferdinand and the catholic religion. Gondomar was alſo ordered to continue the deluſive negotiation, in order to prevent James from aſſiſting his ſon-in-law. That artful miniſter, by his inſinuating manners, and a large ſum of money judiciouſly diſtributed, ſoon gained the aſcendency over the king, the favourite, and the miniſtry; ſo that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom. James, who, above all things, dreaded the breaking off a match on which his affections were ſo warmly fixed, and, at the ſame time, deſirous of acquiring the title of The Pacific King, inſtead of taking any vigorous meaſures to ſupport his ſon-in-law, had again recourſe to his ruinous method of negotiation. He ſent the lord Doncaſter to mediate a peace in the empire; but Ferdinand would ſcarce favour him with an audience, and the embaſſy immediately became abortive.

A. D. 1620. The affairs of Germany now haſtened to a criſis. Ferdinand having collected a powerful army, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched againſt Frederick in Bohemia. At the ſame time, Spinola aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand veterans in the Low Countries; and when Edmonds, James's reſident at Bruſſels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of thoſe large preparations, he was told, that Spinola had received his orders immediately from Madrid; and that the king of Spain alone knew the purpoſe for which the forces were intended. In the mean time, the Elector Palatine was put under the ban of the empire, and the execution of it committed to the elector of Saxony, who immediately entered and ſubdued Luſatia. The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and James, unable any longer to reſiſt the ſollicitations of his ſubjects, who offered to advance very large ſums to ſupport the right of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave for Sir Horace Vere to command a ſmall body of forces for the preſervation of the Palatinate. This little army conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred men, compoſed chiefly of volunteers, and headed by the intrepid earls of Oxford and Eſſex: the company of the latter conſiſted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket; and a kind of promiſe was extorted from James, that he would ſuffer two more regiments to be ſent after them. Thoſe brave volunteers were landed in Holland, paſſed the Rhine below Weſel, and were eſcorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Naſſau. On the firſt of October, they joined the Palatine army, commanded by the Margrave of Anſpach. They arrived, however, only time enough to be the melancholy witneſſes of the deſtruction of that cauſe they came to ſupport. The duke of Bavaria having joined the imperial general in Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Elector Palatine was poſted. For ſome days, the two armies faced each other; but on the eighteenth of November, a battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Bohemian crown. The Elector Palatine was totally defeated, and fled, with his wife and family, to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialiſts; and the unfortunate Frederick ſaw himſelf abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who ſtill preſerved his fidelity. The complaints of the people againſt the timid and puſillanimous conduct of James were now both loud and alarming. It was ſaid publicly, that he had not only deprived the elector of that aſſiſtance which the Engliſh were both willing and able to afford him, but alſo had deterred other princes from eſpouſing his quarrel.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that James was unwilling to preſerve the Palatinate; but he was ſo much infatuated by the perſuaſions of Gondomar, that he believed the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe was the marriage of his ſon with the Infanta of Spain; and that the treaty he was negotiating for that purpoſe, would infallibly miſcarry if he took any vigorous meaſures in favour of the elector. Beſides, his averſion to war was inſuperable: he never dreamed that his peaceable diſpoſition tended only to expoſe him to contempt: he conſidered not that the Spaniſh match itſelf was attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would never be able to remove, much leſs that this alliance could ſafely be depended upon as the means of procuring the great advantages he expected from it.

A. D. 1621. James ſeems, however, at laſt to have determined to purſue vigorous meaſures; and flattered himſelf with receiving large ſupplies from the parliament, which met on the twenty-firſt of January. He opened the ſeſſion with a long ſpeech from the throne, in which he explained the duties of parliaments, expatiated on his own neceſſities, and demanded ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in the defence of which he declared he would hazard his crown, and the life of his own ſon, ſhould his endeavours to procure a reaſonable peace miſcarry. The commons, extremely incenſed againſt the ambitious proceedings of the houſe of Auſtria, immediately granted the king two ſubſidies, with which James was ſatisfied for the preſent. This affair being diſcuſſed, the commons received petitions againſt the increaſe of popiſh recuſants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licenſing taverns and public houſes; and granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Francis Michel an excluſive patent for the ſale of gold and ſilver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous frauds and extortion, that upon complaint being made to the upper houſe, they were ordered to be committed to priſon. Mompeſſon, however, found means to eſcape; but he was degraded from the honour of knighthood, and his eſtate confiſcated. His companion in iniquity was ſentenced to do public penance in the ſtreet, ſitting on horſeback with his face towards the tail, to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned for life.

Perceiving with what eagerneſs the two houſes proceeded againſt theſe delinquents, James began to fear for his favourite, who had been the author of theſe monopolies. He therefore went to the houſe of peers; and in a ſpeech filled with the moſt affectionate expreſſions, aſſured the parliament, that had he known of theſe grievances, he would have puniſhed the authors with the utmoſt ſeverity: at the ſame time, cautioning the houſe not to credit every report, leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer inſtead of the guilty. The houſe underſtood his meaning, and endeavoured not to trace the evil to its ſource.

Soon after, lord chancellor Bacon, viſcount St. Albans, was impeached by the commons: upon which the king again repaired to the houſe; and, in a ſpeech, repreſented the neceſſity of puniſhing corrupt judges; and ſollicited farther ſubſidies, as the ſupplies granted by the commons were already expended in ſubſiſting the Elector Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He obſerved, that large ſums would be neceſſary for defraying the expence of ſending extraordinary ambaſſadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as in maintaining an army to act with vigour, if the negotiations proved abortive: and concluded with proteſting, that he would not diſſolve the parliament till all the affairs then under conſideration ſhould be fully determined.

Bacon was a nobleman equally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for his courteous and affable demeanor: but his want of œconomy, and his indulgence to his ſervants, had involved him in debts; and in order to ſupply his neceſſities, he had been tempted to take bribes from ſuitors in chancery. It is, however affirmed, that notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he ſtill maintained, in the ſeat of juſtice, an unſhaken integrity; and had given ſuch juſt and equitable decrees, that none of them were ever afterwards queſtioned or reverſed. Conſcious of his guilt, he imprecated the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confeſſion, to avoid the ſhame of a public inquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted on a full confeſſion of all his corrupt practices. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles, and was condemned to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during his majeſty's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of enjoying any office or employment, and of ſitting any more in parliament. This ſevere ſentence he ſurvived five years; and being ſoon after releaſed from his confinement, he retired into the country, and diſplayed ſuch abilities in literature, as have thrown a veil over his guilt, or rather his weakneſs: his genius only is admired by poſterity. He has left a ſtriking leſſon to thoſe of the human ſpecies who are born for the inſtruction of mankind, how much preferable the exerciſe of their talents is to the attractions of ambition.

In the mean time, the bold ſpirit of the commons was growing imperceptibly. Nothing eſcaped their attention and vigilance. It was in this parliament the two parties, afterwards known by the names of

Whigs and Tories, were firſt formed; and of whom it may be ſaid, that if they have often threatened the government with total diſſolution, they have, notwithſtanding, been the real cauſe of its conſtant life and vigour. Under the princes of the houſe of Tudor, the great council of the nation were, in reality, nothing more than ſlaves to the court. Tho' they retained the privilege of making laws and granting the people's money, they ſuffered themſelves to be led into the moſt paſſive obedience. Without emulation, without principles, without zeal for the ſecurity of the ſubject, without ſpirit in public buſineſs, they ſeemed ignorant of the Engliſh conſtitution, as founded on Magna Charta, or at leaſt abandoned it to the abſolute power of the ſovereign. But now the ſpirit of liberty, or rather of independence, revived, and every tranſaction of government became a ſubject of diſcuſſion. The commons enquired into the ſmalleſt grievances, and examined the rights of the crown even in the minuteſt articles. They drew up a ſpirited remonſtrance, which they propoſed to preſent to his majeſty, wherein they obſerved, "That the power of the houſe of Auſtria threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progreſs of the catholic religion in England, occaſioned the moſt alarming apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould once more gain the aſcendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the profeſſors of that religion, had increaſed their arrogance and preſumption; that the uncontrouled conqueſts made by the Auſtrian family, had raiſed the expectations of the Engliſh papiſts; while the expectation of the Spaniſh match inſpired them with the moſt ſanguine hopes of procuring, if not a final eſtabliſhment, at leaſt an entire toleration of their religion." They then proceeded humbly to offer to his majeſty the following remedies againſt theſe growing evils: "That he ſhould immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate by force of arms; that he ſhould declare war againſt Spain, whoſe arms and riches formed the chief bulwark of the catholic religion in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiations for the marriage of his ſon, but with a proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations to which the catholics were ſubject by the law, ſhould be exacted with the utmoſt rigour."

The king was at Newmarket when he heard of this unprecedented remonſtrance, and immediately wrote a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſharply rebuked the houſe for debating openly on matters far above their reach and capacity, and ſtrictly forbad them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of ſtate; and eſpecially not to touch on his ſon's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any of his friends and confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the impriſonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he declared that his confinement was not owing to any offence committed in the houſe, yet he plainly told them, „ that he thought himſelf juſtly entitled to puniſh every miſdemeanor in parliament, as well during its ſitting as after its diſſolution; and that he intended, for the future, to chaſtiſe every man whoſe inſolent behaviour ſhould give occaſion for offence."

This letter was ſo far from producing the effects intended by his majeſty, that it threw the houſe into a flame. They knew their own ſtrength too well to be intimidated at James's menaces. Inſtead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever on the national grievances, and the dangerous ſtate of the reformed religion both at home and abroad. They formed a new remonſtrance, drawn up indeed in very reſpectful terms, but not leſs bold and ſpirited than the former. After reminding him with the chearfulneſs with which they undertook to aſſiſt him in the defence of the Palatinate, they obſerved, "That their zeal for the proteſtant religion and the intereſt of his majeſty's family, had induced them to repreſent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for thoſe evils: that by his letter to the ſpeaker, he ſeemed determined to deprive them of the parliamentary liberty to ſpeak freely in the houſe, and alſo of the juriſdiction which the houſe exerciſed over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their anceſtors; a right which he himſelf had confirmed in his ſpeeches to the parliament, and without which it would be impoſſible to diſcuſs and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance."

This reſolute anſwer in the commons raiſed every ſpark of regal pride in the compoſition of James. His anſwer was ſhort, peremptory, and ſuitable to that ſpirit of kingly power which filled his breaſt. After explaining his intentions with regard to the prerogative in very clear and explicit terms, he concluded his reply with regard to the rights and privileges of parliament in the following manner: "And although we cannot allow the ſtile, calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wiſhed you had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us (for moſt of them grew by precedents, which rather ſhew toleration then inheritance:) yet we are pleaſed to give our royal aſſurance, that, as long as you continue yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our anceſtors were, nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative; ſo as your houſe ſhall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any juſt king, to retrench them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cauſe given."

This anſwer, which is dated at Newmarket the eleventh of December, breathes all the ſpirit of deſpotiſm. The houſe of commons were juſtly alarmed. They ſaw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet conſidered at leaſt as very precarious. He plainly told them it might be forfeited by abuſe, and they had already abuſed it. They therefore reſolved to grant no ſupply till they received ſatiſfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and drew up the following proteſtation, which is ſo very remarkable, that it will be neceſſary to give it at full length. "The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make the following proteſtation: That the liberties, franchiſes, and juriſdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, ſtate, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of council and debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the houſe of parliament hath, and of right, ought to have, freedom of ſpeech to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of theſe matters, in ſuch order as in their judgment ſhall ſeem fitteſt, and that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment, and moleſtation (other than by cenſure of the houſe itſelf) for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliamentary buſineſs. And that if any of the ſaid members be complained of and queſtioned for any

“ thing done or ſaid in parliament, the ſame is to be
“ ſhewn to the king by the advice and aſſent of all
“ the commons aſſembled in parliament, before the
“ king give credence to any private information.”

Informed of theſe increaſing heats and jealouſies that prevailed in the lower houſe, James hurried to town from Newmarket, determined to exert the regal authority with which he was intruſted, and convince the commons that they had proceeded too far in aſſerting their liberties. On his arrival, he ſent immediately for the journal book of the commons, and before the council, tore out, with his own hand, the above proteſtation, which he conſidered as an inſult on his prerogative. At the ſame time he declared it abſolutely null and void, becauſe it was voted tumultuouſly at a late hour, and in a very thin houſe; and becauſe it was expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, as might be conſidered as a ſufficient foundation for the moſt enormous crimes, and extended to the moſt unwarrantable uſurpations on the prerogative of the crown. Soon after he diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, in which he made an apology to the public for his whole conduct. Some of the leaders among the commons he committed to priſon, and ſent others to execute a commiſſion in Ireland. At laſt he prohibited all diſcourſe on public affairs, as if he had power to prevent the people from ſpeaking on thoſe ſubjects, in which they were moſt intereſted; an authority enjoyed not by the moſt deſpotic monarch.

A prohibition of this kind tended only to heighten the animoſities of the parties. Every nation piques itſelf on diſcuſſing the principles of government. One party exalted the royal prerogative, the other parliamentary liberty. The ſource of authority, its extent and its limits were examined; diſcuſſions ſo much the more dangerous, as the firſt laws being always imperfect, and remoter ages covered with obſcurity, there is inexhauſtible matter for oppoſition and diſpute. By means of argument, the republic ſpirit increaſed, and formed a ſyſtem of which it was eaſy to ſee the dreadful conſequences. If James had not had recourſe to maxims capable of ſtriking the Engliſh with awe, that ſyſtem of independence would then have taken place, which, after diſtuibing his whole reign, brought his ſucceſſor to the ſcaffold.

A. D. 1622. Though James had already ſeen the conſequence of fruitleſs negotiations in Germany, he ſtill purſued the ſame plan which had already rendered him ſufficiently contemptible. He diſpatched Digby to the emperor, deſiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities. The miniſter was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian armies. The duke told him that there needed no treaty for that purpoſe, ſince hoſtilities were already ceaſed by his having taken poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, which he intended to keep till a final accommodation ſhould take place between the contending parties. Notwithſtanding this groſs inſult, and though every circumſtance concurred to convince James that the emperor induſtriouſly eluded all his applications, that weak monarch had the meanneſs to follow Ferdinand thro' all his evaſions, and renew the conferences at Bruſſels.

Frederick, finding the pacific endeavours of his father-in-law were ineffectual, embraced ſome favourable circumſtances ariſing from the expiration of the truce between Spain and the States-general, and the jealouſies of the Germans excited by the increaſing power of the houſe of Auſtria, to make a final effort for the recovery of his dominions. Three conſiderable armies were raiſed, and commanded by three able generals, Chriſtian, duke of Brunſwick, the prince of Baden, and count Mansfeldt. But the ſame ill ſucceſs ſtill purſued the unfortunate Frederick. Count Tilly, at the head of the Imperial army, defeated the duke of Brunſwick, and ſoon after the prince of Baden. Mansfeldt, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, ſtill continued the war; but not being ſupported with money either by the Palatinate or the king of England, he could act only on the defenſive. Theſe misfortunes, joined to the perſuaſions of James, who was deſirous that his ſon-in-law ſhould lay down his arms, entirely diſheartened that prince, who retired to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome gueſt with his uncle the duke of Brunſwick. Count Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed from his employment; and that famous general retired with his army into the Low Countries, where he was received into the pay of the ſtates-general. In the mean time the weakneſs of James rendered him contemptible in every court of Europe; it was even extended ſo far as to paint him ſometimes with a ſcabbard without a ſword, and ſometimes with a ſword which a number of perſons were trying in vain to draw out of the ſcabbard.

Though the king of Bohemia was always perſuaded that a vigorous oppoſition always bids faireſt for obtaining equitable terms, yet the repeated requeſts of his father-in-law, had forced him to abandon his maxim, and now, when it was too late, he repented of his folly. Count Tilly, after the retreat of Mansfeldt, loſt not a moment to haraſs the Palatinate. He beſieged and took Heidelberg, the richeſt city in it, and ſent its fine libraries of books to Rome. The caſtle was bravely defended by Herbert, an Engliſh colonel, who, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed with a muſquet ball. Tilly next made himſelf maſter of Manheim, notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the garriſon commanded by Sir Horace Vere.

James now gave up all thoughts of recovering the Palatinate from the emperor. But he ſtill flattered himſelf that if he could accompliſh his ſon's marriage with the infanta of Spain, he ſhould be able to obtain, by the aſſiſtance of that court, the territories of his ſon-in-law, and re-inſtate him in his former dignity. Ferdinand, however, determined to prevent him from executing his project. He aſſembled a diet at Ratiſbon, in which he declared, “that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high-treaſon, his eſtates, goods and dignities were forfeited; but being unwilling to diminiſh the number of electors, he ordered that Maximilian of Bavaria, ſhould be inveſted with the electorate palatine.”

The eyes of the Engliſh were now turned ſullenly towards Spain, where Digby, earl of Briſtol, had the ſole management of the negotiation for the marriage. Briſtol was a nobleman of great abilities, and had formerly diſapproved of entering into any engagements with Spain; but appeared now ſo convinced of the ſincerity of that court, that he wrote a letter to James, felicitating him on the entire accompliſhment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he repreſented as extremely amiable, would ſoon, he ſaid, be conducted into England, and bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions, a ſum four times greater than ever given with any other princeſs. The truth is, that the court of Spain had hitherto carried on the negotiation merely to amuſe the Engliſh monarch; but perceiving that James was determined, on any terms, to complete the alliance, it was thought that ſo favourable an opportunity of reſtoring the catholic faith in England ſhould not be neglected, as it ſeemed more than probable, it might eaſily be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of domeſtics and dependents, who were to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion. Purſuant to this reſolution, the behaviour of the Spaniſh court was now entirely changed, and appeared as eager to conclude the negotiation, as before to find excuſes for deferring it. The only difficulty conſiſted in extorting from the Engliſh monarch ſuch conceſſions as might contribute to complete the favourite deſign, and which the impatience of James gave the greateſt reaſon to expect; that the only obſtacles that now remained to the completion of the marriage were thoſe relating to religion.

The earl of Briſtol, ever ſince his arrival in Spain, had been employed in ſettling thoſe preliminaries.

At laſt the court of Spain made their final demands with regard to that particular, and the earl of Briſtol ſent them immediately to his maſter. James made ſome difficulty of agreeing to theſe articles; but his deſire of completing the marriage at laſt got the better of his prudence: he ſigned the articles, and ſent them back to Spain. Among all the conceſſions favourable to the catholics, none gave greater diſguſt to the Engliſh than that in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the Infanta ſhould be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age; a condition which could only be ſtipulated with a view of implanting in their tender minds the ſtrongeſt prejudices in favour of the Romiſh religion; and though ſo early an age might ſeem little ſuſceptible of any laſting impreſſions, yet the ſame motive which prompted the Spaniſh monarch to inſert it, ſhould have induced the king of England to reject it. Beſides the public treaty, there were ſeveral private articles, by which both the king and prince of Wales engaged to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt the catholics, to obtain a repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exerciſe of the popiſh religion in private houſes.

A. D. 1623. Every previous ſtep being thus adjuſted, nothing was wanting to conclude the marriage but the pope's diſpenſation, which was conſidered merely as a formality. Elated by this ſucceſs, James triumphed in his pacific councils, and conſoled himſelf for the contempt he had incurred in all the courts of Europe, in having tamely ſuffered his ſon-in-law to be ſtripped of his eſtates and dignity. But while he was boaſting of his ſuperior wiſdom and ſagacity, his flattering proſpects were ruined by the raſhneſs of a man whom he had raiſed from a private ſtation to be the curſe of himſelf, his family, and his people.

Buckingham, who was now as much in favour with the prince as with the king, and ſeemed to direct all the affairs of the kingdom, was envious of the great credit obtained by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negotiation. The ambitious favourite therefore determined to ſupplant him, or, at leaſt, to ſhare in the honour of concluding a treaty ſo agreeable to the king. He perſuaded the prince to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in perſon, in order to bring home his miſtreſs the Infanta. He repreſented to him, that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail of attracting the admiration and affection of that monarch and his ſubjects, and of introducing him to the princeſs under the character of a fond lover, rather than of a ſtately huſband; that the negotiation with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languiſhed in the hands of miniſters, would quickly be terminated by ſo illuſtrious an agent, ſeconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta: that the Spaniſh generoſity, excited by ſo uncommon an inſtance of truſt and confidence, would undoubtedly make conceſſions far beyond what could be expected from political views and conſiderations.

Inflamed with theſe generous and romantic ideas, ſo peculiarly adapted to the minds of youth, Charles embraced the propoſal with rapture, and it was agreed to make application to the king for leave to carry the deſign into execution immediately. They choſe the moment when James was in the moſt kind and jovial humour; and by importunities, rather than the force of their reaſons, they extorted from him a haſty and unguarded conſent.

But the prince and Buckingham had hardly left the king, before he repented of his weakneſs: every difficulty occurred with a peculiar force, and the danger to which the prince's perſon muſt be expoſed, affected him in a very ſenſible manner. He reflected, that however pardonable this romantic expedition might be conſidered in youth, it muſt reflect diſgrace on mature age: that if the profeſſions of the Spaniſh monarch were ſincere, a few months only muſt finiſh the negotiation, and bring the Infanta to England, without expoſing his only ſon, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to ſo dangerous an undertaking; and if he was not ſincere, the loſs would be abſolutely irretrievable.

Full of theſe reflections, the king determined to recal his promiſe, and prevent, by a timely oppoſition, an undertaking which, if unfortunate, muſt render him at once both infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all poſterity. Accordingly when the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, James informed them of the reaſons which had prevailed upon him to change his reſolution, and begged they would bury all thoughts of ſo ridiculous an adventure in the pit of forgetfulneſs. The prince was greatly affected at this diſappointment, but anſwered only with tears. Buckingham aſſumed the air of authority, and told the king, that this retraction of his promiſe ſo ſoon after it was given, muſt render all his declarations for ever after ſuſpected; that the word of a king ought to be ſacred, and never broken but by the moſt powerful reaſons, or abſolute neceſſity.

James, who was unable to make any effectual oppoſition to the deſigns of the prince and favourite, renewed his conſent, proper directions were given for the journey, and the prince, with Buckingham, and their two attendants, Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with Sir Richard Graham, maſter of the horſe to Buckingham, paſſed, diſguiſed and undiſcovered, through France. They even ventured to appear in a court ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty.

They reached Madrid on the eleventh day after their departure, where every body was ſurprized at a ſtep ſo very unuſual among the princes of that age. Penetrated with gratitude for the unbounded confidence repoſed in him by the prince, Philip paid him a viſit immediately after he was informed of his arrival; made him the warmeſt proteſtations of friendſhip; ſhewed him every reſpect in the power of majeſty to beſtow; and preſented him with a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might have free acceſs to him at all hours. He gave him the upper hand on all occaſions, except in the apartments aſſigned for his reſidence, where he ſaid the prince was at home. The ſame pomp and ceremonies were uſed when Charles firſt viſited the palace, as were common at the coronation of the kings of Spain; and the council received public orders to obey him as the king himſelf. Every kind of rejoicing was uſed throughout the kingdom; and all the priſons were thrown open, that even thoſe who before languiſhed in confinement might ſhare in the general joy. Nor was any advantage taken of the prince's preſence to impoſe any harder condition of the treaty. In the mean time, pope Gregory XV. who had granted the diſpenſation, died, and Urban VIII. was placed in the pontifical chair. This event induced the nuncio not to deliver the diſpenſation till it could receive the ſanction of Urban; who hoping that ſome expedient might be diſcovered, during the prince's reſidence in Spain, to effect his converſion to the catholic faith, delayed the diſpenſation.

This dilatory method of proceeding occaſioned great uneaſineſs both to the king of England and the prince. Philip perceived it, and neglected nothing in his power to diſſipate every apprehenſion, and prevail upon the prince to wait till the diſpenſation could be procured from the court of Rome; but, at the ſame time, he made not the leaſt difficulty of granting him permiſſion to return. He even cauſed a pillar to be erected on the ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their mutual friendſhip. And the prince, having ſworn to the obſervance of all the articles in the marriage treaty, ſet out, attended by a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, for St. Andero, where he embarked on board an Engliſh veſſel, ſent by the king for that purpoſe.

Never prince more engaged the affections of the Spaniards than Charles. His character, compoſed of decency, reſerve, modeſty, and ſobriety, rendered him very agreeable to that people. They were in love with his unparalleled confidence, and the romantic gallantry he had practiſed towards their princeſs. At the ſame time, his advantageous figure, and the blooming graces of youth that adorned his countenance, endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and made deep impreſſions on the heart of the Infanta. Had the character of Buckingham been equal to that of the prince, every thing had ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; but that nobleman was as much deſpiſed and hated as the prince was eſteemed and beloved. His diſſolute pleaſures, his ſallies of paſſion, his arrogant, impetuous temper, rendered him the object of the Spaniards averſion, and he was, in general, treated with contempt.

Conſcious of the affronts he had given to the court of Spain, and fearful of the influence of the Infanta when ſhe arrived in England, he determined to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage from being concluded. But it ſeemed a difficult taſk to prevail upon the prince to treat a court, where he had received the moſt diſtinguiſhed favours, with ingratitude; and, if poſſible, ſtill more difficult to induce James to break off a treaty, the accompliſhment of which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, and which he had now ſo nearly brought to a ſucceſsful and happy iſſue. At this diſtance of time it is impoſſible to know the reaſons he made uſe of to accompliſh his deſign: it only appears that he maintained an entire aſcendant over both the king and his ſon. James, indeed, made ſome oppoſition; and had the earl of Briſtol arrived in that critical moment, perhaps the impetuous and turbulent miniſter had ſunk under the burden of his own crimes; but the king wanted ſpirit and reſolution to reſiſt the importunities of Buckingham; he ſacrificed both honour and integrity to the folly of his minion.

Peremptory orders were ſent to the earl of Briſtol for breaking off all negotiations, juſt at the time when that miniſter had, in all appearance, accommodated every difference between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were on the point of delivering up the Infanta. Philip was not ſurprized at this change of ſentiments in the Britiſh court: he was no ſtranger to the diſguſt of Buckingham; and believing him a man capable of ſacrificing to his own ungovernable paſſions the deareſt intereſts of his king and country, he ſuſpected that the unbounded ambition of that favourite would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations.

A. D. 1624. The diſpenſation reached Spain ſoon after the departure of Charles and Buckingham, and the Infanta had immediately aſſumed the title of princeſs of Wales. Philip was therefore very unwilling to break off the treaty, eſpecially as he foreſaw that a rupture between the two crowns would be the inevitable conſequence; and determined that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to complete the marriage, and maintain the harmony that now ſubſiſted between Spain and England. He, on the eighth of January, ſent the earl of Briſtol a written promiſe, by which he engaged to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty or force of arms. But when he found that this conceſſion was diſregarded, he ordered the Infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language. At the ſame time, he iſſued orders for making preparations for war in every part of his dominions, perſuaded that the court of England would not ſtop at the violation of the marriage treaty.

The reſolution of James to break off all connections with Spain was no ſooner known to the people, than they celebrated the rupture with bonefires, and other public demonſtrations of joy. Buckingham, by giving a partial, and, in many inſtances, a falſe account of the negotiation, eaſily inflamed thoſe ſpirits which were already prejudiced againſt Spain. Elogiums were poured upon him, as one of the beſt of ſubjects; he was called the deliverer of his country. James, who wanted firmneſs of mind to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the nation, was ſwept away with the torrent, and obliged, contrary to his natural principles, to follow thoſe violent reſolutions that led inevitably to war. He aſſembled a parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies. In his ſpeech to the two houſes, James dropped ſome hints of the cauſes of complaint he had againſt Spain; and graciouſly condeſcended to aſk their advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of ſo important an affair as the marriage of his ſon. The commons promiſed to aſſiſt him in revenging the affront put upon him by Spain: for Buckingham, by laying before a committee of both houſes a long and partial account, which he pretended was a true and complete narrative of all the ſteps taken in the Spaniſh negotiation, had intirely gained the confidence of that aſſembly. It contained, indeed, ſo many contradictory circumſtances, that they were ſufficient to open the eyes of every reaſonable man, notwithſtanding the artful veil which was thrown over the whole proceedings. But the narrative concurred ſo well with the paſſions and prejudices of the parliament, that no ſcruple was made of immediately adopting it as a truth that could not be diſputed. Charmed with having at laſt the opportunity, ſo long and ſo ardently deſired, of going to war with papiſts, they thought not of future conſequences, but immediately adviſed the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the reſtitution of the Palatinate.

The two houſes having thus given their voice for a war, joined in a petition to the king, that he would cauſe the laws againſt Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits to be ſtrictly executed; that he would iſſue orders for ſeizing the arms of popiſh recuſants, and obliging them to retire from the capital; that he would revoke all licences granted to ſuch recuſants, and put a ſtop to the great concourſe of people who reſorted to hear maſs in the chapels of ambaſſadors; that he would deprive all papiſts of the poſts they enjoyed under the government, and not relax the laws made againſt popiſh recuſants on any account whatever. James returned a very gracious and condeſcending anſwer; but declared himſelf an enemy to all perſecution on account of religion; from a thorough conviction that it always injures the cauſe it is intended to promote; according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of the church." At the ſame time, he condemned an intire indulgence to the catholics; and ſtrongly hinted, that a middle courſe ought to be choſen, as at once the moſt humane and the moſt political.

James having determined to purſue hoſtile meaſures, repaired to the parliament-houſe, where he declared, in a ſpeech to that aſſembly, his reſolution of humbling the pride of Spain, provided they would engage to ſupport him. He began his harangue with lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged, in his old age, to exchange the bleſſings of peace for the inevitable calamities of hoſtile meaſures. He repreſented to them the prodigious expence requiſite for maintaining military armaments; and demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper ſtock before war was declared againſt Spain. He mentioned the large debts he had contracted, principally to ſupport the Elector Palatine and his family; but declared, he inſiſted not on any ſupply for himſelf; the honour and ſecurity of the kingdom was all he was deſirous of ſupporting. He even ſo far forgot his prerogative, which he had hitherto ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported, that he made a dangerous and unexpected conceſſion, that the ſums granted ſhould be veſted in a committee of parliament, and be iſſued by them without being intruſted to his management. Nothing could be more agreeable to the commons; they readily accepted the offer, but voted much leſs than was demanded; three ſubſidies and three fifteenths was by the commons thought a ſufficient ſum for the preſent occaſions of the ſtate; nor did they take the leaſt notice of that part of his ſpeech which regarded his own neceſſities, though he had made a conceſſion greater than they could have even preſumed to aſk.

But though they were ſo very parſimonious in their ſupplies, they took advantage of the preſent agreement between the king and the parliament, to make freſh attacks upon the prerogative. James had aboliſhed all the monopolies ſo loudly and ſo juſtly complained of; but this did not ſatisfy the commons; they paſſed an act, by which it was declared, that all monopolies were contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. By the ſame ſtatute it was enacted, that every man enjoyed an entire freedom with regard to his own actions, provided he did nothing detrimental to any perſon; and that no other authority but that of the laws ſhould ſtop this unlimited right; a principle which ſerved as a baſis for the civil liberties of England.

During theſe tranſactions, the elector palatine wrote a letter to James, wherein he enumerated the reaſons which offered themſelves both for continuing the negotiations, and attempting to recover the Palatinate by force of arms. The latter now predominated at the Britiſh court, ſince a reſolution had been taken to break off all negotiations with Spain. The indefatigable duke of Brunſwick had raiſed another army for the ſervice of the king of Bohemia, with an intention to force a paſſage into the Low Countries, and join the prince of Orange. The Dutch, in general, were well inclined to the ſame cauſe, and the princes of Germany every day diſcovered freſh ſymptoms of diſcontent at the proceedings of the houſe of Auſtria. But above all, the perſon of the queen of Bohemia, the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous lady of her age, became now an object of public concern. Her merits, her misfortunes, her young family, and the unworthy treatment ſhe had received, like ſo many charms, animated every proteſtant, who was not wholly a ſtranger to the dictates of humanity. James himſelf was ſometimes warmed into compaſſion, and ſometimes into reſentment. He had ſpared her and her family a little of the ſcanty remainder his profuſion had ſpared, and they lived on good terms with the prince of Orange, who was at that time ſincerely diſpoſed to have ſerved them, could James have been prevailed upon to truſt the Dutch, or they to put any confidence in him.

But amidſt theſe good diſpoſitions, difficulties intervened, which blaſted all their effects. The inſolence of the Dutch traders, and their cruelty towards the Engliſh in the Eaſt-Indies, were ſo great, that James at laſt yielded to the repeated inſtances of his ſubjects, and gave the earl of Oxford the command of a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, in order to intercept the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet in their return to Europe. By a treaty lately concluded, the Dutch and the Engliſh were to divide between them the trade of the iſlands they had taken from the Portugueſe and Spaniards; the Engliſh to enjoy one third, and the Dutch two thirds of this valuable trade. Accordingly, Engliſh factories had been ſettled in the Molucca iſlands, and at Banda. A few Engliſh merchants, not more than eighteen or twenty, had, for above two years, lived at Amboyna, where there was a Dutch fort and two companies of ſoldiers, beſides a civil eſtabliſhment. For ſome time, a correſpondence ſubſiſted between the two people; but the Dutch, envying the proſperous ſtate of the Engliſh factory, determined to ruin them. A conſpiracy was accordingly formed againſt their lives, of ſo deteſtable a nature, as is hardly credible to thoſe who do not ſufficiently reflect on the rancour of a people towards their rivals in trade; eſpecially when the ſcene is not only ſufficiently diſtant from all ſeats of juſtice, but where they themſelves preſide, uncontrouled, in the exerciſe of their tyranny, and blinded by the motives of intereſt. It was pretended that the Engliſh and the Japaneſe, the whole not exceeding forty perſons, had formed a deſign for deſtroying the Dutch ſettlement. Upon this Gabriel Towerſon, the chief agent, and the reſt of the Engliſh then upon the iſland, were taken into cuſtody, and ſtrictly examined by the Dutch council. No witneſſes of credit appeared againſt them; and the unhappy priſoners, conſcious of their innocence, denied the fact with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations. But it had been before determined to put them to death, and only ſome pretence was wanting for carrying the bloody deſign into execution. The rack was therefore to ſupply the place of evidence, and the tortures were ſo dreadful, that even conſcious innocence was unable to ſupport them. Some ſought relief by confeſſion; but on obtaining the mercy of being put to death, they ſolemnly retracted their confeſſions with their lateſt breath; but others, with matchleſs fortitude, expired under their tortures. By this horrid proceeding the Dutch continued maſters of the ſpice trade, and have ever ſince kept it in their own hands. No reparation was, however, obtained for this inſolent affront, till many years after, when Cromwell held the reins of government. That uſurper obliged them to pay three hundred thouſand pounds on that account. It, however, prevented a junction between the armies deſigned to reduce the Palatinate.

When the earl of Briſtol received orders to leave the court of Madrid, he applied for an audience, in order to fulfil the ceremonial of his departure. Philip expreſſed the higheſt regret that Briſtol's ſervices ſhould meet with ſo unworthy a reward; and that his enemies ſhould have ſo far prevailed, as to infuſe prejudices into his maſter and his country againſt a miniſter who had ſo faithfully performed his duty to both. He endeavoured to prevail upon him to engage in his ſervice, promiſing to beſtow upon him every advantage of rank and fortune he himſelf could deſire. But Briſtol, though he expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for this generous offer, refuſed every thing, and determined to return immediately to his own country, not doubting but the torch of truth would ſoon expoſe the falſhoods of his enemies in their genuine colours. Philip could not even prevail upon him to accept of ten thouſand ducats, though his circumſtances rendered ſuch a preſent neceſſary. The monarch uſed every intreaty in his power to prevail, and aſſured him that neither James, nor any one elſe, ſhould ever know he had received it. "There is one (anſwered the virtuous miniſter) who will be privy to the whole tranſaction; it is the earl of Briſtol, and he will certainly reveal it to the king of England."

It was the intereſt of Buckingham to keep Briſtol at a diſtance from the king and the court, leſt the voice of truth, enforced with thoſe powers of oratory which the earl poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree, ſhould diſcloſe ſcenes which he wiſhed to bury in oblivion. He accordingly no ſooner heard of the earl's arrival in England, than he made uſe of all that power he had acquired over the mind of his weak ſovereign, for procuring an order for committing Briſtol to the Tower, till he had anſwered certain queſtions that ſhould be put to him by the council. He was, however, ſoon after releaſed, but ordered to retire to his own houſe. The earl wrote to James, loudly demanding an opportunity of vindicating himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter and the public: he aſſerted his own innocence, and threw the blame of every miſcarriage on Buckingham. He had always flattered himſelf that the hatred of the minion could not prevail over the juſtice of his maſter, as if a weak prince was not generally a dupe to the paſſions of others. Buckingham was deſirous that he ſhould own the pretended faults exhibited againſt him; but he juſtly thought a reconciliation offered on ſuch terms a real diſgrace. James himſelf declared, that to require ſuch a thing of an innocent man was the moſt horrible tyranny. How juſtly ought he to have reproached himſelf for ſuffering ſo unjuſt a ſentence to take place!

The parliament being prorogued on the twenty-ninth of May, it was neceſſary to make ſome preparations for oppoſing the warlike armament fitting out by the court of Spain, and alſo to aſſiſt the count Palatine. Eight citizens of London were appointed as treaſurers for the money raiſed by parliament, and theſe were aſſiſted by ten other perſons from his majeſty's council of war. Without a warrant from theſe, no money could be iſſued, nor even by their order, on any other account than to defray the expences of the war, as they were accountable to the commons in parliament. It was computed that the ſums granted laſt ſeſſion would be ſufficient to ſend twenty-five thouſand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an Engliſh general. Six thouſand only were, however, raiſed, and ſent into Holland to join the army of the States, commanded by the prince of Orange; while another army, under count Manſfeldt, was to penetrate into the Palatinate.

James, ſtill poſſeſſed with the idle opinion, that it would digrace his ſon, if he took any other than a king's daughter to his bed, ſent lord Holland to the court of France with an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princeſs Henrietta Maria, daughter to Lewis XIII. The propoſal being accepted, the conferences were opened at Compeigne, and the marriage articles were ſigned at Paris on the tenth of November. They were nearly the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe which had been concluded with Spain; for as Lewis only required the ſame conditions which had before been granted to his Catholic majeſty, James made no ſcruple to comply. One of the conditions was, that the children ſhould be brought up by the mother; or, what is the ſame thing, in the catholic religion, till they were thirteen years of age; an article to which the miſfortunes of that family are commonly attributed, though it was never put in execution any more than the other articles, which appear to have been dictated by the court of Rome.

While this affair was depending, count Manſfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary marks of reſpect, and lodged in apartments, fitted up for his reception, in the palace. After ſome conferences, it was agreed, that Manſfeldt, at the head of twelve thouſand men, ſhould carry on the war in the Lower Palatinate. The French miniſtry, during the negotiation for the marriage, made large promiſes, but always couched in general terms, not only of granting the Engliſh a paſſage through France, but alſo of reinforcing their army with conſiderable bodies of troops during their march to the Palatinate; but on the arrival of the Engliſh, under the command of Manſfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had been ſent for their admiſſion. This occaſioned many diſpatches; but the French miniſtry inſiſted that they had entered into no poſitive agreement; and that the granting the count a free paſſage through France was a matter of too much importance to be haſtily admitted. This delay was fatal to the expedition. A peſtilential diſeaſe broke out among the troops, and ſwept away great numbers of them daily; and thoſe that remained were ſo weakened by ſickneſs, and diſcouraged by miſfortunes, that it was thought imprudent to lead them into the Palatinate. Such was the ſhameful iſſue of this expedition, and which reflects the higheſt diſgrace on the Engliſh miniſtry.

Though James had laid a ſolid foundation for putting an end to the troubles in Ireland, he had not been able intirely to complete his plan. The Spaniards ſtill maintained a conſtant intelligence with the diſaffected papiſts, and kept the Engliſh government in continual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, and obtained the royal protection, on condition of not relapſing into his former rebellious practices, lived, for ſome time, in great ſubmiſſion to the government; but imputing all the marks of favour he had received to nothing more than the effects of fear, he had the boldneſs, ſoon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the catholic religion. This requeſt being refuſed, he joined the earl of Tyrconnel, and other chiefs of the Iriſh papiſts; and a deſperate confederacy was formed for aſſaſſinating the lord deputy and the council, and maſſacring all the Engliſh in the kingdom of Ireland. This conſpiracy was happily diſcovered by a letter dropped in the council-chamber; and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other principal conſpirators, informed of the accident, fled to France, and afterwards to Bruſſels, where the archduke gave them a noble reception, and ſettled on them large penſions by expreſs orders from the court of Spain. Soon after, Tyrone undertook to excite another rebellion, and to paſs over, with his friends, into Ireland; but the deſign being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, the chiefs who had engaged in the conſpiracy were taken and executed.

Great diſputes alſo aroſe in the Iriſh council, which continued for ſeveral years, and tended greatly to diſturb the peace of that kingdom. The papiſts, ſupported by Rome and Spain, continued to act with great inſolence, and, in ſome churches, to exerciſe their own religion. This occaſioned the government to iſſue a ſevere proclamation againſt the catholics, ordering all the regular prieſts to leave Ireland, under the heavieſt penalties.

A. D. 1625. The reign of James now advanced haſtily towards a period. The habit of his body, like the ſtate of his kingdom, was alarming. He had long addicted himſelf to thoſe pleaſures which he could not taſte, that he might baniſh from his mind the reflections which he could not bear. He had accuſtomed himſelf to the uſe of ſweet wines, and to ride hard, both before and after drinking. This irregular method of living had occaſioned ſeveral ſevere fits of illneſs, which the phyſicians had rather palliated than removed; for James was too impatient in ſickneſs to ſubmit to any troubleſome regimen, in order to obtain a cure. Infirmities therefore increaſed upon him with age, nor was the approach of the king of terrors to be prevented any longer. The ſtate of his mind contributed to increaſe the illneſs of his body. He was highly provoked at the behaviour of Buckingham; he imputed to his headſtrong paſſions all the miſfortunes that now ſurrounded him. He was deſirous of humbling that haughty miniſter, but he wanted power to execute his deſign. Finding that all attempts, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, would be in vain, he compoſed himſelf with a ſullen kind of reſignation, meditating how to take the firſt opportunity of a friendly hand for his deliverance. Such was the king's ſituation when the marquis of Hamilton, who hated Buckingham, and who was as likely as any man to ſerve James in his diſtreſs, died ſuddenly, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon. James conſidered the death of that nobleman as a ſure prelude to his own. "If the branches are cut down, (ſaid he) the ſtock cannot long ſtand." From that moment he became penſive and melancholy. He was ſeized, in the beginning of March, with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the old proverb, that this diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. The counteſs of Buckingham, and ſome other ladies, who had no great opinion of regular phyſicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the ſecrets of empyrics, attended James, whoſe impatience for health drove him into the ſame fatal error. Buckingham had, ſome time before, been cured of a tertian ague by an emetic, a plaiſter and a poſſet-drink, which James now inſiſted ſhould be adminiſtered to himſelf. Buckingham uſed every argument in his power to diſſuade him from taking any thing that was not preſcribed by his phyſicians. But all his reaſonings were in vain: James ſent for the medicines, and they were given him, according to his requeſt. Every ſymptom of his diſeaſe was immediately augmented, and it was ſoon evident that he could not long ſurvive. James was himſelf very ſenſible of his approaching end, and met the king of terrors with amazing fortitude. His preparations for death were extremely fervent, and he was chiefly aſſiſted in his devotions by lord-keeper Williams. When the prince of Wales was admitted to his preſence, to receive his laſt advice, he exhorted him to maintain a tender affection for his wife, but at the ſame time to preſerve a conſtancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the Palatine. In his laſt moments he declared he died in the religion of the church of England, and expired on the twenty-ſeventh of March, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age. He had held the ſceptre of Scotland almoſt from his birth.

The character of James having been drawn by writers of different parties, has been expoſed to the oppoſite extremes of calumny and flattery, of ſatire and panegyric. Nature had delineated on his mind the outlines of many excellent qualities, and ſeveral virtues; but leaving her work unfiniſhed, it was ſhaded by the pencil of vice. His generoſity was blended with profuſion, his learning with pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition with puſillanimity, and his friendſhip with boyiſh fondneſs and folly. No prince ever ruled his paternal dominions with greater equanimity than James did Scotland; but this was before he taſted the cup of fancied power, which intoxicated his brain. He was deſirous of following the examples of the princes of the Tudor line, who had made great breaches in the Engliſh conſtitution. But he did not reflect on the vaſt difference between their ſituation and his own. The ignorance, and conſequently the timidity of the Engliſh, was now vaniſhed; they were reſolved to defend with courage what they had acquired by induſtry. The whole ſyſtem of property among them was now altered; their minds were enlightened by reading and reflection; their principles of government were founded on the baſis of liberty and moderation; their thoughts were now employed on improving foreign commerce and domeſtic freedom: they no longer admitted oppreſſive precedents in former reigns to be ſufficient authorities for the preſent times. The doctrine of reſiſtance was preached from the pulpit, and underſtood in parliament, but with ſuch reſtrictions as left ſufficient room for a king of England to be at once both great and happy.

The pedantic learning of James made him a caſuiſt, but not a politician. He had not the ſmalleſt idea of that manly ſcience which ennobles ſociety, which regulates the paſſions of men in a free ſtate, and which animates, directs and completes the purpoſes of public ſpirit. He was void of all conception of the difference between liberty and licentiouſneſs; and endeavoured to erect for himſelf, in the minds of the people, as ſtrong an opinion of his infallibility, both in religion and politics, as ever the church of Rome had thought to eſtabliſh among her more deluded votaries. Nothing gave James greater diſtreſs, than to hear that his ſubjects dared diſpute or reaſon upon matters which might lead them to a ſenſe of their true intereſt as a people; and nothing gave him greater pleaſure than to hear and decide in the uſeleſs ſpeculative diſputes of ſchool-divinity. By purſuing ſuch prepoſterous meaſures, he made the great duties of a king ſubſervient to the idle diſtinctions of a pedant; and by endeavouring to make a figure as a ſcholar, he ſunk into contempt as a man.

James ſtudied to preſerve peace rather than tranquillity, the ſhadow rather than the ſubſtance; becauſe the genuine baſis of tranquillity is freedom. Though he had held the ſceptre almoſt ſixty years, without any ſenſible reverſe of fortune, yet the life of James was very uneven. No prince ever learned more, or profited leſs by experience. He diſplayed very conſiderable abilities while he only filled the Scottiſh throne; and by making a happy choice of Cecil for his miniſter, on the death of queen Elizabeth, gave a proof that he knew how to diſtinguiſh merit. But Cecil was mortal; and his ſucceſſors, without his abilities, endeavoured to purſue his ſchemes. This miſtake was fatal to James: for though no miniſter ever entertained more arbitrary notions than Cecil, yet he knew ſo well how to manage the Engliſh, that it was leſs dangerous for him than for any other man to purſue them. James was ſoon convinced of this by experience. The Howards, who continued in the miniſtry, had not ſufficient abilities to guide the machine of government; the Scottiſh favourites were diſagreeable to the nation; and thoſe whom James truſted wanted either honeſty or abilities to ſerve him.

His prodigality, or rather extravagant profuſion, rendered him always neceſſitous. The commons took advantage of it; and finding their aſſiſtance was abſolutely neceſſary, they made themſelves his maſters. One of his favourites ſeeing a load of ſilver carrying to the treaſury, ſaid to a perſon who ſtood near him, "How happy would that money make me!" The king deſired to know what he had been ſaying, and immediately gave him the whole ſum, amounting to three thouſand pounds. "You think yourſelf happy, ſaid he; but I am more ſo in obliging an honeſt man whom I love."

James was far from being deſtitute of ambition; but his puſillanimity, both perſonal and political, prevented him from carrying it to any dangerous height. The latter was, perhaps, much ſtronger than the former, though ſome hiſtorians have made fear the predominant ingredient in his nature. During his youth, he gave ſeveral inſtances that he wanted neither ſpirit nor reſolution in his perſon: but his political cowardice had every characteriſtic of baſeneſs, for he trembled moſt when he boaſted loudeſt. But when reflection ſucceeded to fear, his good natural ſenſe ſoon convined him that his ſchemes were impracticable, though his pride always led him to drop them in ſuch a manner, that it expoſed his crown and government to as much danger as if he had purſued them. Hence it happened, that among all the conceſſions he made to his parliament, not one was received with thankfulneſs; they were always conſidered as the reſult of preſent convenience, or the effects of fear.

In 1617, the royal revenues amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and the extraordinary ſupplies which he drew from parliament during his whole reign, only to three millions. The value of the ſubſidy was now ſo conſiderably diminiſhed, and the tax become ſo intirely perſonal, that people only paid it in the counties where they reſided, though they poſſeſſed lands in others. The parliament was at laſt obliged to aboliſh the ancient method, and eſtabliſh a regular land-tax.

What chiefly diſtinguiſhes the reign of James, is the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America, which are now increaſed to ſuch an amazing height of power and grandeur. Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after planting one feeble colony, which ſoon decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. In the year 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a ſettlement, which the company eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol took care to furniſh with every thing neceſſary for its ſucceſs. About three years after, Nargal diſcovered a nearer and more direct paſſage to Virginia than had hitherto been known. He left the track of the ancient navigators, who directed their courſe to the ſouthward of the tropic, ſailed weſtward by means of the trade winds, and then returned to the northward till he reached the Engliſh ſettlements. Nargal ſtood directly for Virginia, and by that means reached that part of North-America in almoſt half the time that was neceſſary by the ancient method.

James had ſeven children by his conſort, Anne of Denmark; but two of them only ſurvived him, namely, Charles, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine.

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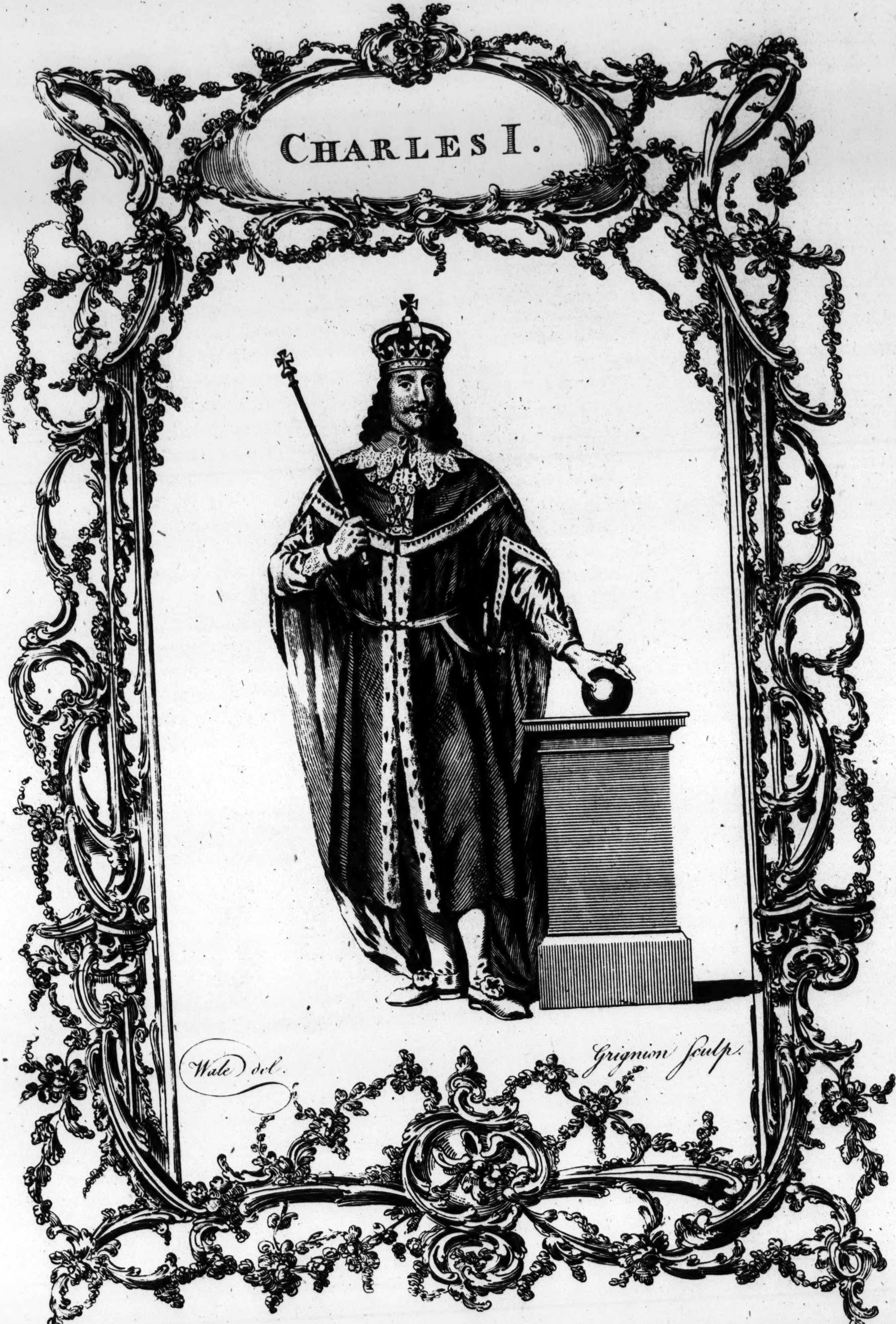

Wale del. Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England*

# CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625. THE death of the late monarch made very little change in the cabinet. Buckingham, who had obtained the ſame aſcendency over Charles as he had formerly over James, had filled the court and council with his creatures, and all the great officers of ſtate were continued. Some alterations were, however, thought neceſſary; but this was not the time for carrying the deſign into execution. Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, keeper of the great ſeal, was no friend to Buckingham, and the miniſter determined to deprive him of his office. Laud, biſhop of St. David's, was a ſworn enemy to Williams, and intruſted with all the ſecrets of the cabinet: it was by his direction that the plan of future adminiſtration was laid. This was, indeed, no eaſy taſk; for though the great nobility had been paſſive during the government of James, becauſe they ſaw among the commons a ſpirit of liberty which they did not approve, yet they were extremely indifferent with regard to affairs of ſtate. They could not bear the haughtineſs and inſolence of the upſtart favourite. Though they were friends to the church, they diſliked the churchmen. They conſidered France and Spain as, in a manner, playing for the Engliſh crown; nor were they cordial for forming an alliance with either. Though they entertained a proper ſenſe of their own dignity and importance in the conſtitution of their country, yet they thought that both were weakened by the vaſt increaſe of new nobility created by the Stuart family, under pretence of balancing the growing power of the commons. Hence they attended the court chiefly through duty: they were often admitted to the council, but hardly ever to the cabinet. Even the great officers of ſtate often oppoſed the will of the favourite, and were therefore not often truſted. The earl of Arundel ſtill continued to abſent himſelf from the court; he was unwilling to countenance, by his preſence, meaſures he could not approve. The earls of Northumberland and Pembroke followed his example, though the latter was chamberlain of the houſhold. Lord Lee, treaſurer, and lord Mandeville, preſident of the council, under pretence of attending the duties of their own offices, concerned themſelves very little with the affairs of the cabinet. Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer, was, indeed, wholly devoted to the meaſures of Buckingham; and had he been on the popular ſide of the queſtion, might have made a conſiderable figure in the ſtate; but he was known to be at once a ſycophant and a papiſt. The earl of Worceſter, lord privy-ſeal, was a generous, good-natured man, and loved both the king and his family, but he was not turned for buſineſs. Hence the king found it ſo difficult to form an adminiſtration conformable to the temper and views of his two favourites, that notwithſtanding their hatred of Williams, they were obliged, for ſome time, to leave the great ſeal in his cuſtody.

But buſineſs now engaged the whole attention of Buckingham. The marriage of the king, and an attempt to recover the Palatinate, were objects that admitted of no delay; and there was a neceſſity for the parliament to meet in the ſummer. The favourite rightly conceived, that the friendſhip of the young queen, and of her brother's court, would be of the utmoſt importance to him, and he reſolved to omit nothing in his power to gain their confidence. The death of James had prevented him from carrying over Charles's proxy, but he now prepared to execute that commiſſion; and a ſquadron of ſhips was fitted out for bringing over the queen, who had been eſpouſed, with great magnificence, in the king's name, by the earls of Carliſle and Holland.

The recovery of the Palatinate was an affair of much greater difficulty, though the popularity of the queen of Bohemia's cauſe was ſo great, that every obſtacle was ſurmounted: the Engliſh were fond of engaging in the cauſe of their favourite princeſs. Twelve thouſand men were immediately raiſed by the lieutenants of the ſeveral counties. During the march of theſe troops to Portſmouth, a proclamation was iſſued for putting martial law into execution againſt all who ſhould be guilty of ſuch riotous proceedings as had happened among the ſoldiers commanded by count Mansfeldt. The deſtination of theſe troops was as yet a ſecret: it was only known in general, that they were to be employed in the ſervice of the Palatinate; and that they might be diſciplined with greater facility, two thouſand of them were ſent into Holland, and their place ſupplied with an equal number of veterans from that republic.

Before Buckingham ſet out to execute his ſplendid commiſſion in France, he attempted to engage the Dutch to enter heartily into the alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria. He knew that his maſter was highly incenſed againſt the Hollanders, on account of the late maſſacre at Amboyna, and that the Eaſt-India Company was at that time preſſing the government for letters of repriſal againſt them. But this was not conformable to the views of Buckingham; he was deſirous of engaging as many powers as poſſible in a confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria. He had, therefore, already opened a negotiation with the courts of Denmark and Sweden, both well affected to the intereſt of the king of Bohemia. Theſe powers had promiſed to ſupply Charles with as many troops as would be ſufficient to form an army of between thirty and forty thouſand men, eight thouſand of whom were to be cavalry.

In the mean time, cardinal Richelieu began to be jealous of Buckingham's greatneſs: he conſidered that favourite as the only rival he had in Europe. It was neither for his own intereſt, nor that of his maſter, to ſee an Engliſh miniſter form and direct a confederacy, which, after humbling the houſe of Auſtria, might preſcribe terms to that of Bourbon. James had always affected to prevent religion from having any thing to do in the quarrel; but Charles ſoon perceived that this was impoſſible; and the great art of Richelieu conſiſted in dividing the queſtion, by making uſe of the power of England in humbling the houſe of Auſtria, ſo far only as it was convenient to France; and of the houſe of Auſtria in advancing the cauſe of popery, the common intereſt of all the catholic powers. He entered into this deſign with infinite addreſs. He placed his own creatures about the perſon of the Engliſh queen, and filled the court of Charles with ſpies. All theſe had private inſtructions to attempt the ruin of Buckingham, by forming a party againſt him both in the cabinet and the parliament. The earl of Holland, who, by his perſon and addreſs, was formed for a court, was firmly attached to Buckingham, and had found means to penetrate the ſecret of Richelieu's intentions. He immediately revealed it to the Engliſh miniſter, whoſe ſpirit being as loſty as that of the cardinal, made no ſecret of his enmity to Richelieu.

Buckingham reached Paris on the twenty-fourth of May; and by his magnificence, ſpirit, wit, and converſation, attracted the admiration of the French court; and it is certain that their beautiful young queen perceived charms in Buckingham which ſhe could not diſcern in her dull, inanimated huſband. Buckingham ſaw this, and found hardly any other difficulty to his pleaſures than decency, and the want of time to make regular approaches. Stung with jealouſy, proceeding either from love or policy, the haughty cardinal not only ſought an opportunity to ſurprize and diſpatch him in his unlawful amour, but alſo to make Lewis ſenſible of his intended diſhonour. But pleaſure with Buckingham ſeldom excluded buſineſs, and he vigorouſly preſſed the concluſion of the league againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Richelieu, however, took care to lengthen out the negotiation, by a profuſion of pleaſures and honours which were paid the Engliſh miniſter during the ſeven days he reſided at Paris. But Buckingham was not eaſily impoſed upon. He was exaſperated at the remembrance of his alacrity to oblige a people who now ſo ungenerouſly requited him, and perceived that he was narrowly watched in his amour with the queen-conſort. Unuſed to be controuled in any of his actions, and impetuous in all his deſigns, he bore thoſe mortifications with the utmoſt impatience. It is even ſaid, that he was imprudent enough to throw out ſome menaces againſt the French; and that, upon a very frivolous pretence, he returned from Boulogne to Amiens, where he had an interview with the queen of France.

The princeſs Henrietta-Maria, now queen of England, was received with great ſplendor and affection by Charles, who met her at Dover, and conducted her to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated. And notwithſtanding the plague raged dreadfully in London, the parliament met at Weſtminſter on the eighteenth of June, where Charles opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. It was ſimple and cordial. He ſlightly mentioned the occaſion he had for a ſupply, but employed no intrigue to influence the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had ſeats in the houſe, to mention any particular ſum which might be expected by him. Secure of the affection of the commons, he was reſolved that their bounty ſhould be intirely their own deed, unaſked, unſollicited; the genuine fruit of ſincere confidence and regard.

The buſineſs of the ſupply was accordingly taken into conſideration: but though they knew that all the money granted by the laſt parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that very large anticipations had alſo been made on the revenues of the crown: though they were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt contracted by his father; that the public revenues were hardly ſufficient for ſupporting the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government; and that the preſent war, againſt the whole power of the houſe of Auſtria, had been undertaken by their importunate applications and intreaties; yet they thought proper to grant their young monarch no more than an hundred and twelve thouſand pounds.

This extraordinary reſolution of the parliament was probably occaſioned by the libertine principles and conduct of the duke of Buckingham, who was now become odious for his vices. The marriage of the king with a catholic princeſs had alſo too much diſpleaſed the puritans, to render them indulgent to the court. Independently of theſe motives, the principal members of the lower houſe extended their views to future times. Perſuaded that the power of the crown had been increaſed at the expence of the liberties of the people, their object was to confine it within narrow limits. The neceſſities of the prince were favourable to their deſigns, and of theſe they were willing to avail themſelves. The right of the commons to grant or refuſe the neceſſary ſupplies, they conſidered as an infallible means of gaining the moſt important conceſſions. Theſe meaſures diſconcerted the hopes of the king. He had formed the warmeſt expectations of receiving the moſt convincing proofs of the love of his ſubjects; but found that the ſupplies they granted him were rather a mockery of his wants, than a ſerious deſign of ſupporting him in a war which might juſtly be ſtiled their own.

Aſtoniſhed at this inadequate ſupply, and intirely ignorant of the cauſe, Charles adjourned the parliament to Oxford, on account of the plague, which now made the moſt dreadful ravages in the capital. But the change of place had no influence on the commons. Determined to carry their favourite point with regard to the prerogative, they abſolutely refuſed to make any addition to the ſupply they had voted: even the trifling pittance of forty thouſand pounds was refuſed; though the parliament well knew that a fleet and an army were lying at Portſmouth, in great want of pay and proviſions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treaſurer of the navy, had advanced, on their own credit, near an hundred thouſand pounds for the ſea-ſervice. In vain were all the arguments of the courtiers to prevail over the obſtinacy of the commons. Governed by a ſet of men of the moſt uncommon capacities, and the largeſt views; formed into a regular party, and united by fixed aims and projects, it was impoſſible to change them from their purpoſe. They perſevered in their former reſolution, though the honour of their country among the potentates of Europe demanded very large ſupplies. Among theſe leaders we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, all men of aſpiring genius and independent fortune.

The king's notions of the prerogative were, however, very different. Full of the lofty notions of monarchical power, Charles, however moderate in his temper, conſidered the refuſal of the commons as of a criminal and traiterous nature; and when he reflected that they were aſked purely to ſupport a war, entered into at their particular requeſt, their behaviour appeared cruel and deceitful. He actually imputed it to a very different principle; for he could not imagine the commons could expect he could carry on the war without ſupplies. A diſcovery was, however, now made, which not only furniſhed the commons with a pretence for their refuſal, but alſo inflamed them againſt the court in general, and the duke of Buckingham in particular.

James had, ſome time ſince, promiſed to furniſh Lewis, who was deſtitute of a naval force, with one ſhip of war, and ſeven armed veſſels hired from the merchants, which the French monarch pretended were to be employed againſt the Genoeſe, the firm allies of Spain. Charles was now called upon to fulfil the engagement, but the French made no ſecret that the ſhips were to be employed againſt the Hugonots in the ſiege of Rochelle. Vice-admiral Pennington was on the coaſt of France with a ſquadron of men of war, and received an order to employ his ſhips in whatever ſervice the French ambaſſador ſhould direct, after filling them with ſoldiers and marines, under the command of the duke of Montmorency. This was no ſooner known, or rather ſuſpected, than the ſhips crews mutinied, and all, except the Vanguard, which Pennington himſelf commanded, ſtood to ſea. The admiral, however, went on ſhore, and offered to go upon any ſervice the French king ſhould order him, but refuſed to receive on board any ſoldiers. This refuſal exaſperated the ambaſſador, and he gave him to underſtand, that he was a priſoner if he did not comply; and at the ſame time informed him, that not more than fifty or ſixty Engliſhmen would be employed in the expedition. It was in vain for Pennington to remonſtrate againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of this proceeding, and to repreſent the uneaſineſs of his ſailors, who would not fail to refuſe obedience to any ſuch commands.

mands. The ambaſſador, however, was reſolute; and Pennington thought it prudent to diſſemble his real ſentiments, that he might recover his ſhip. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; but he was no ſooner on board, than he abſolutely refuſed to leave his ſhip. This produced a long negotiation between the ambaſſador and the admiral. Proteſts were taken againſt the latter; and, in the hearing of his own men, he was threatened with the puniſhment of death, as a traitor to his country. But all the menaces of the Frenchmen were in vain; Pennington refuſed his compliance, and returned with his ſhips to England. He immediately laid the whole tranſaction before the council; and received expreſs orders to deliver up his own, and all the merchant ſhips, to the French king. This was accordingly done; but not an Engliſhman, one gunner only excepted, was found mean enough to ſerve on board the fleet, under a French commiſſion, and againſt their proteſtant brethren.

Theſe tranſactions were no ſooner known in parliament, than the commons ſhewed the ſame attachment with the ſailors for the proteſtant religion. They even carried their zeal to a height that rendered their deliberations at once ridiculous and unjuſt. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, publiſhed a book, which, contrary to the rigid tenets of the puritans, ſaved virtuous catholics, as well as other chriſtians, from eternal torments. It now became evident that thoſe great men, who reaſoned ſo forcibly on the danger of the conſtitution of their country from the increaſing power of the crown, could not reaſon at all on the ſubject of religion. Montague was ordered to be proſecuted, a committee was appointed to conſider of the proceedings againſt him, and the eccleſiaſtic, for having done an important ſervice to the church of England, by exploding the adopted errors of her antagoniſts, was ordered into cuſtody of the ſerjeant, and to give bail of two thouſand pounds for his appearing at the next ſeſſion. It is no wonder that Charles was offended at theſe proceedings, and that he often put them in mind that they had buſineſs of far greater concern to engage their attention. But finding all attempts were in vain, the king diſſolved a parliament from which he had nothing to expect.

Buckingham had now an arduous and dangerous part to act. He was hated by Spain, he was feared by France; he was diſtruſted in Holland; he was unpopular in England. The affections of the king, and his own aſcendency in the cabinet, were all he had now to truſt to, and he therefore determined to increaſe his power, by putting more of his friends into places of conſequence. All the diſſimulation of Williams could not remove Buckingham's hatred. He was deprived of the ſeals, and retired to his biſhopric with great dejection. Charles had afterwards time ſufficient to regret the loſs of his able ſervant, when the heats that afterwards flamed out ſo fatally, and ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the kingdom.

But though Buckingham was an enemy to the perſon of Williams, he was in his heart a friend to his principles, and was daily more and more convinced how impracticable it was for the government to oppoſe the people's torrent of zeal againſt popery. The earl of Holland continued to be his faithful correſpondent at the French court, and gave him intelligence how deeply Blanville, the French ambaſſador, was engaged in plotting his deſtruction. The duke determined to return to France in quality of ambaſſador; but the queen having been ſo incautious in her expreſſions of her paſſion for that nobleman, that Lewis abſolutely refuſed to admit him into his territories. This highly exaſperated Buckingham, eſpecially as the court of France refuſed to ſign a ſecret treaty againſt the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs Charles would employ his forces againſt the French proteſtants.

Deſtitute of aſſiſtance from parliament, Charles was obliged to have recourſe to unconſtitutional methods for raiſing money. He iſſued privy-ſeals in order to obtain the neceſſary ſum; but the advantages he gained by this temporary ſupply were more than balanced by the diſguſt it occaſioned. By means, however, of this ſupply he was enabled to fit out a fleet of eighty ſail, on board of which were ten thouſand ſoldiers. Buckingham was very unfortunate in his choice of the officers. Sir Horace Vere had been created a baron of England, and was endowed with every talent requiſite for the command of this armament; but he was no friend to the miniſter. Sir Edward Cecil, who had commanded under count Manſfeldt, was therefore choſen for that office, and immediately created viſcount Wimbledon. Buckingham could not have made a more unfortunate choice. Wimbledon, though a brave field officer, knew nothing of ſea affairs. The public complained loudly that Sir Robert Manſel was neglected; but but they ſhould have remembered that he was engaged in the party formed againſt the miniſter. Nor was Buckingham more fortunate in his choice of the other officers. The earl of Eſſex was appointed to command under Wimbledon, though there actually ſubſiſted ſo great an antipathy between them, that they would have more readily fought with each other than againſt the enemy.

The fleet ſailed on the firſt of October, and a council of war was held off Cape St. Vincent, in order to form a plan for their future operations. The earl of Eſſex naturally gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, the ſcene of his father's glory, and his propoſal being accepted, the whole fleet ſtood towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and ſo dreadful to the Spaniards was the remembrance of the Engliſh valour under queen Elizabeth, that their king was ready in perſon to march down at the head of a royal army to the defence of his coaſt. When the Engliſh reached Cadiz, they found every thing in readineſs to give them a warm reception, and the attack of fort Puntal was given to the earl of Eſſex. He advanced with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Spaniſh ſhipping, which conſiſted of ſeventeen ſtout ſhips and eight or ten gallies, fearing the fatal conſequence of that fort's being taken, retired to Port Real. The fort, however, made a noble defence; and it was found impracticable to take it on the ſide where the attack was made. Upon this Sir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniſh infantry, who had oppoſed his landing back to the fort, the Spaniſh governor thought proper to ſurrender. The taking of this fort was, however, of no other conſequence than as it opened a paſſage to Cadiz itſelf, and commanded a large extent of villages and country round; but the raw Engliſh ſoldiers could not reſiſt the temptation of the new Spaniſh wines; they drank to exceſs, and could not be brought to act with that ſpirit and reſolution neceſſary for rendering the expedition ſucceſsful. At the ſame time diſſentions prevailed among the officers, and diſeaſes among the ſoldiers; ſo that any farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, the troops were reimbarked, and the fleet put to ſea with a reſolution of waiting for the Spaniſh galleons. But the plague breaking out among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, Cecil was obliged to return to England with infected crews, ſickly companies, a broken reputation, diſheartened officers, and national diſhonour.

A. D. 1626. Charles was crowned on the ſecond of February with great magnificence, and four days after the new parliament met at Weſtminſter, the king being determined to try once more that regular and conſtitutional expedient for obtaining a ſupply. The ſeſſion was opened by the new lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Finch, by a conciſe ſpeech, wherein he acquainted both houſes, that as his majeſty intended the ſeſſion ſhould be very ſhort, he hoped they would make all imaginable diſpatch in granting the ſupplies. But the commons, without paying any regard to the lord-keeper's ſpeech, began an enquiry into the national grievances, at the very point where they had left off the laſt ſeſſion, as if the ſame men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened between their laſt meeting.

Had Charles been left to himſelf he would probably have ſucceeded much better than he did with this parliament. For though he had loſt nothing of his arbitrary notions, yet the neceſſity of his affairs, and his cloſe engagements on the continent, where both his honour and reputation were at ſtake, would certainly have induced him to have made ſuch ſacrifices, as would have brought over to his intereſt that very ſmall number of members, which gave the oppoſition the majority. But Charles was now governed in eccleſiaſtical affairs by Laud, a furious churchman, who, rather than give up one point of uſeleſs ceremony, or immaterial doctrine, was determined to hazard the rights of monarchy, and the tranquillity of his country. The commons indeed voted a ſupply of three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added another ſubſidy; but reſerved the paſſing that vote into a law till the end of the ſeſſion: ſo that if the king refuſed to grant them a ſufficient time to finiſh their inquiry into the national grievances, or refuſed to comply with their demands, he muſt expect no ſupply from the parliament.

It ſoon appeared that the whole ſtorm was intended againſt Buckingham, who was conſidered as the ſource of all the national grievances. Charles foreſaw the conſequence, and endeavoured to ſoften the inquiries of the commons, by ordering Heath, the attorney-general, to ſend letters to the judges, enjoining them to proceed with more vigour than ever againſt the popiſh recuſants. But all orders of that kind were miſtruſted by the commons; and an embargo being at that time laid on all the Engliſh ſhipping in France, the commons ordered an inquiry to be made into the reaſon for ſuch ſtrange proceedings. In anſwer to this inquiry, it was ſaid, that the French had impoſed it upon the Engliſh, in order to indemnify themſelves for the illegal detention of a ſhip belonging to Havre-de-Grace, called the St. Peter, even after an order had been iſſued by the king for her releaſe. But, upon examination, it appeared that there was ſufficient reaſon for this detention, and the inquiry was laid aſide.

The earl of Briſtol, who had now taken his ſeat in parliament, impeached Buckingham, his inveterate enemy; and the commons ſent up, about the ſame time, another impeachment. But however odious the irregularities of the favourite had rendered him, they were not ſuch as would condemn him as a traitor. The commons, however, purſued their deſign with unwearied attention; but the members of the council of war declining to give any anſwers to the queſtions put to them by the commons, it was thought proper to put a ſtop, for ſome time, to the inquiry.

In the mean time, Charles, preſſed by his allies for fulfilling his engagements, was very urgent with the parliament to finiſh the ſupplies. The houſe of peers candidly declared, that it was neceſſary to put the nation in a poſture of defence both by ſea and land; and that count Mansfeldt's army, and the king's allies, ought to be ſupported. Theſe reſolutions were communicated by the upper to the lower houſe; but the commons paid very little attention to them: the ſupporting their charge againſt Buckingham engroſſed all their attentions. In the courſe of this debate, Mr. Coke, ſon to Sir Edward Coke, ſaid, "It was better to die by an enemy than to ſuffer at home;" and Dr. Turner, a phyſician, propoſed the following queſtions againſt Buckingham.

"1. Whether the duke, being admiral of England, be not the cauſe of the king's loſs of his royalty in the narrow ſeas?

"2. Whether the unreaſonable, exorbitant, and immenſe gifts of money and lands beſtowed on the duke and his relations, be not the cauſe of impairing the king's revenue, and impoveriſhing the crown?

"3. Whether the multiplicity of offices beſtowed on the duke, and his dependents, be not the cauſe of the ill government of the kingdom?

"4. Whether recuſants in general be not ſupported and encouraged by the duke's mother and father-in-law, being papiſts?

"5. Whether the ſale of honours, offices, places of judicature, eccleſiaſtical livings, and promotions, be not carried on by the duke?

"6. Whether the duke's ſtaying at home, though admiral of the fleet and general of the land army, was not the cauſe of the miſcarriage of the expedition to Cadiz; and whether he gave proper directions for executing the deſign?"

In the midſt of this debate, the ſpeaker received the following letter from the king:

"Truſty and well-beloved, &c.

"Having aſſembled the parliament early in the beginning of the year, for the more timely help and advice of our people in our great and important affairs; and having of late, not only by meſſage, but alſo of ourſelf, put our houſe of commons in mind of our preſſing occaſions, and of the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, wherein they have equal intereſt with us, as well in reſpect to their own former engagements, as of the common cauſe; we ſhall not need to tell them with what care and patience we have, in the midſt of our neceſſities, attended their reſolutions; but becauſe their unſeaſonable ſlowneſs may produce at home as ill effects as a denial, and hazard the whole eſtate of things abroad, we have thought fit by you, the ſpeaker, to let them know, that without more loſs of time, we look for a full and perfect anſwer to what they will give for our ſupply, according to our expectation and their promiſes; wherein, as we preſs for nothing beyond the preſent ſtate and condition of our ſubjects, ſo will we accept no leſs than is proportional to the greatneſs and goodneſs of the cauſe; neither do we preſs them to a preſent reſolution in this, with a purpoſe to precipitate their counſels, much leſs to enter upon their privileges, but to ſhew that it is unfit to depend any longer upon uncertainties, whereby the whole weight of the affairs of Chriſtendom may break in ſuddenly upon us, to our diſhonour and the ſhame of this nation. And for the buſineſs at home, we command you to promiſe them in our name, that after they have ſatisfied us in this reaſonable demand, we ſhall not only continue them together at this time ſo long as the ſeaſon will permit, but call them ſhortly again to perfect thoſe neceſſary buſineſſes which will be now left undone; and now we ſhall willingly apply fit and ſeaſonable remedies to ſuch juſt grievances which they ſhall preſent unto us in a dutiful and mannerly manner, without throwing an ill odour upon our preſent government, or upon the government of our late bleſſed father; and if there be yet who deſire to find fault, we ſhall think him the wiſeſt reprehender of our errors paſt, who, without reflecting backward, can give us counſel how to ſettle the preſent ſtate of things, and to provide for the future ſafety and honour of the kingdom."

To enforce the intention of this letter, Sir Edward Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer, delivered to the houſe the following meſſage.

"1. That his majeſty's fleet being returned, and the victuals expended, the men muſt, of neceſſity, be diſcharged, and their wages paid; otherwiſe a mutiny will be the conſequence, which may, at this time, prove dangerous.

"2. That his majeſty hath fitted out about forty ſhips, for a ſecond attempt againſt the enemy: theſe want only victuals and a few men, but without a preſent ſupply of money, cannot ſail, nor be kept together.

"3. That the army aſſembled on the coaſts muſt ſoon be diſbanded, if they be not ſupplied with victuals and cloaths.

"4. That if the companies lately ſent to Ireland be not provided for, inſtead of defending that country, they will become the authors of rebellion.

“ 5. That the ſeaſon for providing healthful victuals will be paſt, if this month be neglected.

“ His majeſty therefore commanded me to tell you, that he deſired to know, without farther delay, what ſupply you will give him for theſe his preſent occaſions, that he may frame his courſe and council accordingly.”

This meſſage contained ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that, notwithſtanding all the arts of the oppoſition, and the unbounded aſcendency the leaders of it had acquired over the minds of the people, they thought proper to join very readily in the following anſwer to Weſton's meſſage:

“ Moſt gracious ſovereign,

“ Your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons, now aſſembled in parliament, in all humility, preſent unto your royal wiſdom this their loyal anſwer to the meſſage which your majeſty was pleaſed, by the chancellor of your exchequer, to ſend unto them, deſiring to know, without any farther deferring of time, what ſupply they would give to your majeſty for your preſent and extraordinary occaſions, that you might form your courſes and counſels accordingly. Firſt of all, they moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty to know, and reſt aſſured, that no prince was ever dearer to his people than your majeſty; no people more zealous to maintain and advance the honour and greatneſs of their king than they, which, as upon all occaſions they will be ready to expreſs, ſo eſpecially in ſupport of that cauſe wherein your majeſty and your allies are juſtly engaged. And becauſe they cannot doubt but your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, even out of juſtice, and according to the example of your famous predeceſſors, will be pleaſed graciouſly to accept the faithful and neceſſary information and advice of your parliament, which can have no end but the ſervice of your majeſty, and the ſafety of your realm, in diſcovering the cauſes, and propoſing the remedies of thoſe great evils which have occaſioned your majeſty's wants, and your people's grief.

“ They therefore, in confidence and full aſſurance of redreſs therein, do, with one conſent, propoſe (though, in former time, ſuch courſe hath been unuſed) that they really intend to aſſiſt and ſupply your majeſty in ſuch a way, and in ſo ample a manner, as may make you ſafe at home, and feared abroad; for the diſpatch whereof, they will uſe ſuch diligence as your majeſty's preſſing occaſions ſhall require.”

But notwithſtanding this anſwer, inſtead of immediately applying themſelves to finiſh the bill relative to the ſubſidies, they ſtill purſued their favourite project againſt Buckingham; and having voted, upon the queries of Dr. Turner, “ that common fame was a ſufficient ground of accuſation by the commons,” proceeded to frame regular articles againſt the miniſter. They accuſed him “ of having united many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, ſo that many merchant-ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ſhips to the French king, in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots; of being employed in the ſales of honours and offices; of accepting extenſive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; of adminiſtering phyſic to the late king, without acquainting his phyſicians; of extorting a ſum of ten thouſand pounds from the Eaſt-India Company; and of confiſcating ſome goods belonging to ſome French merchants, under pretence of their being the property of the Spaniards.” Among all theſe accuſations, the two laſt only could be regarded as of any importance; the reſt ſeem to be frivolous, or falſe, or both. But the duke's anſwer to theſe particulars was ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that it is impoſſible to refuſe our aſſent to ir.

Perceiving that the commons were determined to purſue their own meaſures, notwithſtanding the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, Charles ordered the lord-keeper to forbid the houſe meddling any farther with his miniſter and ſervant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finiſh, in a few days, the bill they had begun for the ſubſidies; and to make ſome addition to them, otherwiſe they muſt expect to ſit no longer.

This was the language of an eaſtern, rather than an Engliſh monarch: it tended to deſtroy the conſtitution, and to reduce Britons to that abject ſtate of ſlavery known only in the moſt deſpotic kingdoms. It deſtroyed all confidence between the king and his parliament. At the ſame time, he ſent to demand ſatisfaction of Mr. Coke for the words he had ſpoken, and of Dr. Turner for the queries he had preſented to the commons. The houſe was aſtoniſhed at ſuch proceedings; ſome were intimidated with fear; ſome were filled with indignation; ſome with true patriotic zeal for a coalition between the king and his people; and others, inſtigated by a ſecret ambition, rejoiced at this deſpotic language of the king, as it tended to throw every thing into confuſion. Theſe different paſſions produced different effects; and ſo many left the committee, that the committee was obliged to reſume the chair, and it was ordered that no member ſhould leave the houſe without leave.

The alarming circumſtances of the king's meſſage were taken into conſideration. They ſaw Charles lay down a principle, which, unleſs it could be deſtroyed, rendered it impoſſible for parliaments ever to reach the guilty head of a miniſter who enjoyed the favour of his maſter. They preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance to the king, in which they boldly juſtified their proceedings againſt Buckingham, as being founded upon precedents, and conſiſtent with every principle of natural liberty and ſafety: and concluded with putting the king in mind how readily they had agreed to grant him a ſupply, and requeſted his majeſty not to be prejudiced againſt their proceedings. But neither theſe meſſages nor remonſtrances had any power to withdraw the attention of the commons from their favourite project, that of ſupporting their articles of impeachment againſt Buckingham; though they muſt have known, that few of the articles exhibited againſt him contained real crimes, and that theſe were impoſſible to be proved. It is, indeed, ſurprizing, that men of ſuch remarkable abilities as the leaders of the houſe of commons were, inveterate in their hatred, and keen in their purſuit of a favourite miniſter, young and giddy at his entrance into power, bold and inſolent in its exerciſe, unfortunate and diſappointed in his meaſures, ſhould find ſo little real matter againſt him, during the ſpace of almoſt fourteen years. The truth is, that Buckingham had always been faithful to his maſters; and had been ſometimes, to gratify their arbitrary inclinations, forced upon meaſures his judgment diſapproved; and he had, for ſome years, been ſtruggling in vain againſt the tide of popular fury. The breath of the king, inſtead of diſſipating, ſwelled the ſtorm. It was now agreed to demand of the lords that Buckingham ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody. When this meſſage was delivered to the upper houſe, the duke addreſſed the lords in the following manner:

“ My lords,

“ If I hold my peace, it will argue guilt; if I
“ ſpeak, it will argue boldneſs, when accuſed of ſo
“ many crimes. Your lordſhips ſee what complaints
“ are made againſt me by the houſe of commons.
“ How well I ſtood in their opinion not long ſince,
“ your lordſhips well know: what I have done ſince
“ to loſe their good opinion, I proteſt I am intirely
“ ignorant. I cannot ſo greatly diſtruſt my own
“ innocency, and my heart, which abhors guilt, as
“ to decline any courſe, or court of juſtice; and had
“ they not brought my cauſe before your lordſhips;
“ it would have been my own work: they have done
“ me a favour, by delivering me out of their hands
“ into thoſe of your lordſhips.

“ I will not endeavour to throw any reflection on
“ thoſe who have taken pains to repreſent me in ſo

“ vile a light; it will be ſufficient for me to proteſt my innocence, which I hope to prove, as the cauſe is now before juſt judges: I deſire that my trial may be haſtened, that I may ſuffer no longer than is abſolutely neceſſary: and as my accuſers have not been content with my proceſs only, but to preſcribe to your lordſhips the manner of your judgment, and to puniſh me before I am heard, I ſhall not give way to any of their unjuſt demands.”

About this time, the earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, died; and Buckingham, though then under impeachment, was choſen in his place. The commons reſented, and loudly complained of this affront; but the king was ſo far from regarding the cenſure of the commons, that he wrote a letter to the univerſity, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

Two members of the houſe, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment againſt Buckingham, were ſent to the Tower. This highly exaſperated the commons, who immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon buſineſs till they had received ſatisfaction with regard to their privileges. Charles alledged, as a reaſon for this violent meaſure, certain ſeditious expreſſions, which, he ſaid, had dropped from thoſe members in their accuſation of the duke. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed; upon which the members were releaſed; and the king reaped no farther benefit from this attempt than to exaſperate the houſe ſtill farther; and to ſhew, that notwithſtanding his character for ſolid reflection, he was ſometimes capable of precipitate indiſcretion.

The example of the houſe of commons was now imitated by the peers. They claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately ſent to the Tower. The king made ſeveral attempts to elude the demand of the lords, but was at laſt obliged to comply, and the earl was accordingly releaſed from his confinement.

Charles having complied with the demand of the commons, with regard to the diſcharge of their members, and even declared that he had been impoſed upon, there were no plauſibla reaſons for with-holding the ſupplies. A great majority of the houſe would readily have paſſed the bill, but were oppoſed by others who had formed dangerous views: a firm coalition between the king and parliament was repugnant to their intentions. Theſe turbulent members began by intimating, that they had ſome doubts whether the money would be properly applied, and whether there was any real intention of ſending out the fleet that year. Theſe inſinuations were at once both groundleſs and malicious, yet many events concurred to render them poſſible. The king had as yet given them no ſatisfaction, nor even an anſwer to their remonſtrance. The houſe of peers had refuſed to proceed againſt Buckingham, or even to admit that he might be criminal, by ſending him to the Tower. The French court had made peace with the Hugonots, by the mediation of the Engliſh ambaſſadors: they had paid off, and ſent home, the Engliſh ſhips employed in their ſervice; they had taken off the embargo laid on the Engliſh merchantmen; and, after renewing the treaty of 1610, ſeemed entirely diſpoſed to act with vigour againſt the houſe of Auſtria. For this purpoſe, Lewis had offered to make a diverſion, with twenty-five thouſand men, in Germany; and to continue the war, if neceſſary, for four years to come, provided England would enter into the ſame engagements; but refuſed to be concerned any farther againſt the houſe of Auſtria, than the reinſtating the palatine, and other deprived German princes, in their dominions. From theſe circumſtances the diſcontented members took the opportunity of urging, that there would be no occaſion for the operations of the fleet, and that the houſe ought to be very careful how they granted money for that purpoſe. Theſe artful ſpeeches made a viſible impreſſion to the diſadvantage of the court, and the commons ſeemed perſuaded that the ſupply was not neceſſary. Charles endeavoured to quicken their proceedings by meſſages; and even proceeded ſo far as to threaten the commons, that if they did not furniſh him with the ſupplies, he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to “new councils.” This language could not be miſtaken; but leſt any of the members ſhould conſider it as ambiguous, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took ſome pains to exexplain it fully. “I pray you conſider (ſaid he) what theſe new councils are. I fear to declare thoſe that I conceive. In all chriſtian kingdoms you know that parliaments were formerly in uſe, by which thoſe kingdoms were governed in a moſt flouriſhing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own ſtrength, and ſeeing the turbulent ſpirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to ſtand on their prerogatives, and at laſt overthrew the parliaments throughout Chriſtendom, except here only with us.----Let us be careful, then, to preſerve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth ſuch happineſs to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this ſweetneſs between his majeſty and the commons; leſt we loſe the repute of a free people by our turbulence in parliament.” Theſe imprudent ſuggeſtions rather gave the commons warning of the deſigns formed againſt them, than ſtruck them with terror. They conſidered a precarious liberty, or that preſerved by unlimited complaiſance, as no liberty at all. They were determined to preſerve the ſubſtance, or loſe the ſhadow. Inſtead, therefore, of paſſing the bill for the ſupplies, they renewed their inquiries into grievances; they ordered the houſe to be called over, and all abſent members to be puniſhed.

The never-failing cry of popiſh recuſants was revived; and the nation ſaid to be in danger, from their unwearied endeavours to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion in England. But their attack on the revenues of the crown was the moſt dangerous. They entered on a remonſtrance againſt the levying of tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament. This article, together with the new impoſitions laid on merchandize by James, conſtituted near one half of the royal revenues. This attack, therefore, had it ſucceeded, muſt have proved deciſive; and as they were not able to fix any legal crime upon Buckingham, they intended to preſent a petition to his majeſty for removing him from his perſon and councils. To preſerve, however, the appearance of moderation, the ſubſidy bill was again read, but kept in ſuch ſuſpence as ſufficiently indicated, that if all the grievances preſented by the commons were not removed, the bill would never paſs into a law.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, Charles determined to diſſolve the parliament. The lords endeavoured to diſſuade him from this reſolution, but in vain; the king was determined; and when they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to ſit ſome time longer, he anſwered, in a very haſty manner, “Not a moment longer.” The commons had juſt finiſhed their remonſtrance when the king carried his threats into execution, by diſſolving the parliament, before they had completed a ſingle act.

The remonſtrance of the commons began with a kind of recapitulation of the reaſons why the preſent and former parliament had been in a manner abortive, and the whole blame thrown upon Buckingham. Among other things they charged him with appointing Sir Edward Coke, and ſeveral other leading members againſt him, ſheriffs of counties, in order to diſqualify them from ſerving their country in parliament; and for ſending Mr. Glanvill abroad, as ſecretary of the fleet, for the ſame purpoſe. They afterwards declared it was their firm reſolution to have ſignally ſupported his majeſty in the proſecution of the war, had not all their intentions been blaſted by the enormities of Buckingham, whoſe crimes they ſum up in the following manner. "We found, ſay they, that the moſt preſſing and comprehenſive miſchief and grievance ſuffered by the late king, was fundamentally ſettled in the vaſt paſt power and enormous actions of the ſaid duke, being ſuch, by reaſon of his plurality of offices; ſome procured by ambition, and ſome by money, expreſsly againſt the laws of your majeſty's realm; his breach of truſt in not guarding the ſeas; his high injuſtice in the admiralty; his extortion; his delivering over the ſhips of this kingdom into the hands of a foreign prince; his procuring the compulſory buying of honour for his own gain; his unexampled exhauſting of the treaſures and revenues of the kingdom; his tranſcendant preſumption of that unhappy application of phyſic to your royal father of bleſſed memory, ſome few days before his death; of theſe and ſome other of his offences carefully examined by us, we made a parliamentary charge againſt him to the lords, by your majeſty aſſembled in parliament, there expecting ſome remedy by a ſpeedy proceeding againſt him; but may it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty, not only during the time of our examination of the matters and offences of the ſaid charge, we were often interrupted and diverted by meſſages, procured, through miſinformation, from your majeſty, which with moſt humble duty and reverence we did ever receive, whence it firſt fell out that ſo, not only much time was ſpent among us, before the ſaid charge was perfected, but alſo within two days after the ſame charge was tranſmitted by us to the lords, two of our members, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, upon untrue and malicious informations, privately and againſt the privilege of parliaments, given to your majeſty of certain words, were by your majeſty's command committed to cloſe impriſonment in the Tower of London, their lodgings preſently ſearched, and their papers taken away; by reaſon whereof not only our known privileges of parliament were infringed, but we ourſelves, who in full hopes of ſpeedy courſe of juſtice againſt the ſaid duke, were preparing with all dutiful affection to proceed to diſpatch the ſupply and other ſervices of your majeſty, were wholly, as the courſe and privilege of parliament bind us, employed for ſeveral days in taking into conſideration the proper methods to be purſued for the ratifying and preſerving the privileges ſo infringed."

They next complain of the inſolence of lord Conway, ſecretary of ſtate, who had ordered the meſſengers, who, by their warrants, were to have apprehended the members at their lodgings, to ſeize them in the very houſe of commons. This outrage they alſo charge upon the duke, as they do all the interruptions they received, when they were well diſpoſed to grant the ſupply. They next attack that nobleman for procuring himſelf to be elected chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, becauſe, ſay they, the ſame univerſity, having two burgeſſes in parliament, did, by the ſame burgeſſes, a few weeks before, conſent with us in the charge againſt him, for his ambition in procuring ſuch a plurality of offices; ſuch was his ambition to ſue for it; ſuch was his power to make them give it him, contrary to what they had agreed in parliament with all the commons of England." They next charge him "with having ſcreened Montague, and deſpair of being able to do any thing for the public ſervice, while Buckingham remained in poſſeſſion of his power, continued to abuſe the confidence of his majeſty, and enjoyed the arbitrary diſpoſal of rewards and puniſhments to all ranks of people. They promiſe to reply to this anſwer to the articles they had exhibited againſt him. They tremble to think of the conſequences that muſt attend his majeſty's following new councils, as he had intimated, if, by new councils, he meant to govern and raiſe money without conſent of parliament. They added, that they had reaſon to fear, that this was really his meaning, or perhaps that of his miniſter, "the rather, ſay they, becauſe the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, which determined on the death of your moſt royal father, our late ſovereign, and were never payable to any of your majeſty's anceſtors, but only by a ſpecial act of parliament, and ought not to be levied without ſuch an act; yet, ever ſince the beginning of your majeſty's happy reign over us, the ſaid ſubſidies have been levied by ſome of your majeſty's miniſters, as if they were ſtill due; altho' one parliament hath ſince that time been held and diſſolved, by procurement of the ſaid duke, wherein no act paſſed for the ſame ſubſidies. Which example is ſo much againſt the conſtant uſe of former times, and the known right and liberty of your ſubjects, that it is an apparent effect of ſome new counſels, given againſt the ancient ſettled courſe of government of this your majeſty's kingdom, and chiefly againſt the right of your commons, as if there might be any ſubſidy, tax, or aid levied upon them, without their conſent in parliament, or contrary to the ſettled laws of the kingdom. But if any ſuch do ſo ill uſe an office, as by the miſrepreſentation of the ſtate and right of your majeſty's loyal ſubjects, adviſe any ſuch new counſels, as the levying any aid, tax, or ſubſidy, among your people, contrary to the ſettled laws of your kingdom, we cannot, moſt gracious ſovereign, but eſteem thoſe who ſhall adviſe, not only as vipers, but peſts to their king and commonwealth, and alſo capital enemies as well to your crown and dignity, as to the commonwealth. And we ſhall, for our parts, ſhew, in parliament, as occaſion may require, and be ready to declare their offences of this kind ſuch, as may be rewarded with the higheſt puniſhment your laws inflict on any offenders."

The concluſion of this remonſtrance has ſomething in it very great, and very pathetic. After laying before the king the dangers and miſeries which muſt attend his continuing to place his confidence in this ſingle miniſter, they proceed in the following manner: "Give us then leave, moſt dear ſovereign, in the name of all the commons of this your kingdom, proſtrate at the feet of your ſacred majeſty, moſt humbly to beſeech you, even for the honour of Almighty God, whoſe religion is directly undermined by the practice of that party whom this duke ſupports; for your honour, which will be much advanced in the relieving your people in this their great and general grievance; for the honour, ſafety, and welfare of your kingdom, which by this means is threatened with almoſt unavoidable dangers; and for the love which your majeſty, as a good and loving father, bears unto your good people, to whom we profeſs, in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, you are as highly eſteemed and beloved, as ever any of your predeceſſors were, that you would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove this perſon from having acceſs to your ſacred preſence, and that you would not balance this one man with all theſe things, and with the affairs of the Chriſtian world, which do all ſuffer, ſo far as they have relation to this kingdom, chiefly by his means. For we proteſt to your majeſty, and to the whole world, that until this perſon be removed from intermeddling in the great affairs of ſtate, we are out of hope of any good ſucceſs; and do fear, that whatever money we can or ſhall give, will, through his miſmanagement, be turned rather to the hurt and prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwiſe; as by lamentable experience we have found in thoſe large ſupplies we have formerly and lately given.

"But no ſooner ſhall we receive redreſs and relief in this, which, of all others, is the moſt inſupportable grievance, but we ſhall forthwith proceed to accompliſh your majeſty's own deſire, for ſupply; and likewiſe, with all chearfulneſs, apply ourſelves to the perfecting of divers other great things, ſuch as we think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the ſtability, wealth, ſtrength and honour of this your kingdom, and the ſupport of your friends and allies abroad: and we doubt not but through God's bleſſing, as you are the beſt, ſo ſhall you be the beſt beloved and the greateſt monarch that ever ſat on the royal throne of this famous kingdom."

Such was the famous remonſtrance of this parliament. The commons intended to have preſented it to the king, but being prevented from carrying their deſign into execution, they cauſed it to be diſperſed among the people in juſtification of their conduct. Charles was no ſtranger to its contents, but determined not to make the ſacrifice requeſted of him. He thought that the great guilt of Buckingham conſiſted in being his friend and favourite: All the other complaints againſt him he conſidered as mere pretences. A few months before he was the idol of the people; and no new crime had ſince been pretended to be diſcovered. After the moſt diligent enquiry, prompted by the greateſt malice, the ſmalleſt appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he aſked, muſt all mankind entertain of his honour, ſhould he ſacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary conſiderations? What farther authority would he entertain in this nation, were he capable, in the very beginning of his reign, to give, in ſo ſignal an inſtance, ſuch matter of triumph to his enemies, and diſcouragement to his friends? Indeed the whole charge againſt Buckingham was ſo general, that it might have been thrown out againſt a virtuous as well as a wicked miniſter. It was equally abſurd in them to ſuppoſe, that the act of the two members for the univerſity of Cambridge, was the act of the univerſity itſelf; nor did the repreſentatives of that body, by agreeing or not agreeing to the charge againſt the duke, make it more or leſs binding upon the univerſity to approve or diſapprove of the ſame charge. The raiſing of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament, was indeed a ſtrong and an alarming circumſtance, and laid, as it were, the axe to the root of liberty. An Engliſh houſe of commons could not, therefore, be too loud upon this head; they acted as true patriots, when, while ſuch an arbitrary meaſure was purſuing, they made the poſt of honour the place of danger, and poured out the vials of public indignation againſt any miniſter, guilty or not guilty, who ſhould dare to ſerve a prince that avowed ſuch dangerous principles.

The government alſo diſperſed a declaration, ſhewing the reaſons which induced the king to diſſolve the two laſt parliaments; but it is one of the weakeſt pieces ever publiſhed by any miniſtry. It contains nothing in anſwer to thoſe ſtrong facts and principles which had been urged by the commons in their remonſtrances; it conſiſted of particulars which no body pretended to deny, namely, That the king by the advice of his parliament, had been engaged in a war with the houſe of Auſtria; that this war had been attended with great expence; that he had called the two laſt parliaments for furniſhing him with ſupplies for carrying on the war; that he had preſſed them again and again for that purpoſe; and that being always diſappointed in his expectations, he had diſſolved them. Theſe were facts never diſputed; nor did the moſt violent oppoſers of the court ever deny, that the occaſions for ſtrengthening the hands of his majeſty were great and urgent. But the true queſtions were, whether the foreign war was of ſo much importance, as to interpoſe between them and every thing that ought to be dear to a free people? Whether they ought to ſupport a prince, who threw his favourite into one ſcale as a counterpoiſe againſt his parliament in the other? Whether this favourite, ſole and ſupreme as he was, might not, when poſſeſſed of money granted by the parliament, make uſe of it to rivet thoſe chains he was then forging, and to eſtabliſh the principles his maſter had avowed? Charles in all his papers and declarations, gave no conſtitutional ſatisfaction as to any one of thoſe doubts, and his ſilence admitted of the worſt conſtruction.

The new councils which Charles had threatened were now to be tried, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. Had he immediately made peace with Spain, he might perhaps have found the neceſſary reſources to have ſupported the expences of government in times of peace. Nothing could be more eaſy in the execution than this meaſure, nor more agreeable both to his own and the national intereſt. But beſides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time entirely averſe to pacific counſels. He was determined to carry on the war, and to feed it by opening the ſluices of prerogative. He was always perſuaded that he had much leſs to fear from the papiſts than the puritans; and to take away the great objection which the latter urged for exclaiming againſt the violent part of the church of England, he iſſued a proclamation againſt preaching or diſputing either for or againſt the religious tenets of Arminius. It was long before Buckingham could gain this point; and perhaps no prince ever committed more folly than James and Charles did, in ſo long ſupporting the principles of the Anti-Arminians, contrary to their own private opinions, and to the ſenſe of almoſt every man to whom they truſted for the advancement of their meaſures.

The attention of the council was now entirely engaged in forming meaſures for raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on the war, and it was reſolved that the king might continue to levy all thoſe duties upon goods and merchandize, called by the ſeveral names of cuſtoms, ſubſidies, and impoſts, in the ſame manner as they had been levied during the late reign. The other proceedings of the government were of the ſame kind. It was well known that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the people of England, than the leaſt attempt to favour popery; yet the king granted a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of York, Sir John Saville, and others, "to treat and make compoſitions with the ſaid recuſants for all forfeitures in not going to church, under ſuch conconditions and immunities as they ſhall ſee meet and convenient, according to ſuch inſtructions as his majeſty hath, or ſhall give for that purpoſe: his majeſty rather deſiring their converſion than deſtruction."

Charles was perſuaded that he could not effect a more popular action, than to increaſe the ſtrength of the royal navy; and in the commiſſion for compounding with the recuſants, he had aſſigned the neceſſity of guarding the northern ports, as the reaſon for his appropriating the compoſition-money to himſelf. Advantage was alſo taken of ſome precedents, by no means applicable to the preſent times, for charging the ſea-ports with certain ſums of money for fitting out ſhips. This demand fell heavy upon the city of London, which was ordered to fit out twenty ſhips. But the king ſoon perceived that this meaſure would be attended with ſome difficulty. Not only the capital, but the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices of Dorſetſhire, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this impoſition, which they conceived to be without precedent. This ſufficiently ſhewed that they were little converſant in Engliſh hiſtory; as many precedents occur, though they were in themſelves either tyrannical, obſolete, or warranted by immediate neceſſity. They were, however, to be found; and the council conſidering them as ſufficient for their purpoſe, rejected all petitions, and particularly that of the city of London, to have this impoſition abated.

To increaſe the appearances of neceſſity, Charles augmented the wages of his ſailors from fourteen to twenty ſhillings a month; and publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, giving them other encouragements. At the ſame time, rigorous directions were iſſued for putting all the ſea-coaſts, and the principal fortreſſes of the kingdom, in a poſture of defence, as if an actual invaſion or rebellion had already taken place. Nothing was ſeen throughout the kingdom but muſters and arrays of forces; and the military law, with all its terrors, was ſuſpended over the heads of the aſtoniſhed people.

It was not, indeed, long before Charles had occaſion for all theſe precautions, though the event was not, perhaps, foreſeen. He had paid the king of Denmark large ſubſidies; and that prince, by his encouragement, having, for ſome time, acted as the patron of the Germanic liberty, had marched his army towards the Weſer, where he took Minden and Hamelin; but upon the approach of count Tilly, at the head of an army of veteran imperialiſts, he retired towards Ferden, to wait the arrival of Manſfeldt with twelve thouſand Engliſh and Dutch forces. While he remained in that ſituation, he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the imperialiſts, who were ordered to keep him fully employed, till the emperor could place the crown of Hungary on the head of his eldeſt ſon. This coronation exaſperated the famous Bethlem Gabor, a prince of Tranſylvania, who aſpired to the throne of Hungary, and propoſed to enter into the league formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria. His offer was accepted; and it was agreed that he ſhould invade Hungary, and be joined by the troops under count Manſfeldt, as ſoon as he arrived in Sileſia. But before this could be effected, the emperor had aſſembled one army on the Weſer, another under the famous Wallenſtein on the frontiers of Sileſia, and a third under count Tilly in Lower Saxony. This obliged the king of Denmark to divide his army, which, by the junction of Manſfeldt and the German princes, was now increaſed to ſixty thouſand men, into three bodies. The firſt, commanded by duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, was to act upon the Weſer; the ſecond by Manſfeldt, was to oppoſe Wallenſtein, and, if poſſible, force a paſſage into Sileſia; and the third, commanded by the king of Denmark in perſon, was to act in the intermediate ſpace between the other two. The active count Manſfeldt, in his route to Sileſia, made himſelf maſter of the whole province of Magdebourg, before Wallenſtein could come up to oppoſe him; but being ſtopped by general Altringer at Deſſau upon the Elbe, Wallenſtein had time to march to the relief of the place; and falling upon his army, obliged Manſfeldt to retire, with the loſs of the greater part of his infantry, baggage and artillery, into the marquiſate of Brandenburgh. Manſfeldt did not, however, abandon his principal deſign, that of penetrating into Sileſia, and gaining ſome marches upon Wallenſtein. He was ſo induſtrious, that he ſoon recruited his army, which now conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, and advanced, at their head, to join Bethlem Gabor. But that prince, upon the firſt news of Manſfeldt's defeat, made peace with the emperor. This behaviour ſo greatly diſguſted Manſfeldt, that he reſigned the command of his troops to duke Erneſt of Saxe Weimar, and retired to Buda, whence he ſet out for Venice, but died on his journey in an obſcure village of Dalmatia. About the ſame time, the brave duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, who commanded another diviſion of the confederate army, paid the debt of nature; and ſoon after, the duke of Saxe Weimar, Manſfeldt's ſucceſſor. The loſs of thoſe three great generals was irreparable to the confederates, whoſe hopes now intirely centered in the king of Denmark. Tilly, who had all this time watched the motions of that prince, had now retaken Minden and ſome other places; but was very near being ſurprized in his camp by the king of Denmark, at a time when he thought that prince was at thirty leagues diſtance. But Tilly, after making a maſterly retreat, was reinforced by ſo great a body of veterans, that the king of Denmark, who had no great opinion of his own new-raiſed troops, would, in his turn, have gladly declined a battle; but this was impoſſible. The conteſt was very bloody, but ended in favour of the imperial general; and the king was obliged to retire, with the loſs of his baggage and artillery, towards Holſtein. Three thouſand men of the confederate army were ſlain on the field of battle, and three thouſand taken priſoners.

Charles no ſooner heard of the defeat of the king of Denmark, than he redoubled his endeavours to obtain ſupplies. He had ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to lie at the mouth of the Elbe, to prevent the Spaniards from furniſhing themſelves with naval ſtores from that country. But this not only exaſperated the Hamburghers, whoſe commerce was thereby greatly leſſened, but the attempt itſelf was ineffectual, becauſe the enemy was ſupplied from Lubec; and the paſſage of the Sound was left open. The ſquadron was therefore recalled at the interceſſion of the Hamburgh merchants. The public did not fail to make their own reflections upon theſe inconſiſtent diſpoſitions of the court; for either the deſtination of the ſquadron had been improper, or the recalling of it impolitic.

But the truth is, the object of Buckingham's reſentment was changed. Beſides his paſſion for the young queen of France, and his reſentment at the refuſal of Lewis to receive him as ambaſſador, he had the greateſt reaſons to watch the conduct of cardinal Richelieu. The proteſtants of France had accepted the peace, under the guaranty of the king of England. By concluding this treaty, Charles committed a great political error. He gave peace to France, hoping that France would then join him againſt the Spaniards; but he was deceived. Inſtead of fulfilling their promiſes, they made uſe of this tranquillity as an argument for extorting advantageous terms from Spain. Richelieu, the better to conceal his real intentions from the allies during this negotiation, had procured the prince of Piedmont to be appointed lieutenant-general of the French armies in foreign parts: preparations were made in every province of France; and it was expected that the ſtorm, which had been ſo long gathering, would ſoon burſt upon the houſe of Auſtria. But no ſuch thing was intended: for, in a few days, it was publicly known, that a peace had been concluded between France and Spain. This perfidious conduct raiſed Richelieu many enemies, particularly the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Orleans, brother to the king. The former was now left expoſed to the vengeance of the Spaniards; and the latter, for reaſons foreign to this hiſtory, was more exaſperated againſt the miniſter than ever. But Richelieu's fortune roſe ſuperior to all difficulties. Fearful of a correſpondence between England and the duke de Vendôme, governor of Britany, which lay ſo convenient for a deſcent from England, he prevailed upon Lewis to undertake a journey into that province, where he cauſed the duke of Vendôme to be arreſted. But the moſt active agent againſt Richelieu was the abbot of Scaglia, ambaſſador in England from the duke of Savoy, a reſtleſs, intriguing miniſter, who hated Richelieu, and was now become very intimate with Buckingham. This produced a ſecret correſpondence between England, the court of Savoy, and the duke of Rohan, head of the French Hugonots, who were now convinced that all the great preparations in France were intended againſt Rochelle, the principal place in their poſſeſſion.

It was not difficult for the abbot of Scaglia, by the aſſiſtance of Buckingham, and the duke of Soubiſe, who managed the affairs of the French Hugonots in England, to inſpire Charles with a contemptible opinion of the duplicity of the French court; and to perſuade him, that having now loſt all hopes of prevailing upon Lewis to join in the alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria, he ought to revive the ancient policy of England, in preventing the total ruin of the Hugonots. The abbot gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his maſter's friendſhip and aſſiſtance; and it was accordingly determined to ſupport the proteſtants of France.

But ſupplies were wanting to pay both the fleet and the army; the neceſſities of Charles increaſed as his extenſive engagements were augmented. It was therefore determined to have recourſe to a general loan, in which every man was to be aſſeſſed according to the rolls of the laſt ſubſidy. But this expedient anſwered not the intentions of the miniſter: the people refuſed to ſubſcribe to the loan, and the whole country became a ſcene of confuſion. Among other articles of ſecret inſtruction, the commiſſioners appointed to levy theſe loans were enjoined, "If any man ſhall refuſe to lend, and ſhall make delays or excuſes, and perſiſt in his obſtinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuſe to lend, or make any excuſe for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what ſpeeches or perſuaſions were uſed for that purpoſe? And that they alſo charge every ſuch perſon in his majeſty's name, upon his allegiance, not to diſcloſe to any one what his anſwer was." It is aſtoniſhing that the king could be prevailed upon to ſuffer ſo impracticable an attempt to be made by his officers. A very little reflection would have been abundantly ſufficient to have convinced him, that the ſecrecy he enjoined was impoſſible; and that ſo violent an inquiſitorial power could not fail of exciting the indignation of his ſubjects.

The conſequence was what might naturally be expected. The principal leaders in the late parliament, and others who had adopted their ſentiments, refuſed to ſubmit to an impoſition not agreed to by the legiſlature. Moſt of them were thrown into priſon; the goals were filled with illuſtrious offenders. All who petitioned the clemency of the king were releaſed; but five gentlemen, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hambden, not only refuſed to ſollicit the clemency of his majeſty, but boldly demanded their releaſement, not as a favour from the court, but as a right derived from the laws of their country. The queſtion was at laſt ſolemnly argued in the court of King's-bench, when it appeared, beyond contradiction, that the perſonal liberty of the ſubject had been ſecured againſt the arbitrary power of the crown by ſix ſeveral acts of parliament, beſides an article of the great charter itſelf, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution of England. The judges, however, thought proper to remand the gentlemen to their priſons, though they refuſed to enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment of the king or council. But liberty loſes not her nature by confinement: her voice was heard from all quarters of the kingdom, and became much louder than thoſe of venal purſuivants, who ſpread the king's proclamations to excite terrors.

Nor was impriſonment the only engine employed by the government to force the people to ſubmit to the arbitrary orders of the court: recourſe was alſo had to religious prejudices: the duty of unlimited obedience was preached from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of his majeſty's chaplains, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. Among other curious paſſages in his elaborate diſcourſes, the following are remarkable: "That the king is not bound to obſerve the laws of the realm, concerning the ſubjects rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command in impoſing loans and taxes, without the common conſent of parliament, is ſufficient to oblige the conſcience of the ſubject, under pain of eternal damnation. That thoſe who refuſed to pay this loan, offended againſt the law of God, and the king's ſupreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, diſloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of parliament is not neceſſary for the raiſing of aids and ſubſidies; and that the ſlow proceedings of ſuch numerous aſſemblies are not fitted for the ſupply of the ſtate's urgent neceſſities, but would rather occaſion many impediments to the juſt deſigns of princes." Sibthorpe was another divine that exerted all his abilities in recommending the ſame ſlaviſh tenets. Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, refuſed to licenſe theſe ſermons. This was conſidered as ſo heinous an offence, that the prelate was ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his office, and confined to one of his country-ſeats. This ſequeſtration and confinement of the firſt peer and prelate of England, were alarming monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his maſter. The archbiſhop had always acted with the greateſt moderation, and was conſidered by the public as a ſincere friend to the liberties of his country; but he could never be brought to offer incenſe to the favourite miniſter, and this marked him out as an object of diſgrace.

Even an indifference in the ſervice of deſpotic purpoſes was now conſidered as criminal by the government. Sir Randal Carew was removed from his poſt of lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench for his coldneſs in promoting the loan; and Williams, the late lord-keeper, whoſe great abilities had rendered him a favourite of the people, was not ſuffered to enjoy the retirement he had choſen. He was conſidered as an encourager of the puritans; for every perſon who favoured the cauſe of liberty, whatever his religious tenets might be, was branded with that epithet, and was conſidered by the miniſter as an enemy to the government.

While the people were thus haraſſed with perſecutions with regard to the loan, vigorous preparations were making for covering the ſeas with armaments. The duke of Soubiſe, who was then in England, received a commiſſion from Charles for employing the ſhips fitted out by the Hugonots in his ſervice, and for cruiſing on the Spaniards. This occaſioned great confuſion in the buſineſs of the Engliſh admiralty, where it was difficult to diſtinguiſh between the prizes made by the Engliſh and thoſe taken by the French proteſtants.

A. D. 1627. The French court was in a very bad condition to ſupport a war againſt England; but all the catholics in the kingdom were united, and deſirous of exerting all their power againſt the enemies of their religion. On the other hand, the unpopularity of Buckingham, the high exertion of the prerogative, and the impriſonment of ſome of the worthieſt men in England, rendered the ſincereſt intentions of Charles diſtruſted: nothing could be expected from the efforts of a nation divided within itſelf. A fleet of one hundred ſail, having on board an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France; and both intruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, though he was wholly unacquainted both with the land and ſea-ſervice.

The fleet appeared before Rochelle; but the inhabitants of that city were then divided into two factions, one for the court of France, and the other for the Engliſh. The former endeavoured to perſuade the people, that if the Engliſh were admitted into the town, they would, by their great ſuperiority at ſea, ſeize the government, and keep poſſeſſion of the place in defiance of the whole power of France. The latter, which was headed by the mother and ſiſter of the dukes of Rohan and Soubiſe, oppoſed theſe aſſertions; declaring that the Engliſh were their friends, and were come to ſupport their religious privileges. The French party, however, prevailed, and it was determined not to admit the Engliſh. Buckingham, who was ſurprized that the gates were not opened, ſent Soubiſe and Sir William Beecher aſhore, but it was not without difficulty they were permitted to enter the gates. The council was immediately aſſembled, and Soubiſe did every thing in his power to perſuade them of the friendly intentions of the Engliſh monarch, and that he had fitted out this large and expenſive armament purely for their ſervice. The council, however, thought proper to decline the proffered aſſiſtance, under pretence that they could not determine on an affair of ſuch importance without conſulting the whole body of the Hugonots. Exaſperated at this refuſal, Buckingham determined to make a deſcent on the iſland of Rhé. It had before been agreed between Soubiſe and Buckingham, that the Engliſh ſhould land on Oleron, a fertile and then defenceleſs iſland, where refreſhments of every kind might be eaſily procured, and the troops in no danger of any attack from the enemy. But the Engliſh general thought proper to alter this plan of operations, and ſtood immediately for the iſland of Rhé, then well garriſoned and fortified. Had the military abilities of Buckingham been equal to his perſonal courage, he might have acquired immortal honour both to himſelf and his country. Thoyras, the French general, who commanded in the iſland, no ſooner perceived the Engliſh were preparing to land, than he drew out his forces to oppoſe them; but imagining the firſt debarkation was only a feint to draw his attention to that quarter, while the main body of the Engliſh army was landed at another, he thought it imprudent to attack them, till they were followed by greater numbers. Thoyras now perceived his miſtake, and marched immediately to give them battle; but the Engliſh volunteers jumping aſhore, and performing wonders in their own perſons, ſo animated the ſoldiers, that they preſſed forward with the utmoſt intrepidity, and put the enemy to flight, though far ſuperior in numbers.

Sobiſe, who was an excellent ſoldier, adviſed Buckingham to purſue his victory, and immediately attack the caſtle of St. Martin's. Had this prudent advice been followed, there is the greateſt reaſon to think that the attempt would have ſucceeded; but Buckingham pretended that it would be imprudent to march his troops againſt that fortreſs, till intelligence could be procured of the ſtrength of the enemy. By this dilatory method of proceeding five days were loſt to the Engliſh, and that loſs was irretrievable. He alſo neglected to take fort Prie, which was then but meanly garriſoned, and being ſituated on the ſhore, would have afforded an excellent retreat, in caſe of accident, to the Engliſh.

At laſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, he opened his trenches before St. Martins, and was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he aſſured the king by expreſs, he would be maſter of the caſtle in eight days time. This occaſioned a ridiculous proclamation to be publiſhed in England, for encouraging people to tranſport themſelves and their families to the iſland of Rhé, But Buckingham was not born to ſhine in a camp. Though determined to ſtarve the garriſon into a ſurrender, he took ſo little care to guard the ſeas, that the French found means to throw ammunition and proviſions into the place.

Buckingham now perceived that the taking the caſtle would not be ſo eaſy a taſk as he imagined, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fort Prie; but the garriſon had been reinforced, and the attempt miſcarried. The French had now in the iſland an army, under the command of marſhal Schomberg, ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh; and Buckingham determined to make an attack upon the place, in order to put an end to the ſiege by one deſperate attempt. He had been informed by ſome French deſerters, that there were no more than eight hundred ſoldiers in the caſtle, and that the courtin towards the ſea was but poorly fortified. It was therefore reſolved to ſtorm the courtin without attempting to make any breach in the wall. The army was accordingly divided into two bodies, one of which was to attack the caſtle on the land ſide, and the other on the ſea. The latter was the principal attack, and it was propoſed to mount the courtin with their ſcaling-ladders. But the meaſures were ſo improperly taken, that there were no hopes of ſucceſs. The French immediately perceived their intention, and ſuffered them to advance to the foot of the courtin, where the Engliſh ſoon perceived their ladders were too ſhort for ſcaling the wall. They behaved, however, in both attacks with amazing intrepidity, but were at laſt obliged to retreat with the loſs of five hundred men killed, and fifty taken priſoners.

The French were, however, convinced by this ſpecimen of Britiſh valour, that it would be dangerous to attack them in an open field; Schomberg did not chuſe to preſs cloſely ſo brave an enemy. After this miſcarriage it was ſufficiently evident that any farther attack upon the caſtle would be the height of imprudence; and Buckingham accordingly began his march in excellent order towards his ſhips, intending to paſs through a hollow way, the only paſſage by which he could retreat. The French army under marſhal Schomberg followed him at a diſtance. Buckingham perceived it, and offered the marſhal battle, which he declined, and the Engliſh continued their march towards the hollow-way, their rear, by ſome ſtrange neglect, conſiſting only of the inſignificant guard of eighty horſe. When the Engliſh had advanced a conſiderable diſtance in the hollow-way, they were attacked by the French cavalry, who forced the Engliſh rear-guard to break the ranks of their own men, and there being no room for the foremoſt battalions to form, a general rout enſued. But they had no ſooner paſſed the hollow-way, than they faced about and once more offered the marſhal battle, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained. Schomberg was too prudent to venture a general engagement; he retired with his army, and Buckingham embarked his forces, after loſing near two thirds of his army.

Thus ended an expedition which totally diſcredited Buckingham, both as an admiral and a ſoldier; he acquired no praiſe but that vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery. If he was unpopular before, he was now deteſted by the people; the enemy triumphed in the narrow ſeas, and inſulted the Engliſh in their own harbours. The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had declared for the Engliſh, were now in the moſt dreadful ſituation. They were threatened with an immediate ſiege from their enraged maſter, and had expended great part of their proviſions in ſubſiſting Buckingham's forces on the iſland of Rhé. The deputies from that city were loud in their complaints; but ſo greatly was Charles infatuated with Buckingham, that all their inſtances joined with the general voice of his people, could not prevail upon him to cenſure his conduct.

It was, however, ſufficiently apparent, that ſomething muſt be done to ſilence the clamours of the people. They believed their liberties had been raviſhed from them, and illegal taxes extorted. They ſaw their commerce daily declining, and the military honours tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, ſhamefully ſtained by two ill-concerted and unſucceſsful expeditions. They dreaded the calamities of a war carried on againſt two of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe, and feared for their domeſtic ſafety from the general clamour excited in every part of the nation. Theſe evils were ſolely aſcribed to the obſtinacy of the king in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham, whoſe abilities were far from deſerving ſuch implicit confidence. The only expedient that offered to relieve the government from this embarraſſing ſituation, was that of calling a parliament. It was expected that the miſcarriage of the attempt upon Rhé would be ſeverely cenſured, and the duke's conduct made the ſubject of the cloſeſt ſcrutiny. Sir Robert Cotton therefore adviſed his majeſty, that Buckingham ſhould make a motion in the council for aſſembling the parliament; hoping that by his appearing to favour a meaſure ſo highly agreeable to the people, his former faults would be forgotten, and that inſtead of a tyrant and oppreſſor, he would be conſidered as the deliverer of his country.

A. D. 1628. The parliament aſſembled on the ſeventeenth of March, and was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the king very pathetically enumerated the neceſſities of the government, and required the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but concluded with fairly telling the commons, "that if they did not do their duty in contributing to the neceſſities of the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe thoſe other means which God had put into his hands, in order to ſave that, which the follies of a few particular men may otherwiſe endanger. Take not this as a threatening, added he, for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity.”

When Charles had finiſhed his ſpeech, the lord-keeper, by the king's command, laid before the houſe the ſtate of affairs in Europe, and the motives which induced the king to attempt the reduction of the dangerous power of the houſe of Auſtria, and to interpoſe between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. He obſerved that the powers which uſed to balance the alarming greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, were now otherwiſe employed; the Turk in an Aſiatic war, and the Swede in a war with Poland, fermented by Spain; that the king of Denmark was already ſtripped of great part of his dominions, and the houſe of Auſtria on the point of being maſters of all the ſea-coaſts between Dantzick and Embden: that they were arming all the ſhips they can procure in the Baltic ſeas, and endeavouring to engage the Hans Towns in their quarrel, in order to deprive the Engliſh of the Eaſtland trade, and make themſelves maſters of the ſea, without ſtriking a blow: that the fleets of France and Spain, were preparing in conjunction to ruin our fiſhery, and to render it dangerous for our merchant ſhips to paſs from one part of the kingdom to another: that a large armament was fitting out at Liſbon, in order, as there is the greateſt reaſon to fear, to make a deſcent either in England or Ireland. He then ſtrongly recommended unity, as the only means of diſappointing the intentions of the enemy, and preſſed them in the moſt earneſt manner to aſſiſt the government, as the moſt conſtitutional method of impoſing the neceſſary taxes. “This way of parliamentary ſupplies, added he, as his majeſty told you, he hath choſen, not as the only way, but as the fitteſt; not becauſe he is deſtitute of others, but becauſe it is moſt agreeable to the goodneſs of his own moſt gracious diſpoſition, and to the deſire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of the enemy make way to others. Remember his majeſty's admonition, I ſay remember it.”

Though the members of this parliament were men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed of ſuch large eſtates, that it was computed their riches ſurpaſſed three times that of the houſe of peers; though they were all inflamed with the love of liberty, and many of them had ſuffered by the violent meaſures of the government; yet they entered upon buſineſs with great temper and decorum. They feared that the king, diſguſted with popular aſſemblies, wanted only a fair pretence, offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members, to govern alone with a deſpotic power; and ſhould that ever happen, no remedy could be hoped for, but from inſurrection and civil war, of which the iſſue would be extremely uncertain, and muſt, at all events, prove infinitely diſtreſſing to the whole nation. Decency of conduct was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the great work of reformation in the government, and to paſs ſome laws which might ſecure the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

But though the popular leaders had preſcribed a decent conduct to themſelves, they did not propoſe to ſuffer calmly the grievances under which the nation had lately groaned. They knew that the conſtitution of their country was at ſtake, and that every effort muſt be exerted in its defence. The cry of liberty was therefore echoed in the houſe of commons as it had anciently been in the Roman ſenate. “We are called here by his majeſty, ſaid Sir Francis Seymour, to give him faithful counſel, ſuch as may conduce to his honour and dignity, and we ought to do it without flattery. We are ſent here by the people to deliver them from their grievances, and we ought to do it without fear. Not to be diſpoſed to part with life and fortune when the intereſt of our king and country required the ſacrifice, were not to be good ſubjects; but, on the other hand, to ſuffer our property to be taken from us, inconſiſtently with liberty, our inclination, and the laws of our country, this were to be ſlaves. While we oppoſe ſuch encroachments we tread only in the ſteps of our great anceſtors, who always preferred the public to their private intereſt, nay even to their very lives. It will be the higheſt injury to ourſelves, to our poſterity, to our conſciences, if we forego this claim and pretenſion.”

“I can live, ſaid Sir Robert Phillips, though another, who has no right, be joined with me; nay, I can live, though burthened with impoſitions, beyond what at preſent I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the ſoul of my life, raviſhed from me; to have my perſon pent up in a goal, without relief from law, and to be ſo adjudged,—O! improvident anceſtors! O! unwiſe forefathers! to be ſo careful in providing for the quiet poſſeſſion of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the ſame time, to neglect our perſonal liberty, and ſuffer us to lie in priſon during pleaſure, without redreſs or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourſelves with diſputes about a conſtitution, franchiſes, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his perſon?”

“The ſame evil, added Sir Thomas Wentworth, affects the king and the people, and the ſame remedy muſt heal it. We are to defend,—what?—any new object?—no—our ancient, our legitimate, or vital liberties; we muſt confirm the laws eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors; we muſt put ſuch a ſeal to them, as no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare to break.” The whole houſe agreed in theſe noble and generous ſentiments; even the court party themſelves did not pretend to offer any thing but the plea of neceſſity in defence of the late meaſures purſued by the miniſtry, and to which the king had been reduced by the obſtinacy of the two laſt parliaments. No oppoſition was therefore made to a vote againſt arbitrary impriſonments and forced loans. This being paſſed, the houſe unanimouſly voted the king five ſubſidies. This ſupply, though not equal to his wants, ſatisfied his majeſty, and even the tears of affection ſtarted from his eyes, when he was informed of this conceſſion in the commons.

But though the ſupply was voted, the bill neceſſary to give it the force of a law was not yet paſſed, and the commons, in order to have time ſufficient to conſider the grievances of the nation, appointed a committee to prepare the model of ſo important a ſtatute, before any draught of it was laid before the houſe. Some of the commons were, indeed, for paſſing the ſubſidy bill with as much expedition as the nature of the ſubject would admit, before the grievances of the kingdom were taken into conſideration; but this was oppoſed by others with all the enthuſiaſtic warmth of true patriotic zeal. Mr. Creſwell, a young gentleman of the law, delivered his ſentiments in a very maſterly manner. “Give me leave, ſaid he, to reſemble juſtice to Nebuchadnezzar's tree; for ſhe is ſo great that ſhe ſhades at once the palace of the prince, the houſe of the noble and the cottage of the beggar. If therefore either the blaſts of indignation, or neceſſity, the irreſiſtible violator of laws, hath ſo bruiſed any part of the branches of this tree, that either our perſons, goods, or poſſeſſions have not the ſame ſhelter as before, let us not, for that reaſon, neglect the root of this lovely plant; but rather uſe every poſſible endeavour to apply to it freſh and fertile mould, and to water it even with our tears, that theſe bruiſhed branches may be recovered, and the whole tree once more proſper and flouriſh.

“I well know that kings, though they are only men before the Almighty, are gods among the people: and therefore to my gracious and dread ſovereign, whoſe virtues are ingenerate both in his judgment and nature, let my arm be cut off, nay, let not my ſoul ſurvive the day that I ſhall dare to

“ lift up my hand to touch thoſe forbidden productions, “ thoſe flowers of his princely crown and “ diadem. But yet, in our Eden, in this garden of “ the commonwealth, as there are flowers of the ſun, “ which are too glorious to be touched by any but “ the hands of royal majeſty; ſo are there alſo ſome “ daiſies and wholeſome herbs, which every common “ hand that lives and labours in this garden, may “ pick and gather up, may take comfort and repoſe “ in them. Among all theſe, this eye of day, this “ lovely liberty, is, perhaps, the principal. This “ ſhould be cultivated with the utmoſt care, nor “ ſhould any conſideration, not even the frowns of “ power, prevail upon us to abandon its culture.”

The ſpeeches of the patriots prevailed; and a committee was appointed to draw up the form of ſome ſtatute, which having obtained the force of a law, might form a ſufficient barrier to their rights and liberties, ſo lately violated. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billeting ſoldiers in private houſes, and the impoſition of martial law, were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe an eternal remedy was to be provided. At laſt the famous petition of right was drawn up, and preſented to the lords for their concurrence; that having thus obtained the ſanction of both houſes, it might have the force of an act of parliament, as ſoon as it received the royal aſſent. Charles uſed every art to divert this fatal blow to an unlimited prerogative. He repeated his meſſages to the commons; he endeavoured to gain over ſome by promiſes of favour, and to terrify others with threats. All the eloquence of the crown lawyers was exhauſted to deſtroy the principles upon which the petition was founded; and, as the laſt reſource, the king wrote a letter to the lords, informing them, that he could not give up the point of committing offenders to priſon in matters of ſtate, without expreſſing the cauſes, as that method muſt often be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, ſuch delinquents being generally beyond the reach of the ordinary courts of judicature. He promiſed, however, to be very tender of his people's privileges, and to commit none for the future for refuſing to lend money, and that the cauſes of all commitments ſhould be expreſſed as ſoon as it could be done with ſafety. This letter, together with the influence of the court party in the houſe of peers, had great effect on their proceedings; and ſix weeks were ſpent in hearing the pleadings of the king's council againſt, and the arguments of the commons for, the petition of right. During the whole time of the dependence of this petition, the court party did every thing in their power to diſconcert the commons in their proceedings; and, in a conference between the two houſes, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſincerely deſirous of effecting an union between the king and the commons, propoſed, for the ſake of peace, to throw the ſubſtance of the petition into the form of propoſitions, to be preſented by both houſes to the king for his conſent. Theſe propoſitions were the following:

“ 1. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly “ to declare, that the good old law called Magna “ Charta, and the ſix ſtatutes conceived to be declarations, or explanations of that law, continue ſtill “ in force to all intents and purpoſes.

“ 2. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly “ to declare, that according to Magna Charta, and “ the ſtatutes aforeſaid, as alſo according to the moſt “ ancient cuſtoms and laws of this land, every free “ ſubject of this realm hath a fundamental property “ in his goods, and a fundamental property in his “ perſon.

“ 3. That his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly “ to declare, that it is his royal pleaſure to ratify and “ confirm unto all, and every his faithful and loyal “ ſubjects, all their ancient, ſeveral, juſt liberties, “ privileges and rights, in as ample and beneficial a “ manner to all intents and purpoſes, as their anceſtors did enjoy the ſame, under the government of “ the beſt of his moſt noble progenitors.

“ 4. That his majeſty would be pleaſed moſt graciouſly to declare, for the good contentment of “ his loyal ſubjects, and for the ſecuring them from “ future fears, that in all cauſes within the cognizance of the common law, and concerning the “ liberties of his ſubjects, his majeſty would proceed “ according to the laws eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, “ and in no other manner.

“ 5. And as touching his majeſty's royal prerogative, intrinſical to his ſovereignty, and intruſted “ him from God *ad communem totius populi ſalutem,* “ *et non ad deſtructionem,* his majeſty would reſolve “ not to uſe or divert the ſame to the prejudice of “ any of his loyal people, in the property of their “ goods, or liberty of their perſons. And in caſe, “ for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, the common ſafety of his people, or the peaceable government of his kingdom, his majeſty ſhall find juſt “ cauſe to impriſon or reſtrain any man's perſon, his “ majeſty would graciouſly declare, that within a “ convenient time, he ſhall, and will, expreſs the “ cauſe of his commitment, or reſtraint, either general or ſpecial; and upon a cauſe ſo expreſſed, “ will leave him immediately to be tried, according “ to the common juſtice of the kingdom.”

Theſe propoſitions were by no means agreeable to the commons; but being very deſirous of maintaining a good correſpondence with the lords, without whoſe concurrence all their labours in forming the petition of right muſt be abortive, they made uſe of every reaſon in their power to convince the peers that theſe propoſitions were not ſufficient to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject; a poſitive law only, in which the rights of the people were fully, defined and ſtrongly aſſerted, could anſwer the intended purpoſe. Their reaſons at laſt prevailed. The lords conſented to the petition of right, but propoſed to ſubjoin to it the following clauſe: “ We humbly preſent this “ petition to your majeſty, not only with a care of “ preſerving our own liberties, but with due regard “ to leave intire that ſovereign power, with which “ your majeſty is entruſted for the protection, ſafety, “ and happineſs of your people.”

It required not the penetration of the leaders of the commons to perceive, that this clauſe, if ſuffered to be added to the petition of right, would be ſufficient to elude its whole force; and it was therefore unanimouſly rejected. “ If (ſaid Sir Thomas Wentworth) we admit this addition, we ſhall leave the “ ſubject in a worſe ſtate than we found him, and “ receive little thanks for our labour when we return “ home. Let us leave all power to his majeſty to “ puniſh malefactors; but theſe laws are not acquainted with ſovereign power; we deſire no new “ thing, nor do we offer to trench on his majeſty's “ prerogative; we may not recede from this petition, “ either in part or in whole.” Another conference was therefore held with the lords, where theſe reaſons were thought ſatisfactory: the petition of right paſſed both houſes of parliament, and is as follows:

“ To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

I. “ Humbly ſhew to our ſovereign lord the king, “ the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, “ in parliament aſſembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a ſtatute made in the reign “ of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutem de* “ *tallagio non concedendo,* that no tallage or aid ſhall “ be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, “ without the good-will and aſſent of the archbiſhops, “ biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and “ other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: “ and by authority of parliament holden in the five “ and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. “ it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, “ no perſon ſhould be compelled to make any loans “ to the king againſt his will, becauſe ſuch loans “ were againſt reaſon, and the franchiſe of the land: “ and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none ſhould be charged by any charge or impoſition called a benevolence, or by ſuch like charge: by which the ſtatutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, your ſubjects have inherited this freedom, that they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not ſet by common conſent in parliament.

II. “ Yet, nevertheleſs, of late divers commiſſions directed to ſundry commiſſioners in ſeveral counties, with inſtructions, have iſſued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places aſſembled, and required to lend certain ſums of money unto your majeſty; and many of them, upon their refuſal ſo to do, have had an oath adminiſtered to them not warrantable by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm; and have been conſtrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore impriſoned, confined, and ſundry other ways moleſted and diſquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in ſeveral counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commiſſioners for muſters, juſtices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majeſty, or your privy-council, againſt the laws and free cuſtoms of this realm.

III. “ And whereas alſo, by the ſtatute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeized of his freehold or liberties, or his free cuſtoms, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deſtroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. “ And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what ſtate or condition that he be, ſhould be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſherited, nor put to death, without being brought to anſwer by due proceſs of law.

V. “ Nevertheleſs, againſt the tenor of the ſaid ſtatutes, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your ſubjects have of late been impriſoned without any cauſe ſhewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before juſtice, by your majeſty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court ſhould order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cauſes of their detainer, no cauſe was certified, but that they were detained by your majeſty's ſpecial command, ſignified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to ſeveral priſons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make anſwer according to law.

VI. “ And whereas, of late, great companies of ſoldiers and mariners have been diſperſed in divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, againſt their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houſes, and there to ſuffer them to ſojourn, againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. “ And whereas alſo, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man ſhould be fore-judged of life or limb againſt the form of the great charter and law of the land: and by the ſaid great charter, and other the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws eſtabliſhed in this your realm, either by the cuſtoms of the ſame realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind ſoever, is exempted from the proceedings to be uſed, and puniſhments to be inflicted by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm: nevertheleſs, of late, divers commiſſions, under your majeſty's great ſeal, have iſſued forth, by which certain perſons have been aſſigned and appointed commiſſioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the juſtice of martial law, againſt ſuch ſoldiers and mariners, or other diſſolute perſons joining with them, as ſhould commit any murther, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or miſdemeanor whatſoever, and by ſuch ſummary courſe and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is uſed in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of ſuch offenders, and them to cauſe to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. “ By pretext whereof ſome of your majeſty's ſubjects have been, by ſome of the ſaid commiſſioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, they had deſerved death, by the ſame laws and ſtatutes alſo they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. “ And alſo ſundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have eſcaped the puniſhments due to them by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, by reaſon that divers of your officers and miniſters of juſtice have unjuſtly refuſed or forborn to proceed againſt ſuch offenders, according to the ſame laws and ſtatutes, upon pretence that the ſaid offenders were puniſhable only by martial law, and by authority of ſuch commiſſioners as aforeſaid: which commiſſions, and all other of like nature, were wholly and directly contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes of your realm.

X. “ They do therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent majeſty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or ſuch like charge, without common conſent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make anſwer, or take ſuch oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal thereof: and that no freeman, in any ſuch manner as is before mentioned, be impriſoned or detained: and that your majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid ſoldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be ſo burthened in time to come: and that the aforeſaid commiſſions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt, by colour of them, any of your majeſty's ſubjects be deſtroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the land.

XI. “ All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent majeſty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm: and that your majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premiſſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example: and that your majeſty would alſo be pleaſed, for the further comfort and ſafety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleaſure, That in the things aforeſaid, all your officers and miniſters ſhall ſerve you according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majeſty, and the proſperity of this kingdom.”

The royal aſſent now only was wanting to give this famous petition the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the houſe of peers, ſent for the commons; and being ſeated in the chair of ſtate, the petition was read to him; but, to the aſtoniſhment of all men, inſtead of the clear, conciſe, and uſual form by which every bill is confirmed or rejected, Charles made the following anſwer to the petition: “ The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and

“ that the ſtatutes be put into due execution; that
“ his ſubjects may have no cauſe to complain of any
“ wrong or oppreſſion, contrary to their juſt rights
“ and liberties, to the preſervation whereof he holds
“ himſelf as much obliged, as of his prerogative.”

Nothing proves the imprudence of Charles's council more than this ſtrange anſwer given to the petition of right. He certainly ought either to have paſſed it in the uſual form, or rejected it with firmneſs. This evaſive anſwer tended only to raiſe the jealouſy and inflame the anger of the commons; for it could not be imagined they would reſt ſatisfied with ſo vague and undetermined a reply. They accordingly returned in a very ill humour to their houſe; and gave vent to their indignation by cenſuring the ſermons of Dr. Manwaring, whom they impeached before the peers.

But this cenſure was far from diſſipating the chagrin of the commons, a gloomy ſilence for ſome time prevailed, and ſeveral of the leading members burſt into tears. Their conſternation was increaſed when Sir John Elliot, delivering himſelf in his uſual manner againſt the miniſter, was ſtopped by the ſpeaker, who declared that he was ordered to ſuffer no ſuch ſpeeches to proceed. Upon this the houſe came to the following reſolution; “That every member of the houſe is free from any undutiful ſpeech, from the beginning of the parliament unto this day; and ordered that no member preſumed to leave the houſe on pain of being ſent to the Tower.” This reſolution being paſſed, the ſpeaker, at his own earneſt requeſt, was permitted to leave the houſe, and the debate was immediately renewed in the committee with greater vigour than ever. At laſt Sir Edward Coke, after an elaborate detail of the power and privileges of the commons, proceeded in the following manner: “What ſhall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if “ we do, God will not proſper us. I think the duke “ of Buckingham is the cauſe of all our miſeries, “ and till the king be informed thereof, we ſhall “ never go out with honour or ſit with honour here: “ that man is the grievance of grievances; let us ſet “ down the cauſes of our diſaſters, and all will reflect “ upon him.”

This ſpeech was received with the higheſt applauſe, every part of the houſe rang with approving acclamations. Mr. Selden adviſed that a declaration ſhould be drawn up under four heads. 1. To expreſs the dutiful behaviour of the houſe towards his majeſty. 2. To repreſent their liberties that are violated. 3. To preſent what was the real intention of the houſe. 4. That the duke of Buckingham, fearing leſt he might be queſtioned, interpoſed and occaſioned this deſtraction. “ All this time, continued he, we have caſt a mantle over what was done in the laſt parliament; but being now forced again to look upon that man, let us proceed with what was then well begun, and let the charge be renewed that was made againſt him laſt parliament, to which he returned an anſwer, but the particulars were too inſufficient that one might demand judgment upon that anſwer only.”

During theſe debates the ſpeaker was with the king, informing him of the ſenſe and diſpoſition of the houſe. Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity how to behave in this alarming criſis; but underſtanding by another meſſenger, that the commons were on the point of naming Buckingham as the author of all their grievances, he ſent back the ſpeaker, who obtained a reſpite of their proceedings till the next day. Charles ſpent the intermediate ſpace in meditating on what anſwer he ſhould return to the joint addreſs of both houſes for a more ſatisfactory anſwer to their petition of right. When the commons met the next day, they proceeded on their intended declaration. Among other heads they mentioned a deſign which the king had formed of bringing over into England a body of German troops; and Burlamachi, a foreign merchant, being ordered to attend, acknowledged his receiving thirty thouſand pounds by privy ſeals, for purchaſing horſes, a thouſand of which were actually bought, and were to have been brought over into England, but that he had ſince heard they were countermanded. No meaſure ſurely could be projected more odious to the whole nation. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the king was ſo far right, that he had at laſt fallen upon the only effectual method for ſupporting his prerogative. But at the ſame time he ſhould have been ſenſible, that till he was provided with a ſufficient military force, all his attempts, in oppoſition to the riſing ſpirit of the nation, muſt, in the end, prove abortive.

It was now ſufficiently evident that the whole ſtorm which had been ſo long gathering, would ſoon burſt upon the head of Buckingham, unleſs ſome method could be diſcovered to prevent it; and no method ſeemed ſo proper as that of giving the commons ſatisfaction with regard to their petition of right. The king, therefore, came to the houſe of peers, and pronouncing the uſual form of words, “ Let it be law as is deſired,” gave full ſatisfaction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the houſe reſounded, and the univerſal joy diffuſed over the whole nation, ſhewed how much this petition had been the object of the views and expectations of all men.

Had the king given the ſame anſwer when he came firſt to the houſe of peers, there is the higheſt probability that it would not have been in the power of the ill-deſigning members, for ſuch there certainly were at that time among the commons, to have prevented an entire union between him and his people. But the repeated declarations he had made to ſupport every branch of the prerogative, and the avowed tendency of his principles, through the whole progreſs of the debate, towards deſpotiſm, gave many of the members, who wiſhed well to the peace and tranquillity of their country, ſtrong prepoſſeſſions againſt his deſigns, which through the intermediate diſcoveries that were made and aggravated to his diſadvantage, were improved by his enemies into certainties; and the houſe of commons thought, that they had now no ſafety without a change of men as well as of meaſures. It was therefore pretended, that the petition of right was only declaratory of what the people's rights really were, but was no defence againſt abuſe of the public treaſure, againſt the like miſcarriages of national expeditions, and againſt ſimilar errors in the executive power. This was directly contrary to the opinion of his majeſty. He imagined that by paſſing the petition of right, he had given a full compenſation for all that his ſubjects had ſuffered through the abuſe of prerogative, and that they ought to look upon it as a ſufficient ſecurity for the future; that he had paſſed it on condition that all enquiries ſhould ceaſe, both againſt men and meaſures, and that the neceſſary ſupplies ſhould be chearfully granted. But though the commons determined to carry on their ſcrutiny, the bill for five ſubſidies which had been formerly voted, immediately paſſed the houſe; becauſe the granting of that ſupply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal aſſent being given to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther confidence could have ſubſiſted between king and parliament.

Buckingham in the mean time was labouring to retrieve his popularity, but in vain; the nation in general had conceived ſuch ſtrong prejudices againſt him, that all his endeavours could not remove them. About one hundred and fifty members of the commons were for moderate meaſures, and had voted againſt the remonſtrance; but his enemies prevailed, and every method was employed to force the king to part with his miniſter. Some time ſince a commiſſion had been granted to the moſt conſiderable officers of the crown, empowering them to concert among themſelves the beſt methods of levying money by impoſitions or otherwiſe. The commons endeavoured to make Buckingham the author of this commiſſion, which they termed a commiſſion of exciſe, though that term is not ſo much as mentioned in it. But Charles, to remove even the ſhadow of a diſpute, upon the firſt ſuggeſtion that this commiſſion was contrary to the petition of right, ordered it to be cancelled.

This condeſcenſion was, however, far from ſatisfying the commons. Grievances were every hour multiplied; ſeveral reſolutions were paſſed againſt the authors of them, and the vindictive ſpirit againſt the miniſter was carried on to a much higher pitch than ever. It was now openly ſaid in the houſe, that the king, by the petition of right, could no longer levy tonnage and poundage. All the members therefore who were deſirous of conſolidating an union between the king and his parliament, were for granting the king tonnage and poundage by a bill in parliament; becauſe they knew that without this aid, the five ſubſidies would not be ſufficient to defray the expences of government. But it was neceſſary that theſe rates ſhould be ſettled, and the proportion in which they were to be levied, clearly determined. Theſe, by the arts of the deſigning members, proved ſo perplexed a work, that the king, deſpairing of any farther aſſiſtance from this parliament, ſent a meſſage to the houſe, declaring his deſign of putting an end to the ſeſſion in a few days. This gave his enemies a pretence for dropping the bill, and to draw up a remonſtrance, in which they enumerated the right enjoyed by the people during ſeveral reigns of not paying tonnage and poundage, till laid upon them by their own conſent in parliament; and then declared to the king, “that receiving tonnage and poundage, and other impoſitions, not granted by parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and contrary to his majeſty's royal anſwer to the petition of right.”

Exaſperated at the behaviour of the commons, Charles no ſooner heard of this remonſtrance being formed, than he determined to put an end to the ſeſſion before it could be preſented. He accordingly, while the remonſtrance was reading in the lower houſe of commons, came ſuddenly to the upper, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

“ It may ſeem ſtrange that I came ſo ſuddenly to
“ end this ſeſſion, before I give my aſſent to the bills;
“ I will tell you the cauſe, though I muſt avow, that
“ I owe the account of my actions to God alone.
“ It is known to every one, that a while ago the houſe
“ of commons gave me a remonſtrance, how acceptable
“ every man may judge, and for the merit of
“ it, I will not call that in queſtion; for I am ſure
“ no wiſe man can juſtify it.

“ Now ſince I am fully informed that a ſecond remonſtrance
“ is preparing for me, to take away the
“ profit of my tonnage and poundage, one of the
“ chief maintenances of my crown, by alledging,
“ I have given away my right thereto, by my anſwer
“ to your petition.

“ This is ſo prejudicial to me, that I am forced to
“ end this ſeſſion ſome few hours before I meant,
“ being not willing to receive any more remonſtrances
“ to which I muſt give an harſh anſwer. And ſince
“ I ſee, that even the houſe of commons begin already
“ to make falſe conſtructions of what I granted
“ in your petition, leſt it be worſe interpreted in the
“ country, I will now make a declaration concerning
“ the true intent thereof.

“ The profeſſion of both houſes, in the time of
“ forming this petition, was no way to trench upon
“ my prerogative, ſaying they had neither intention
“ nor power to hurt it. Therefore it muſt needs be
“ conceived, that I have granted no new, but only
“ confirmed the ancient liberties of my ſubjects. Yet
“ to ſhew the clearneſs of my intentions, that I neither
“ repent, nor mean to recede from any thing I
“ have promiſed you, I do here declare myſelf, that
“ thoſe things which have been done, whereby many
“ have had ſome cauſe to expect the liberties of the
“ ſubject to be trenched upon, which indeed was the
“ firſt and true ground of the petition, ſhall not
“ hereafter be drawn into example, for your prejudice;
“ and from time to time, on the word of a
“ king, ye ſhall not have the like cauſe to complain.
“ But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I
“ cannot want, and was never intended by you to
“ aſk, nor meant by me, I am ſure, to grant.

“ To conclude, I command you all that are here
“ to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time,
“ to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted
“ you in your petition; but eſpecially you, my
“ lords, the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs
“ the interpretation of laws; for none of the
“ houſes of parliament, either joint or ſeparate,
“ (what new doctrine ſoever may be raiſed) have any
“ power either to make or declare a law, without my
“ conſent.”

It will perhaps be needleſs to make any reflections on the infatuation which ſeems to have poſſeſſed both the king and the commons at the cloſe of this ſeſſion. Charles, notwithſtanding his paſſing the petition of right, and receiving the greateſt ſubſidy ever granted to a king of England; notwithſtanding the manifeſt indications that his people were reſolved to make him greater and happier than any of his predeceſſors, could not diveſt himſelf from that fatal notion that the taking tonnage and poundage without the conſent of parliament, was a prerogative of the crown. The declaration he made in the above ſpeech, that he never meant to give up tonnage and poundage, and that the commons never meant to aſk it, was a wretched piece of ſophiſtry. The intention of the commons is ſufficiently implied in the petition of right, where it is ſaid, “That they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, without conſent of parliament.” On the other hand: the leading members of the commons cannot be wholly cleared of a duplicity of conduct in this affair. It is certain that they foreſaw the difficulty that afterwards happened, and for that reaſon carefully avoided, in all their debates, the leaſt mention of tonnage and poundage, leſt it might obſtruct the paſſing of the petition. This conduct, however, is to be imputed to a few only; for it is ſufficiently evident from the great progreſs made in the bill for granting to the king by law, what he was determined to levy without it, that the houſe in general meant well. After all ſome difficulties ſtill remain: nor is it eaſy to determine, whether, if Charles had ſuffered the parliament to continue, ſome of the members, who were no friends to monarchy, would not have found means to have thrown out the tonnage and poundage bill, or at leaſt to have rendered it ineffectual. But however that be, the precipitate meaſures purſued by Charles greatly increaſed that influence, which, by a little moderation and forbearance on his part, muſt have been deſtroyed, by the real deſigns of its authors being diſcovered.

The nation had now but a melancholy proſpect, with regard to the war carried on againſt France and Spain. Rochelle had for ſome time been inveſted, and it was apparent by Richelieu's taking the conduct of the ſiege upon himſelf. that he intended to exterminate the Hugonots, whoſe whole dependence was now upon the Engliſh. Charles was ſincerely deſirous of relieving them, and had given them from time to time aſſurances of his intention. The earl of Denbigh was accordingly ſent in the beginning of May with a fleet to their aſſiſtance. This armament conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, and about ſixty ſmaller veſſels, moſt of them tranſports, carrying about two thouſand, two hundred ſoldiers. As ſoon as the fleet reached Rochelle, Denbigh found means to inform the inhabitants of that city, that he was come to their relief, and deſired they would place lights on as many of the ſteeples as the months for which they had ſtill proviſion; but no ſuch ſignals appearing, it was concluded that they were already in the greateſt want of neceſſaries. The Engliſh admiral found the entrance into the harbour guarded by

a great

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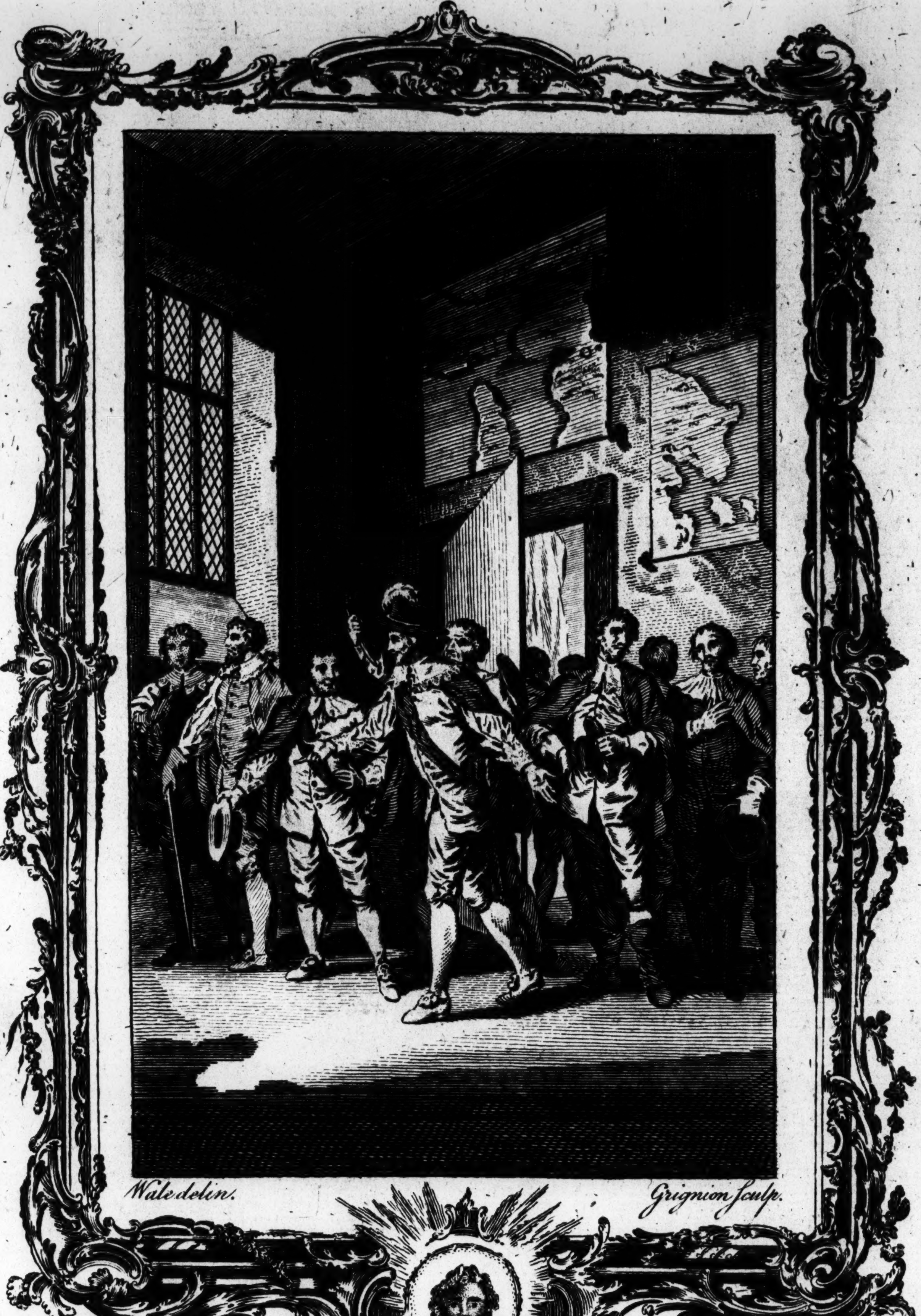

Wale delin.
Grignion sculp.

FELTON *Aſsaſsinating the* DUKE *of* BUCKINGHAM.

a great number of French ſhips; and promiſed the Rochellers, that he would, upon the return of the tide, attack the fleet of the enemy. During the night, a battery of nine pieces of cannon was erected at the mouth of the harbour, and played furiouſly on the Engliſh; and before noon the next day, the French ſhips were filled with troops; an army of land forces was drawn up upon the ſhore to oppoſe their landing, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for a vigorous defence, in caſe any attack ſhould be made by the Engliſh. Theſe difficulties did not, however, intimidate the Engliſh admiral; he prepared to relieve the place, and to ſink the French ſhips that guarded the paſſage into the harbour; but the wind changing, he was obliged to lay aſide his deſign. Three days after, he attacked the French ſhips on one ſide, while the Rochellers cannonaded their land forces on the other, and brought up four of their largeſt veſſels, which had been purpoſely built to draw as little water as poſſible, in order to paſs the bar; but found the attempt impracticable, not only for want of water, but alſo from the diſpoſitions the French had made to defend the paſſage. A few of the ſmaller ſhips, however, paſſed the bar, but were ſo warmly oppoſed by the French artillery, that they were obliged to return. Upon this miſcarriage, a council of war was held; where ſome of the Engliſh captains were of opinion, that the relief of the place was impracticable, and that the Rochellers had deceived them with regard to the facility of entering the harbour. This opinion was, however, by no means unanimous; for the Engliſh vice-admiral, and one captain Carr, exclaimed againſt the puſillanimity of the reſt; and the few ſmall ſhips in the fleet, belonging to the French proteſtants, offered, by the aſſiſtance of four merchantmen well armed, with three fire-ſhips, and a proportional number of land forces, to throw a quantity of proviſions into the town. The earl of Denbigh, however, refuſed the offer, notwithſtanding the Rochellers agreed to pay for all the Engliſh ſhips that might miſcarry in this attempt. But neither this offer, nor the tears and prayers of the deputies of Rochelle, could prevail upon Denbigh. He returned to England, where he was loaded with calumny and diſgrace.

The enemies of Buckingham had induſtriouſly circulated the remonſtrances of the commons againſt him in every part of the nation. He perceived his dreadful ſituation; and found the wings of royal authority, broad as they were, too narrow to ſhelter him from the dreadful ſtorm raiſed againſt him by the parliament. He plainly ſaw that no efforts of his own, no conceſſions of his maſter, could recover his credit, and that nothing leſs than his blood could ſatisfy his enemies. He therefore threw aſide all other conſiderations, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſignalize himſelf, and recover the favour of the people, however he might ſtand with the parliament; and well knew, that nothing could ſo readily effect this as his relieving Rochelle. He accordingly cauſed ten ſhips of a particular form, and peculiarly adapted to paſs the bar, to be built with the utmoſt expedition, and made the neceſſary diſpatches for ſailing, to relieve that place, now reduced to the laſt extremity. But a fixed gloom was ſettled on his countenance; he appeared abroad with omens of misfortune in his aſpect; his unſteady motions, his dark expreſſions, his earneſtly recommending his wife and children to Charles, his frequent ſolitary entertainments with his mother, his reflections on the tender ties of nature, and the ſoft endearments of life, which he was juſt going to leave behind him, ſufficiently declared that he feared his approaching fate. But nothing unbecoming a man eſcaped from his lips: and the fleet being ready to ſail, he repaired to Portſmouth, determined to relieve Rochelle, or periſh in the attempt.

One Felton, a man of a good family, but of a gloomy, enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition, had ſerved in the ſtation of lieutenant under the duke, in his late expedition to Rhé. His captain being killed in the retreat, Felton applied to Buckingham for the company; but being refuſed, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired, diſcontented, from the army. The remonſtrance of the commons rouzed at once both his reſentment and enthuſiaſtic fury: he was now convinced, that it would be a meritorious ſervice in the ſight of heaven to murder Buckingham, whom the parliament had accuſed as the author of all the misfortunes of his country. Filled with theſe ideas, he repaired to Portſmouth, fully determined to put his bloody deſign into immediate execution.

Early in the morning of the twenty-third of Auguſt, Buckingham received ſome advices, informing him, that a ſmall convoy of proviſions had got ſafe into Rochelle. This intelligence he communicated to the duke of Soubiſe, and other French gentlemen in his train, who inſiſted, with great vehemence, that the whole was falſe, and calculated only to retard the ſailing of the fleet. During theſe aſſeverations, the duke drew towards the door; and turning himſelf in the paſſage, to ſpeak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was ſtabbed by an unknown hand, over Sir Thomas's ſhoulder. The knife, with which the wound was given, reached his heart; and, without uttering any other words, than "The villain has killed me," he drew out the knife, and immediately expired in a deluge of his own blood.

As no perſon had ſeen the hand that gave the blow, it was conjectured that the murder had been perpetrated by the French gentlemen, whoſe angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been underſtood by the people. Some were for putting them to death immediately, but were prevented by the more conſiderate part, who thought it highly reaſonable they ſhould undergo a lawful trial. In the midſt of this confuſion, a hat was found near the door, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing three or four lines of the remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom. All were now convinced that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin; but there was ſufficient reaſon to think he had eſcaped far enough, during the tumult, not to be found without a hat. They were, however, miſtaken; Felton never attempted to fly from juſtice, and he was ſoon perceived walking very ſedately before the door without his hat. He was immediately ſeized, confeſſed the murder, and ſeemed to triumph in the action. The enraged ſoldiers drew their ſwords, and were for ſacrificing him immediately on the ſpot. Their fury had no effect upon Felton; he readily expoſed his breaſt to their ſwords, and ſeemed willing to fall a preſent victim to their anger. Their fury was, however, prevented, and the aſſaſſin was ſecured. Some gentlemen, deſirous of finding whether Felton had any accomplices, hinted that Buckingham, though dangerouſly wounded, was not dead, and that there were great hopes of his recovery. Felton ſmiled at this, and replied, in words very expreſſive of his enthuſiaſm, "I know that he is dead, (ſaid he) for I had the force of forty men when I ſtruck the blow." Being queſtioned with regard to the perſons by whoſe inſtigations he had performed the horrid deed, he told them, that their inquiries were uſeleſs; that no perſon upon earth had credit ſufficient with him to have diſpoſed him to undertake ſuch an action; that no man living was privy to his purpoſe; that the reſolution proceeded wholly from the impulſe of his own conſcience; and that if his hat was found, his motives would ſufficiently appear: for, perſuaded that he ſhould periſh in the attempt, he had taken care to explain them, that no innocent perſon might ſuffer on his account.

Charles was at church when the news was brought him of his favourite's death; but he was ſo earneſt in his devotions, that no diſcompoſure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance. The ſervice was, however, no ſooner over, than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to his ſorrows in a flood of tears. And during his whole life, expreſſed his regard for Buckingham by a ſeries of munificent acts towards his widow, his children, and his friends. Some of the council, and biſhop Laud in particular, threatened Felton with the rack, if he did not diſcover his accomplices. But this had no effect upon the aſſaſſin: he calmly replied, "that if he was put to the torture, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of anguiſh, perhaps the biſhop himſelf." The judges, however, being conſulted, declared, that though that practice had been formerly common, no man, by the laws of England, could be put to the torture. Reflection and confinement had more effect on the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of Felton than all their threatenings. He ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to recover from his deluſion, expreſſed remorſe for what he had done, and ſuffered death with compoſure and reſignation.

Thus fell, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whoſe riſe was ſudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. As a miniſter, he deſerved the public hatred, as much as he was unworthy of the favour of the two monarchs whom he had expoſed to ſo many misfortunes. As a man, he merited the higheſt reproaches of the good and the virtuous. It is impoſſible to excuſe either James or his ſon for their attachment to a man who had neither merit nor virtue. To how many calamities are ſtates expoſed, when the royal favour inveſts with power an unprincipled wretch, who lies under no reſtraint with regard to its exerciſe!

The concern ſhewed by Charles for the death of his favourite did not, however, extinguiſh his deſire of relieving Rochelle. He gave the command of the armament to the earl of Lindſay, and repaired in perſon to Portſmouth, in order to haſten the ſailing of the fleet. His preſence had ſuch effect, that more was done in ten or twelve days, than in almoſt as many weeks before. It was, however, the eighth of September, before the fleet ſailed from Portſmouth, when the vaſt genius of Richelieu had finiſhed a work thought impoſſible to be executed in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: this was a mole of more than a mile in length, carried acroſs the mouth of the harbour, in that boiſterous ocean, and by means of which all relief by ſea was cut off. On the eighteenth of September, the fleet reached the road of Rochelle; but a calm coming on, it was the twentieth before the ſhips approached the mole, when a furious cannonade began, and continued for two hours, without any great loſs on either ſide. Next day the cannonading continued, but with leſs vigour; though it was known, by a gentleman who had found means to eſcape from Rochelle, that the inhabitants, unleſs relieved in two days, muſt ſurrender. But even this intelligence produced no effect on the Engliſh captains, who appear to have been deſtitute of experience, and ſome of them of courage. The duke of Soubiſe offered to attempt the mole with the French ſhips, provided the Engliſh would promiſe to follow him; but this propoſal was rejected, in a council of war, by a majority of the Engliſh captains. The count Laval next propoſed, with the help of artificial mines, contrived in three ſhips, to attempt to blow up the mole; but this was alſo rejected, and the time was ſpent in fruitleſs cannonading. At laſt it was determined, in a council of war, to make one general and deciſive attack upon the mole; but before the deſign could be carried into execution, the beſieged were obliged to capitulate. Of fifteen thouſand perſons who had been ſhut up in the town, four thouſand only ſurvived the fatigues and famine they had undergone. A more ſhocking ſcene of calamity was never beheld than Rochelle preſented at the time of its ſurrender. The living were not ſufficient to bury the dead, ſo that vermin and birds of prey devoured the uninterred bodies in the ſtreets. Many carried their own coffins into the church-yards, to lie down in them, never more to riſe; and the few inhabitants who ſurvived appeared rather as ſpectres and ſkeletons than men.

The reduction of Rochelle was the firſt neceſſary ſtep towards the proſperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domeſtic factions, being deprived of that reſource, the kingdom began to ſhine out in its full ſplendor, and gradually to gain an aſcendant over the rival power of Spain. The French king, however, uſed his conqueſt with great moderation; the Hugonots ſtill enjoyed a toleration, though every order of the ſtate, and every ſect, were obliged to pay ſubmiſſion to the lawful authority of the ſovereign.

The failure of the enterprize to Rochelle tended greatly to diminiſh the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching ſeſſion. Nor did his meaſures at home tend to raiſe the character of his government. He again revived the iniquitous opinions of the judges, and ſome oppreſſive practices in former times, to juſtify the impoſition of twenty ſhillings a ton upon wines, and five ſhillings and ſixpence a hundred upon currants; he even declared in full council, that the tax ſhould be levied with rigour, and ſuch merchants as refuſed to pay it exemplarily puniſhed. He was not inſenſible of the ferment which theſe proceedings muſt occaſion in the kingdom, but took no pains to prevent it. His coffers were now full, and he could talk with his parliament upon more equal terms than before. It was therefore reſolved to juſtify the proceedings of the government upon this principle, that though his majeſty's predeceſſors had raiſed tonnage and poundage by act of parliament, yet they had, in fact, levied it in the late reigns when no ſuch act ſubſiſted: that if the parliament would agree to paſs ſuch an act, and make it commence from the beginning of the king's reign, his majeſty's proceeding would be juſtified under that act, and he would deſiſt from his claim of raiſing the tax by his prerogative; but if no ſuch bill paſſed, his majeſty would be juſtified, becauſe he did no more than had been done by his predeceſſors.

The king was confirmed in theſe reſolutions by the late ſucceſs that had attended his endeavours to bring over the famous Sir Thomas Wentworth to his intereſt. This gentleman had been a principal leader in the oppoſition, and was conſidered, by all parties as one of the moſt able members of the Britiſh ſenate. On his embracing the meaſures of the court, he was created viſcount Wentworth, and earl of Strafford, and placed at the head of the miniſtry. Aſhamed at what the party he had abandoned termed apoſtacy, Strafford, for ſome time, concealed his change of ſentiments; but at laſt boldly juſtified it, by ſaying, that he had gone as far in the oppoſition as was conſiſtent with his conſcience, or the conſtitution of his country; and that he had not left his party till he perceived they had views of a very different nature from the redreſs of grievances, or an alteration of meaſures. Theſe excuſes were treated as chimerical by the heads of the party he had forſaken; and Mr. Pym in particular deſired Wentworth not to take any pains in juſtifying his conduct, but added, "Though you have left us, we will not leave you, while your head is on your ſhoulders."

AD. 1629. The parliament met on the tenth of January, and immediately proceeded to take into conſideration every thing that had been tranſacted againſt the liberty of the ſubject, and in direct oppoſition to the petition of right. Several complaints were immediately made to the houſe by merchants, whoſe goods had been ſeized in conſequence of their having refuſed to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. While the members were employed in debating on this ſubject with their uſual violence, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring they would proceed no farther in that buſineſs, till he could ſpeak to both houſes in perſon at Whitehall. The lords and commons accordingly attended him the next day, when he endeavoured to juſtify his conduct on the principles already mentioned to have been laid down in his council. He blamed the commons for their general reſolution of enquiring into all the infractions of the petition of right, and recommended to their diſpatch, the bill for tonnage and poundage, which, he ſaid, would have been paſſed laſt ſeſſion, had there been time ſufficient for that purpoſe, and it was upon that preſumption he had ordered his officers to act in the manner they had done.

But inſtead of following his majeſty's directions, the violent members, who were no ſtrangers to the effect of ſpeeches in popular aſſemblies, turned the attention of the houſe to matters of religion, poured out the moſt inveterate invectives againſt Arminiaſm, which they termed the ſpawn of popery; but in reality they meant nothing more by the term, than biſhop Laud and his party, who in that particular point of doctrine were more juſtifiable than in any other. An Arminian was ſaid to be as bad as a papiſt, and ſome declared that they feared his ſucceſs more, than a ſecond invaſion by a Spaniſh armada. When the houſe was ſufficiently heated by declamatory ſpeeches, Mr. Pym moved to give religion the precedency of all other matters. The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed accordingly. This was a great point gained, eſpecially as under the head of religion they voted "an enquiry into all eccleſiaſtical preferments; into the ceſſation of the execution of the laws againſt papiſts; into the employments and encouragements they had obtained; into the growth of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, of which Couſins, a prebendary of Durham, was mentioned as the principal author; and into the growth of hereſies, falſe doctrines, and other opinions." The conſideration of ſo many ſubjects could not fail of employing the houſe for a great length of time.

Charles ſaw the intention of the commons, but thought it imprudent to break with them immediately merely becauſe they refuſed to proceed to the bill of tonnage and poundage; he thought, and indeed very reaſonably, that he could better juſtify any violent meaſures he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry to the utmoſt extremity their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He therefore contented himſelf for the preſent with ſolliciting the houſe by meſſages and ſpeeches. But the commons, inſtead of liſtening to his ſollicitations, proceeded to carry their cenſorial ſcrutiny into his management of religion, the only grievance to which they had not as yet applied a ſufficient remedy by the petition of right.

But though they pretended the utmoſt regard for religion, their principal deſign was to wreſt from the king the duties of tonnage and poundage, in order to render him abſolutely dependent on the parliament for ſupport. The right of tonnage and poundage on the importation and exportation of merchandize, though originally the mere gift of the people, had been ſo ſtrongly confirmed to the crown ſince the reign of Henry IV. that the kings of England had always claimed it from the moment of their acceſſion. This right, which had been granted for life to former princes, was allowed to Charles only for one year. Finding that the intention of the commons was to ſtrip him of it entirely, he ſent them a meſſage, importing, "That he had never pretended to look upon it as a branch of the prerogative; that neceſſity alone had compelled him to levy it till that time, and, in order to terminate all diſputes upon that ſubject, requeſted that the commons would paſs the bill, that he might receive it as a gift from his people."

This meſſage, like all the reſt, was diſregarded by the commons, they continued to give the preference to religion, and made ſome attempts to annul the conſecration of Montague, lately promoted to the ſee of Colcheſter, for certain complaints that had been offered againſt him by one Jones, an obſcure perſon: but failing in this unaccountable attempt, they attacked the pardons that had been granted to Montague, Mainwaring, Sibthorpe, and other divines of Laud's party, who had been cenſured by the commons. It was upon this occaſion that Oliver Cromwell, who had then a ſeat in the houſe, firſt diſtinguiſhed his zeal, by ſhewing how inſtrumental Neile, biſhop of Wincheſter, had been in procuring theſe pardons. Sir Robert Philips called upon the attorney-general to give an account by what authority he drew theſe pardons, and a committee was appointed accordingly. Upon enquiry it appeared, that the warrants had been brought to the attorney-general by the earl of Dorſet and the lord Carleton, and that the biſhop of Wincheſter had corrected them with his own hand, and inſerted the names of Couſins, Mainwaring and Sibthorpe. It alſo appeared upon farther enquiry, that an information had been given upon oath againſt Couſins, for denying the king's ſupremacy in matters of religion, and that the attorney-general had, from a hint given him by the biſhop of Wincheſter, diſregarded the information, becauſe it came from one King, whom the biſhop ſaid was a very empty fellow and deſerved no credit. Elliot upon this diſcovery was very ſevere upon the attorney-general, whom he threatened with an impeachment for high-treaſon for a neglect of duty.

While the houſe was engaged in theſe religious diſputes, Mr. Rolls, one of the members, complained to the houſe, that he had the day before been ſerved with a ſubpœna to attend the court of ſtar-chamber, but that at night he received a letter from the attorney-general intimating, that it had been done by miſtake of the meſſenger, and that the information ſhould be withdrawn. The houſe, however, voted the ſerving of Rolls with a ſubpœna to be a breach of privilege. They alſo proceeded to enquire into the grievances of other merchants, and to cenſure the officers who had ſeized their goods for refuſing to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. Theſe proceedings alarmed the king, and a council was ſummoned to conſider the moſt proper method to be purſued on this occaſion. And as the houſe of commons had founded their reſolution upon an opinion, that the cuſtom-houſe officers had ſeized the goods upon their own account, Charles thought proper to ſend a meſſage to the houſe, importing, "That what was formerly done by his farmers and officers of the cuſtoms, was done by his own direction and command, being himſelf, for the moſt part, preſent in council: and if he had at any time been abſent from the board, yet he was minutely acquainted with all their tranſactions, gave full directions in every particular, and therefore in this could not ſever the act of his officers from his own, nor could his officers ſuffer for it without the higheſt diſhonour to his majeſty." The houſe was ſo highly exaſperated at this meſſage, that after many bitter ſpeeches, the queſtion was propoſed to be put, that the ſeizing Mr. Rolls goods was a breach of privilege; but the ſpeaker informed the houſe that he was commanded by his majeſty not to put the queſtion. This threw the houſe into the utmoſt conſternation, and they adjourned themſelves for one day. When they met, the ſpeaker told them, that he had the king's command for a farther adjournment, and to put no queſtion. Having made this declaration he roſe and left the chair; but was puſhed back again into it, and detained there by force by Mr. Holles and Mr. Valentine, while Sir John Elliot read the following remonſtrance:

1. "Whoever ſhall make any innovations in religion, or by favour or countenance ſeem to extend or introduce popery or Arminiaſm, or other opinions contrary to the truth and the orthodox church, ſhall be reputed a capital enemy to his kingdom and commonwealth.

2. "Whoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking and levying the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or ſhall be an actor

or inſtrument therein, ſhall be likewiſe reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

3. "If any merchant or other perſon whatſoever, ſhall voluntarily yield, or pay the ſaid ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the ſame."

This remonſtrance was paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote, while many of the members, thinking the leaders had gone too far in their oppoſition, expreſſed their diſlike of the whole proceeding, and the greateſt indecencies, even to blows, were committed. The king ſent the gentleman-uſher of the houſe of lords, but the doors were locked and he could obtain no admittance till the remonſtrance was finiſhed. As ſoon as the door was opened, he, by the king's order, took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and a few days after the parliament was diſſolved.

Such were the proceedings of this famous parliament, whoſe heats concerning religion, and their bitterneſs againſt all who were ſuſpected of what they termed Arminiaſm, were as unjuſtifiable and as undutiful, as the noble ſtand they made for the perſonal liberties and properties of the ſubject were memorable and glorious.

This violent rupture between the king and his parliament alarmed the nation; but Charles took no care to make uſe of lenient meaſures, which might, perhaps, have effected a reconciliation. On the contrary, he inflamed the diſcontents of the people, by a ſeverity which he wanted power, perhaps inclination, to carry to extremity. He committed Denzil Holles, eſq; Sir John Elliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, eſq; William Coriton, Walter Long, William Shoude, and Benjamin Valentine, to priſon, on account of the late tumultuous proceedings in the houſe, which were termed ſeditious. Elliot, Holles, and Valentine were brought to their trial in the court of king's bench: but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thouſand pounds a piece, and the latter five hundred. Sir John Elliot died in cuſtody, and was univerſally conſidered as a martyr for the liberties of England.

Charles, that he might no longer be haraſſed with the turbulence of the commons, made peace with France, abandoning the Hugonots to the mercy of Lewis XIII. and ſoon after concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, from whom he obtained nothing more than a general promiſe of their uſing their good offices in reſtoring the elector palatine. Being thus at peace with the neighbouring powers, eaſed of a burthen too heavy for him, inſtructed by experience, naturally moderate, virtuous from principle, no longer a ſlave to the pernicious counſels of Buckingham, and bleſt with an able miniſter in Wentworth, earl of Strafford, it was natural to think that the troubles of his reign were over, and that a ſeries of tranquillity would ſucceed the ſtorms of popular contention. But this was not the caſe. New difficulties, new cauſes of diſtruſt, aroſe among the people, and the olive wand of peace diffuſed not domeſtic felicity over the kingdom. So difficult is it to govern happily, when faction has weakened the reſources of government.

A. D. 1630. Charles, like his father, was a theologician, and equally zealous to maintain his ſyſtem of religion, as to ſupport the prerogative of his crown. Unfortunately for him, and unfortunately for the peace of the kingdom, the king honoured with his confidence Laud, biſhop of London, a prelate whoſe diſintereſted principles and ſtrict morals were doubtleſs praiſe-worthy; but whoſe ſuperſtitious prejudices, obſtinate zeal, enterprizing ſpirit, and inflexible firmneſs, in oppoſition to the ſpirit of the nation, threatened the greateſt misfortunes to the ſtate. Laud was very deſirous of advancing the power of the prieſthood, and of multiplying church ceremonies; ſeveral of which he introduced, and moſt of them very ſimilar to thoſe of the Romiſh church. The puritans beheld, with horror, what they termed abominable ſuperſtitions. The communion-table railed in, the miniſters dreſſed in hoops to adminiſter the ſacrament, the communicants obliged to receive it kneeling, the crucifix and other images placed in the churches, were, in their eyes, ſo many ſcandalous attributes of anti-chriſt. The court of Rome itſelf entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this iſland; and in order to forward Laud's good intentions, an offer was twice made him in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. The general cry, however, was, that the biſhop of London was endeavouring to reſtore popery. One of the daughters of the earl of Devonſhire having turned catholic, was aſked by Laud the reaſon of her converſion. "It is principally, replied ſhe, becauſe I hate to travel in a crowd: for perceiving that you and numbers more are making preparations for Rome, I thought it more convenient to ſet out before you, that I might not be joſtled in the multitude."

But if the biſhop and his partizans carried the ſpiritual juriſdiction too high on one hand, and thereby incurred the hatred of the people, they did not fail, on the other, to preach up the moſt implicit obedience to the royal authority, the ſure means of obtaining the favour of his majeſty. Laud was accordingly advanced to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, which empowered him to exerciſe a kind of deſpotiſm with vigour in the church. Diſtreſſed for money, notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt œconomy, Charles began to make a freer uſe of his authority. Illegal as the collection of tonnage and poundage was, the council preſſed it with the utmoſt violence. This induced the great merchants to enquire more than ever into its legality, and were ſoon convinced that the principle on which it was founded ſtruck at the root of liberty. This alarmed the whole fraternity of merchants, and their fears were greatly increaſed by the publication of the following reſolutions of the council.

"That warrants ſhould be directed to the officers of the cuſtoms in the port of London, and elſewhere, to ſeize and detain the goods of any perſon, who ſhould attempt to land them without warrant till the duties were paid.

"And that ſuch merchants goods as remained on ſhip-board, ſhould be removed into ſtore-houſes on the cuſtom-houſe quay; and for want of room into the Tower, there to remain till his majeſty's duties, and the freight due to ſhip-maſters were ſatisfied.

"And whereas attempts were made by replevin, directed to the ſheriff of London, to obtain thoſe goods out of the king's ſtore-houſes, the meſſengers of the council were ordered to detain them in their cuſtody, and to apprehend all perſons who ſhould preſume to make reſiſtance."

At the ſame time ſtrict orders were ſent to the officers and chief magiſtrates of the chief ports of the kingdom, to aſſiſt the officers of the cuſtoms, in caſe any oppoſition ſhould be made by refractory perſons. Sir Francis Cottingham was authorized to call before him ſuch merchants as had been truſted by the collectors for ſums now due by cuſtoms, and who had protracted the payment; and to require them to pay the ſeveral ſums they owed his majeſty without delay.

Warrants were alſo iſſued from the council empowering their meſſengers to enter any ſhip, veſſel, houſe, warehouſe, or cellar, to break any bulk whatever, and ſeize the goods, in default of paying the accuſtomed duties; and to apprehend all perſons who ſhall publiſh ſcandalous ſpeeches againſt his majeſty and his government, or cauſe any diſturbance.

Nor were theſe the only methods taken by the king for raiſing money on his ſubjects without the conſent of parliament. He publiſhed a proclamation,

“ declaring his majeſty's royal pleaſure to confirm to his ſubjects their defective titles, eſtates and poſſeſſions, by his commiſſion lately granted and renewed for that purpoſe.” But notwithſtanding the ſpecious title of this proclamation, the people in general conſidered it only as an expedient to raiſe money without the conſent of parliament; and this increaſed the alarming diſcontent already diſſeminated in every part of the nation. But this was trifling when compared with the ſpirit raiſed by another proclamation, publiſhed on the thirteenth of July, “ for the eaſe of the ſubjects in making their compoſitions for not receiving the order of knighthood according to law.” The reader may recollect, that in the former part of this hiſtory, many inſtances have been given of ſubjects veſted with a certain degree of property being obliged to take upon them the order of knighthood. This property was very fluctuating in different reigns; and there was an obſolete, though unrepealed ſtatute, called, “ Statutum de militibus,” paſſed in the reign of Edward II. which obliged all ſubjects poſſeſſed of fifteen pounds a year in land, to take upon them the order of knighthood, provided they were fit for that duty. The order was generally conferred at the coronation; and Charles, on account of the plague's raging in London at the time when he received the crown, had diſpenſed with the attendance of ſuch ſubjects as were qualified to be knights. But being now diſtreſſed for money, this diſpenſation was conſidered only as a matter of convenience. It was pretended, that the right of impoſing the honour, which was attended with a large expence of fees, remained ſtill with the crown; and that the king was at liberty to oblige all perſons, properly qualified, either to be knighted, or pay compoſition money to certain commiſſioners appointed to receive it: the qualification was fixed at forty pounds a year. It is not eaſy to conceive a project more abſurd, more unreaſonable, and more unjuſt, than this. As the whole ſyſtem of feudal ſervices in perſon, during war, was now aboliſhed, there was not the leaſt pretence for reviving this tax, but a ſtatute which had been made when theſe ſervices were in full force. Add to this, that if fifteen pounds a year was, in the time of Edward II. a proper qualification, two hundred pounds a year at leaſt ought to have been the qualification under Charles I. The king, while any hopes remained of obtaining ſupplies from his parliament, had deſiſted from collecting ſo invidious a tax; but it was now revived with ſo much vigour, that many were put to great expences in the exchequer and ſtar-chamber for refuſing to pay the compoſition money, which was required to be one third and a half of what the perſons ſo compounding were found rated in the ſubſidity.

Theſe proceedings intimidated ſo many perſons, that the king received above one hundred thouſand pounds compoſition money. Beſides theſe, Charles granted oppreſſive patents, and monopolies, among which thoſe on ſoap and ſtarch are particularly complained of as very burdenſome to the lower claſs of people. It is ſurprizing with what patience theſe impoſitions were borne by the people; they occaſioned no diſturbances in any part of the kingdom. It muſt, however, be obſerved, to the honour of the judges, that they oppoſed many of theſe oppreſſions; and to the honour of the king, that he dropped them on their repreſentations. Perhaps more of them had been annihilated, had not Charles been perſuaded by his flatterers, that they were not burthenſome to the people; that he had an undoubted right to levy them; that his parliament had been the aggreſſors; that the houſe of commons and the people were diſtinct bodies; that though he was, perhaps, acting againſt the ſenſe of the former, he was acting for the good of the latter; while the tides of commerce flowed in ſo faſt, that their riches, as well as patience, were inexhauſtible.

Charles was better pleaſed to govern by his prerogative alone, than in conjunction with his parliament; and leſt the hopes of relief or protection from the commons might encourage oppoſition, the king iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, “ That whereas, “ for ſeveral ill ends, the calling again of a parliament “ is divulged; though his majeſty has ſhewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the uſe “ of parliaments: yet the late abuſe having, for the “ preſent, driven him unwillingly out of that courſe; “ he will account it preſumption in any one to preſcribe to him any time for the calling that aſſembly.” This was generally conſidered as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be ſummoned.

The eyes of the Engliſh were now turned towards their beloved object, the queen of Bohemia; and the king was very deſirous of procuring ſome relief for his unfortunate ſiſter, and her family. He joined his good offices with thoſe of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Poland and Sweden, in hopes of engaging the latter to undertake the protection of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the empire. This was the famous Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe heroic genius, ſeconded by the wiſeſt policy, rendered him, in a few years, the moſt diſtinguiſhed monarch of the age. Charles, to encourage and aſſiſt him in his projected invaſion of Germany, agreed to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men; but in order to maintain the appearance of neutrality, he made uſe of the marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman nearly allied to the crown. Hamilton accordingly entered into an engagement with Guſtavus; and inliſting theſe troops in England and Scotland, at the king's expence, he landed them at the mouth of the Elbe. Guſtavus was greatly pleaſed when he heard the Engliſh were landed, and promiſed to join them as ſoon as poſſible with the ſtipulated number of forces deſtined to conquer Sileſia.

It is inconceivable what ſervice the appearance of ſo fine a body of men did to the proteſtant cauſe. Their numbers were greatly exaggerated by their enemies through fear, and by their friends through deſign; and ſo great was the reputation of their valour, that the celebrated victory gained a few weeks after by the Swediſh monarch over count Tilly at Leipſick, was, in a great meaſure, owing to their reputation. What remained of that hero's life was one continued ſeries of victories, for which he was much leſs beholden to fortune than to thoſe perſonal endowments which he derived from nature, and from induſtry. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, commanded by the moſt celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was over-run in an inſtant by the victorious Swede. But, by this extraordinary and unexpected ſucceſs of his ally, Charles failed of the purpoſe for which he framed the alliance. Elated by proſperity, and no ſtranger to ambition, Guſtavus began to form more extenſive plans; and after freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it under ſubjection to his own. Full of theſe ideas, he refuſed to reſtore the Palatine to his principality, except on conditions that would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swediſh hero periſhed in the midſt of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

A. D. 1631. The incapacity of the lord treaſurer Weſton to execute that important poſt, had been, for ſome time, evident, and now became every day more glaring by the contraſt between his abilities and thoſe of Wentworth, who was now made preſident of the council of York. This court had been erected, after a rebellion in the north, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exerciſe of power, like many others, was indulged by that arbitrary monarch. The council of York had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but beſides ſome innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, ſome time after Wentworth was made preſident, to extend its powers, and to give it a large civil juriſdiction, and, in ſome meaſure, a diſcretionary power. Poſſibly the king's intention in this was nothing more than to free the inhabitants of the northern counties from the trouble, expence, and fatigue, of attending the courts at Weſtminſter; but it ſoon appeared, that the inhabitants were, by this means, deprived of the protection of the ordinary law, and ſubjected to an arbitrary authority. And accordingly, ſome irregular proceedings in that court were now complained of, and tended to exaſperate the people ſtill more againſt the government. When Wentworth was gained over to the court party, Sir Dudley Digges was made maſter of the rolls, Noy attorney-general, and Littleton ſollicitor-general. All theſe were leading men in the houſe of commons. But it ſoon appeared, that the ſame abilities which are ſufficient to perplex a court by their oppoſition, are not capable of effectually ſerving it by their compliance. Charles flattered himſelf, that by engaging thoſe eminent leaders in his ſervice, his government would meet with no more oppoſition, and that a calm tranquillity would be eſtabliſhed in this kingdom during the remainder of his reign; but his own upright intentions to make the virtues of his miniſters ſupply the laws of his country, fatally deceived him. Laud purſued the puritans with unremitting fury, and was fond of introducing new ceremonies into the church, and of carrying to the utmoſt height the power of the prieſthood.

**A.D. 1632.** But if the furious conduct of this imperious churchman alarmed the moderate Engliſh, it ſtruck the Scottiſh preſbyterians with terror. They were, in general, men as violent for one extreme as Laud was for the other; and the dreadful ſhock, when both afterwards encountered, cruſhed the church, the monarchy, and the conſtitution. When Mary was driven from the throne of Scotland, the conſtitution of that kingdom became ſuch a confuſed mixture of monarchical, ariſtocratical, democratical, and eccleſiaſtical powers, that it hardly deſerved the name. The prudent government of James, while he continued in Scotland, and the unſucceſsful attempts of the bigotted zealots to eſtabliſh their favourite model of religion, gave the crown great advantages; ſo that about the year 1621, epiſcopacy was reſtored in Scotland. James had been wiſely cautious in the promotion of his biſhops; they were, in general, men of great moderation, and well acquainted with the genius of the people; for which reaſon they ſtrongly oppoſed every attempt to bring the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of Scotland to a nearer conformity with that of England. The truth is, nothing in the principles of the firſt reformers, either in Scotland or foreign parts, was againſt a ſubordination of eccleſiaſtical government. All of them, indeed, concurred, that the popiſh biſhops ſhould be removed; but neither their plan of government, nor that of power, was ſo fixed, as to enable them to agree who ſhould ſucceed them, though, in general, they ſuffered thoſe who embraced the tenets of the reformation to retain both their revenues and appellations. But what at firſt was no more than a matter of convenience, ſoon became a point of principle. The eſtates of their great men were chiefly compoſed out of the ſpoils of the church; and the misfortune was, that the power of the crown was not ſufficient to prevent theſe dilapidations. The acts of parliament in favour of the preſent poſſeſſors, gave them infinite advantage; but the circumſtances under which theſe parliaments were held, rendered their authority liable to many juſt exceptions. While the king touched not this jarring ſtring of eccleſiaſtical government, the parliament ſubmitted to the prerogative in as full a manner as it had ever been exerciſed; but the landholders of Scotland could not, without the utmoſt concern, ſee the leaſt increaſe of epiſcopal power, or any nearer conformity of their church with that of England, becauſe they conſidered every ſtep as an approximation towards the re-aſſumption of church-lands. During the whole reign of James, the Scottiſh biſhops had been contented to act rather as preſidents in their eccleſiaſtical meetings, than the fathers of the church, in the common acceptation of their character. When a ſee happened to be vacant, James always ordered the biſhops to preſent him with the names of ſuch men as they thought moſt proper to fill it, and he generally pitched upon the beſt qualified. Hence the biſhops, in a manner nominating one another, lived in harmony among themſelves, and acted ſo moderately, that the noblemen and great landholders in Scotland became pretty well reconciled both to their temper and their character. Happy would it have been for Charles, had he preſerved the ſame moderate conduct. But Laud deteſted all moderation in church government, and Charles would liſten to no advice but that of Laud. That imperious churchman repreſented, in the higheſt terms, the dignity of the epiſcopal character: he diſplayed an army of martyrs who had died in its defence: he called to his aid all the tyrants of the eaſtern empire who had favoured it: he poured forth a profuſion of quotations, from what he called the fathers of the church: and, upon the whole, ſucceeded in convincing Charles, that the leaſt defect of reverence, either to the government, the doctrine, or the worſhip of his church, ſtruck at the moſt ſacred rights of the crown. Nor was this all: Laud was of opinion, that the church of England, as left by James, was imperfect in its worſhip. To prove this, he produced ſome opinions, which, in the twilight of reformation, when ſeveral prelates wavered between the old and the new religion, had been maintained in the convocation, and ſometimes in their writings. The authorities of the weakeſt of the fathers of the church were produced, to prove, that certain forms and ceremonies, things as indifferent in themſelves as Laud's own dreams, had been formerly practiſed, and hence he inferred that they were eſſentials in religion.

But Charles, however warm and ſerious in theſe matters, was perſuaded that theſe ceremonies had ſo near a reſemblance to popery, that it would be imprudent to attempt their introduction all at once among a people accuſtomed to think in the oppoſite extreme. It was therefore determined previouſly to new-model the hierarchy, by introducing gradually a ſet of men of very different principles from thoſe that now filled the ſees of Scotland, in order to reſtore authority and diſcipline to the church, and purity and ſplendor to her worſhip. The vacant biſhoprics were accordingly filled with ſuch men as had neither the virtues nor abilities neceſſary for filling their ſtations, in a country where the minuteſt parts of their conduct were ſeverely ſcrutinized by the piercing eye of puritanical enthuſiaſm.

Enemies to epiſcopal government, but without either power or pretence of oppoſing theſe promotions, the Scots made not the leaſt oppoſition; but under the pretence of faſts and other religious exer-exerciſes, they formed many ſecret reſolutions for ſtrengthening their party. They, however, ſtill behaved with all the external marks of the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion to the eſtabliſhed government; they went no farther than a proteſt in parliament againſt the meaſures they could not approve. Charles was ſo much impoſed upon by theſe appearances of acquieſcence, that he thought he ſhould meet with nothing in that country to oppoſe his pleaſure; and imagined that his preſence, the ſplendid appearance of his court, and the weight of his authority, would bear down the ſmall remains of oppoſition, and fix the authority of the crown on a baſis that could not be ſhaken.

**A.D. 1633.** Full of theſe pleaſing ideas, and deſirous of being crowned in his ancient kingdom, he ſet out for Scotland, attended by the whole flower of the Engliſh nobility, who vied with each other in the ſplendor of their equipages. It was the fifteenth of June before Charles reached Edinburgh; and on the eighteenth, he was crowned in that city with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. On the twentieth the parliament met, and gave Charles every thing he deſired. Two acts, indeed, met with ſome oppoſition. The firſt, beſides eſtabliſhing the king's prerogative, gave him power to preſcribe what habits he pleaſed to the eccleſiaſtics of Scotland: and by the ſecond, the alienations formerly made of tythes, and other eſtates of the clergy, were revoked.

Many of the Engliſh nobility that attended the king, and diſliked Laud and his principles, ſoon perceived the Scots were far from approving the bill that gave Charles the power of regulating the habits of the clergy. The dreadful ſurplice was before their eyes; and they apprehended, with ſome reaſon, that under the ſanction of this law, it would ſoon be introduced among them. This diſcovery prompted the Engliſh nobility to attempt another; namely, the real ſtrength of the royal party in Scotland. The courtiers had been at great pains to have it believed, that the Scots, who had been ennobled and enriched by Charles and his father, were men of the greateſt intereſt, as well as property, in their country. But the falſhood of theſe ſuggeſtions was eaſily perceived by Charles's attendants: they ſaw the Scots in general treat with great contempt the royal favourites of their own nation; and were ſoon convinced, that the perſons of the greateſt weight and property there were in the country intereſt. This diſcovery tended to leſſen the terror conceived by the Engliſh on account of the king's power in Scotland; and laid the foundation of a correſpondence between the principal perſons of the two kingdoms, and which was not broken off till both found themſelves engaged in all the horrors of a civil war.

Soon after the king's return from Scotland, Juxon was placed in the ſee of London, and alſo made lord high treaſurer. He was a perſon of great integrity, mildneſs, humanity, and underſtanding; but all his virtues could not procure him the friendſhip of the puritans. He was a lover of hunting, and other ſports of the field, a ſufficient reaſon, however eminent in virtue, to procure him the hatred of thoſe whoſe religion admitted not of the leaſt relaxation. Charles was very deſirous of introducing a chearfulneſs into the national devotion. He renewed his father's edict for allowing ſports and recreations on Sunday, after the ſervice was over, to ſuch as attended the public worſhip; and ordered his proclamation for that purpoſe to be publicly read by the clergy after divine ſervice. Thoſe who were puritanically affected refuſed obedience, and were puniſhed by ſuſpenſion or deprivation. This tended greatly to widen the breach between the church and the diſſenters, and promote that ill humour and diſcontent already too predominant in the nation. The queen, though ſtrictly virtuous, was immoderately fond of pleaſure, particularly the entertainments of the ſtage; and her example was followed by the whole court, and the greateſt men in the nation.

In the midſt of this diſſipation, William Prynne, a puritanical barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, publiſhed an enormous quarto of a thouſand pages, intituled, Hiſtorio-Maſtyx. Its profeſſed purpoſe was to decry ſtage-plays, comedies, interludes, muſic, dancing, and other diverſions of that kind; but he alſo took occaſion to declaim againſt hunting, public feſtivals, Chriſtmas-keeping, bonefires, and May-poles. The author tells us, in his preface, that he was excited to write againſt theſe enormities, by obſerving that plays ſold better than the choiceſt ſermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than even the Bible itſelf. He maintained, that moſt of the players were papiſts, and all of them deſperately wicked; that the play-houſes were Satan's chapels, the frequenters of them little better than devils incarnate, and every ſtep in a dance was a ſtep to hell; that the principal crime of Nero was that of frequenting and acting of plays; and that thoſe who conſpired his death were chiefly excited to it by their indignation at that enormity. This publication gave ſo much offence to the court, that Prynne was indicted before the ſtar-chamber; where his behaviour was remarkably obſtinate and petulant, which tended to increaſe the rigour of his ſentence. He was condemned to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds to the king; to be put from the bar, and rendered incapable of his profeſſion; to be excluded from the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn, and degraded in Oxford; to ſtand on the pillory in Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, to loſe an ear at each place, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment.

The remarkable ſeverity of this ſentence raiſed the government many enemies, and greatly augmented the numbers of the puritan party. It was thought extremely hard that an invective againſt plays ſhould merit a puniſhment proper only for the greateſt criminals. But it muſt be remembered, that this ſatire againſt the diverſions in vogue, though the pretended, was not the real crime for which Prynne was condemned. He had ſeverely cenſured the practices of the new hierarchy, and the ceremonies introduced by Laud; a crime not to be forgiven by that imperious prelate.

A. D. 1634. The Dutch were at this time the great rivals in commerce to the Engliſh. A prince of Charles's principles was ſhocked at the independent pretenſions of that haughty republic, which had been nurſed by the blood, and fed by the bounty of England; nor had he received any adequate ſatisfaction for the maſſacre of Amboyna. James had made ſeveral attempts for hindering the Dutch from fiſhing on the coaſt of England, but all his prohibitions were in vain; the Dutch, after various pretences, at laſt aſſerted they had a right to fiſh upon the Britiſh coaſts, founded on immemorial poſſeſſion. The ſtates of Holland, however, diſavowed this plea of their commiſſioners; but, at the ſame time, declared, that however unjuſt, and however contrary to the rights of ſovereignty in the crown of England, their practice of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts might be, it was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the very exiſtence of their ſtate, that they dared not either give it up, or pay any acknowledgment for it, leſt their people ſhould riſe in open rebellion againſt them. This was an argument not to be anſwered by reaſon, and Charles was determined to drive them by force from the Britiſh coaſts.

Vigorous meaſures were therefore begun in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; but theſe could not be carried on without proportional revenues; and thoſe of Charles were only barely ſufficient for maintaining the ſplendor of the court, performing his engagements with foreign princes, and defraying the neceſſary expences of his government. Noy, the attorney-general, was therefore commanded to diſcover ways and means for fitting out a fleet ſufficiently powerful to execute this purpoſe. Noy fell upon the expedient of ſhip-money; grounding it upon obſolete uſages and records, which juſtified a tax upon the people for furniſhing a certain number of ſhips for the defence of the ſeas; and writs were iſſued accordingly.

Theſe writs were accompanied with inſtructions and directions from the lords of the council for the aſſeſſing and levying the ſhip-money. Theſe inſtructions were directed to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; and by them it appears, that the ſhips aſſeſſed upon the counties of Middleſex and Hereford was to coſt three thouſand pounds; and that thoſe who refuſed to pay their proportion, were to be diſtreſſed, and their goods ſold for payment, without any reſpect of perſons. The reſt of theſe inſtructions contain the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being ſerved upon the lord mayor of London, he immediately ſummoned a common council, where it was agreed to preſent the following petition to the king.

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"The humble petition of your faithful ſubjects, the mayor, commonality, and citizens of your city of London, moſt humbly ſheweth, "That whereas your majeſty, by writ bearing teſte 20 Octobris laſt, commanded your petitioners, at their own charge, to provide ſeven ſhips of war, furniſhed with men, victuals, and all warlike proviſions, to be at Portſmouth by the firſt of March next, and to continue from that time during the ſpace of twenty-ſix weeks in your majeſty's ſervice, upon the defence of the ſeas, and other cauſes in the ſaid writ contained.

"Your petitioners do, in all ſubmiſſive humbleneſs, and with acknowledgements of your ſacred majeſty's favours unto your ſaid city, inform your majeſty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament, which they are ready humbly to produce, they are exempt, and are to be freed from that charge.

"And do moſt humbly pray,

"That your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the ſaid privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the ſaid ſhips and proviſions."

But notwithſtanding this oppoſition of the capital, Charles proceeded with as much violence as if ſhip-money had always been an eſtabliſhed tax, and as if he did not expect to meet with the leaſt attempt to oppoſe his arbitrary proceedings. Noy, the attorney-general, dying about this time, left the affair unfiniſhed; but the neceſſities of Charles increaſing, he reſolved that ſhip-money ſhould be extended to the inland as well as the maritime counties. But in order to this, it was neceſſary to employ proper perſons, and to invent plauſible pretences. Sir Robert Heath, lord chief juſtice, had, in many reſpects, been found untractable, and was accordingly removed from his office, and his place ſupplied by Sir John Finch, a lawyer of great eloquence, and a firm friend to the court; and Sir John Banks was made attorney-general. It was, probably, owing to the opinion of thoſe lawyers, who were far inferior in abilities to Noy, that Charles made ſhip-money a general tax; but even this attempt did not alarm the nation ſo much as was expected. The merchants, who generally take the lead on theſe occaſions, were too well acquainted with the advantages of commerce to riſque them by an oppoſition which might have given the court a pretence for impoſing heavier duties upon goods; and as the tax propoſed fell more heavy on the landed than the trading intereſt of the kingdom, they did not, for ſome time, conſider it as a ſtretch of arbitrary power. This acquieſcence gave the court a perfect ſecurity. Charles endeavoured to fill the kingdom with apprehenſions, that the Dutch and the French having entered into a new alliance, would certainly attempt to make themſelves maſters of the narrow ſeas; and a proclamation was accordingly publiſhed, commanding all Engliſh ſeamen and ſhipwrights, who were in foreign ſervices, to return home immediately.

But this calm was deceitful. The nation ſtill continued to have the higheſt opinion of thoſe patriots, who had, in a manner, forced the king to paſs the petition of right, and rather acquieſced in, than approved of the many breaches daily made in that famous act, eſpecially with regard to ſhip-money. It was about this time that Edward Coke, the eminent lawyer and patriot, paid the debt of nature, in the eighty-third year of his age. But there were not wanting men who trod in his paths, and endeavoured to rouze the public from their lethargy, by ſhewing, that the continual encroachments of the prerogative would ſoon baniſh all law from the conſtitution. Theſe alarming ſuggeſtions had their weight; they occaſioned ſuch diſputes with regard to the payment of ſhip-money, that not more than two hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand pounds were collected during the whole year.

This oppoſition, however, produced no change in the conduct of Laud: he continued to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical power with the greateſt ſeverity. He now attempted to oblige all foreigners ſettled in England to conform to the eſtabliſhed church, notwithſtanding all the privileges and indulgences that had been granted them by former princes, and the infinite advantages the nation acquired by their ſettling in this country. The French and Dutch churches, being joined by all the puritans in England, made a vigorous oppoſition, and refuſed, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown, to pay any deference to Laud's authority. The primate, however, prevailed ſo far, that though all foreigners of the firſt deſcent were ſuffered to continue their own method of worſhip, yet thoſe of the ſecond deſcent, that is, thoſe who were born in England of foreign parents, were ordered by the king to repair to their own pariſh-churches, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt in the ſpiritual courts.

A. D. 1636. The good effects of the arbitrary tax of ſhip-money began now to appear. A fleet of ſixty ſail of large ſhips was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Northumberland; and a proclamation was iſſued, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons, not the natural born ſubjects of theſe kingdoms, from fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſt, without proper licences from the king, who farther declared, that he intended always to keep a ſtrong ſquadron at ſea, in order to prevent all ſuch encroachments for the future, and to protect thoſe ſhips of his friends and allies who ſhould take out licences. The earl of Northumberland ſailed in the month of May; and coming up with ſome of the Dutch ſhips, he ſunk all that refuſed to leave the coaſts, and diſcontinue their fiſhery. This ſpirited conduct ſtruck a terror into all the maritime powers of Europe; even the haughty Richelieu himſelf, who had formed a deſign of rendering the Dutch the rivals of the Engliſh on the ocean, was obliged to abandon his project. The Dutch themſelves applied to Charles in the moſt earneſt manner; and at laſt conſented to pay thirty thouſand pounds for a licence to fiſh during the remainder of the year, when it was hoped a proper regulation would be made for fixing an annual tribute for the neceſſary licences.

But no advantages of commerce, reputation or ſafety, could prevail upon the people to pay the odious tax of ſhip-money with alacrity. The progreſs of the ſciences had increaſed their thirſt for knowledge; and the excellent writings and ſpeeches on the conſtitution of England, during the late reign, were now purchaſed and read with the greateſt avidity. But particularly the plain inconſiſtencies between the levying of that tax, and the petition of right, were evident to the moſt ſlender capacity; ſo that neither the ſermons of divines, the opinions of lawyers, the threats of power, nor the arts of courtiers, had any effect: they firmly adhered to the dictates of common ſenſe, and ſet all the ſophiſtical arguments of the artful and the eloquent at defiance. Such, however, was their veneration for the government, and ſo high an opinion did they entertain of the natural equity of the king, that many paid the tax, though they were perſuaded the law could not oblige them. They knew that the judges had taken great pains to recommend it from the bench, and doubted not but an attempt would ſoon be made to render it legal by a formal deciſion. Chambers, a merchant of London, abſolutely refuſed to pay, and was ſent to priſon by Sir Edward Bromfield, lord mayor, one of the commiſſioners for levying ſhip-money. But Chambers was not to be intimidated by the hand of power: he brought his action againſt Bromfield for a treſpaſs and falſe impriſonment. Sir Robert Berkley, one of the judges of the court, would not, however, ſuffer Chambers's council to argue againſt the legality of ſhip-money, declaring openly in court, "That there was a rule of law, and a rule of government; and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of government."

This was the deteſtable doctrine, which, like an ignis fatuus, led Charles to thoſe dangerous precipices from whence he fell, to the ruin of himſelf, and the ruin of his people. A regular diſtribution was now drawn up of ſhips adapted to the ſeveral ſhires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and monthly expence; together with the ſums charged upon the reſpective corporate towns in each county. And Charles, that he might proceed with more ſafety, and remove the ſeveral objections that had been ſtarted againſt paying the tax, procured the opinion of the judges, "that when the good and ſafety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the nation in danger, the king might lawfully levy a tax for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of the nation; and that his majeſty is the ſole judge both of the danger, and when and how it is to be prevented."

Charles was now ſatisfied that he had not acted contrary to the laws, and determined to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who ſhould, for the future, dare to oppoſe his royal pleaſure. It is amazing with what reluctance the people paid this tax, though they were no ſtrangers to this proſtitution and perverſion of the laws of their country: their uſual aſylum, the courts of law, were ſhut againſt them, and there was no medium; they muſt either ſubmit, or have recourſe to violence, an expedient which no wiſe man would chuſe. A choſen few, however, were ſtill in reſerve; men who dared to think with juſtice, and act with intrepidity; who, armed with the principles of civil and natural liberty, were determined to ſupport the cauſe of their country, and not tamely ſubmit to the arbitrary power of the crown. Strong reaſonings, bold elocution, deep learning, and upright intentions, were not, however, ſufficient to ſuſtain this dreadful combat; a leader muſt be found, who, beſides all theſe accompliſhments, had intrepidity ſufficient to ſtand forth in the cauſe of his country. Such a man was John Hambden, a gentleman poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate, and deſcended from an ancient family in Buckinghamſhire; which being an inland county, afforded him the better pretence for refuſing to pay the tax of ſhip-money. His ſhare did not amount to more than thirty ſhillings, yet he abſolutely refuſed payment, and determined to venture a trial, the event of which would clearly point out to the whole kingdom, whether arbitrary power was to prevail over juſtice.

A. D. 1637. After many pleadings and traverſes, the caſe was argued, during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial. It will be eaſily conceived, from the opinion of the judges, that the great queſtion in this cauſe was, Whether the kingdom was in ſuch imminent danger, that the king had a right to aſſeſs his ſubjects, without waiting for the neceſſary forms of parliamentary proceedings? It was confeſſed on all hands, that both public and private dangers may be ſo great, that all property may ceaſe, while the parties are providing for their own ſafety. But none of the crown lawyers pretended, that the danger of the kingdom was then ſo preſſing, as to give the king a right to the property of the ſubject; and the ſmall portion of Mr. Hambden's aſſeſſment was no argument for his paying it, unleſs they could prove it to be according to law. Whether the king was, or was not, the ſole judge of the public neceſſity, was ſtrongly debated, but greatly to the diſadvantage of the court; ſince nothing could be more obvious than this, that when public danger becomes ſo preſſing as to confound all property, the caſe will be notorious, and ſelf-preſervation becomes the common principle with both prince and people. It is true, the king may have reaſons, unknown to his ſubjects, to fear the attempts of ſome public or private enemy, and make the neceſſary preparations to render the whole abortive; but nothing here occurred to convince any man of common underſtanding, that the danger, if indeed any was apprehended, might not have been prevented by regular parliamentary methods. With regard to the precedents brought by either ſide from former reigns, they were equally ſtrong for both parties, and therefore were of no weight in deciding this great national cauſe. The truth is, we have too many melancholy inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory of iniquity being eſtabliſhed, not only by precedents, but by law: and that liberty often borrowed her gloom or luſtre from the vices or virtues that filled the throne. The lawyers, however, that pleaded the cauſe of Hambden, or rather that of their country, had infinite advantage over their antagoniſts, by unanſwerably proving the illegality of the tax from the poſitive and fundamental articles of the great charter, and other conſtitutional acts, which no practices, no precedents ought to affect or deſtroy. And whoever examines with attention the inſtances produced on both ſides, will perceive, that the current of precedents runs always ſtrongeſt for the people in the moſt virtuous periods of government: while thoſe for the crown ſpring from the fear of arbitrary power, from ſlaviſh complaiſance, from immediate danger, from groſs ignorance, or from prevailing corruption.

But notwithſtanding the force of the arguments uſed by Hambden's counſel, the event was what had been long foreſeen. The prejudiced or proſtituted judges, four of them excepted, gave ſentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety, and his quiet: the people were rouzed from their lethargy, and became fully ſenſible of the danger to which their liberty was expoſed. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it appeared to many that liberty was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, it was ſaid, concurred with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny lent aſſiſtance to civil uſurpations: iniquitous practices were ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the rights of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lay proſtrate at the feet of the monarch.

Laud, however, proceeded in the ſame imperious manner, and whoever refuſed to ſubmit to his arbitrary meaſures, was ſure to feel the weight of the hand of power. Among others, Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, was ſingled out as a perſon who oppoſed the meaſures of the government, and was a friend to the puritanical party. He was accordingly indicted in the ſtar chamber on very frivolous pretences, fined ten thouſand pounds, ſuſpended from his office, and committed to the tower during the king's pleaſure. Williams, when deprived of his poſt of lord keeper, retired to his biſhopric, joined the country party, and became one of the chief leaders of thoſe who oppoſed the government. This was a crime not to be forgiven by Laud, though the primate himſelf had been indebted to Williams for his firſt promotion. But to ſee a biſhop countenance puritans; a creature of the court become its obſtinate enemy, and oppoſe with great firmneſs and vigour all the meaſures of government; theſe were circumſtances that excited indignation, and engaged the miniſters to purſue him with the utmoſt vengeance. Men of more generous, and more moderate principles, however, beheld theſe tranſactions in a very different point of light; they conſidered the proſecution of Williams as one of the moſt iniquitous meaſures purſued by the court during the time that the uſe of parliaments were ſuſpended.

Burton a miniſter, and Beſtie a phyſician, were alſo tried in the ſtar-chamber, for writing ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels, and condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as had been inflicted on Prynne. Theſe writers had attacked, with great ſeverity, and even intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government

ment of the church; crimes for which no pardon could be expected from the furious primate. Full of the enthuſiaſtic principles they had endeavoured to ſupport in their writings, they behaved with the greateſt inſolence before the court; and the very anſwers they gave in were ſo full of contumacy, and invective againſt the prelates, that no counſellor could be prevailed upon to undertake their defence. The ſentence of the court was, however, greatly condemned, as very unworthy men of their profeſſion; and the patience, or rather the alacrity, with which they ſuffered the puniſhments inflicted on them, ſtill farther increaſed the indignation of the public.

But notwithſtanding all theſe meaſures, there would have been no danger of the government's being overturned, if fanaticiſm, ſtronger than all human paſſions, had not armed the people againſt a monarch, who, in his own perſon, merited their eſteem. We have already ſeen how deſirous Charles was of eſtabliſhing in Scotland the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England. He was fond of epiſcopacy, and inveſted the biſhops with an authority which he thought equally advantageous to religion and government. He loved church ceremonies, and wanted to have them received as eſſentials in divine ſervice. Without reflecting how much all men are attached to their particular mode of worſhip. Charles, confident of his own power, now ſent down canons for the government of the church of Scotland, and a new liturgy for regulating the manner of worſhip. The people were far from being diſpoſed to receive them. The nobility from a jealouſy of power, and the diſſenting clergy from principles of equality, were enemies to the hierarchy; and their univerſal hatred of the church of Rome, made them abhor whatever had the leaſt reſemblance to the method of its worſhip. On the ſixteenth of July, public intimations were given from the pulpits, that on the following Sunday the new liturgy would be introduced into the principal churches. Both the biſhop and dean of Edinburgh attended to give the greater ſolemnity to this new form of worſhip. The latter, dreſſed in a ſurplice, began the liturgy. But he had not proceeded far in the ſervice, before the people cried out, "A "Pope! a Pope! ſtone him!" The biſhop, however, mounted the pulpit, and attempted to appeaſe the tumult. But his endeavours were in vain: they threw a bench at his head, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that both him and the dean eſcaped with life. The contagion ſoon ſpread through the city. The magiſtrates ſuffered a thouſand inſults. The clergy declaimed with the utmoſt vehemence againſt innovations, and compared the populace to Balaam's aſs, whoſe mouth the Lord had opened.

But notwithſtanding theſe alarming tumults, no man of any conſequence joined the people. The laws in Scotland were very ſevere againſt treaſon, and men of property were cautious of truſting their lives and fortunes to the furious declarations of an inconſtant multitude. Charles was fatally deceived by this appearance of reſtraint, and attributed their ſilence to an approbation of his meaſures. He had long been deluded by pretenſions, and raiſed to the firſt poſts in the miniſtry, thoſe men who hated his perſon, his family, and his religion; they flattered him the more abjectly, that they might ruin him the more ſecurely. The whole cabinet council, indeed, was compoſed of perſons who wiſhed well to the meaſures they ſeemed to oppoſe, and which they were ſometimes obliged to puniſh. A deep foundation for public diſcontent being thus laid, nothing was wanting but a proper cement for the materials that were to compoſe the ſuperſtructure; and this required great ſkill to perform. The Scottiſh nobility and principal gentry were at that time very fond of travelling into foreign parts, where their countrymen ſerved with great honour in the armies of different princes; and the knowledge they by this means acquired of men and things, gave them great advantages. It was eaſy for them to ſee, that without a common principle of action, the ſpirit of the people muſt ſoon evaporate, and their whole party lie proſtrate at the footſtool of power. What his principle ought to be required attentive conſideration. Intereſt, indeed, was an obvious one in men of property, but this centered in a few, compared to the whole body of the nation, and was therefore deſtitute of force ſufficient to animate the maſs of the populace. A common principle was at laſt agreed upon, and this was religion. They knew with how much advantage the Holy League had been introduced in France, and had ſeen how eaſily the people are animated into rebellion, by the late tumult in the capital.

The criſis which was to decide the fate of the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland was now approaching. The ſpirit againſt the new liturgy daily increaſed among the common people, and the repeated commands of the court to introduce it proved at once ineffectual, and dangerous to the biſhops. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, where theſe diſturbances chiefly prevailed, were, in ſecret, enemies to the liturgy, but, in public, they expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the riotous proceedings of the populace, and frequently aſſembled in order, as they pretended, to concert meaſures for putting a ſtop to thoſe alarming attempts of the multitude. They even promiſed to aſſiſt the king to the utmoſt of their power to appeaſe the tumultuous populace, and introduce the new liturgy. But in the mean time a breach enſued between the biſhops and miniſters of Scotland, and ſoon after another between the biſhops and the nobility of that kingdom. The counſel of the moderate biſhops, who had always oppoſed the violent methods of introducing the liturgy, was diſregarded by the new prelates promoted by Laud, and who were perſuaded that the intereſt of their patron with the king was abundantly ſufficient to ſupport them. This induced them to diſregard not only the advice of their more moderate brethren, but alſo that of the nobility, who took advantage of this neglect to withdraw their countenance entirely from the proceedings of the clergy.

Animated by the countenance of their miniſters and the nobility, the people began to unite, and to encourage one another to oppoſe the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were ſigned and preſented by perſons of the higheſt quality: the women, as is common in every religious diſturbance, joined with great violence in the oppoſition: the puritan miniſters declaimed vehemently againſt popery; and the pulpits reſounded with the moſt violent invectives againſt anti-chriſt. In a word, fanaticiſm mingling with faction, and private intereſt with the ſpirit of liberty, ſoon produced the ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous inſurrection and diſorder in every part of the kingdom

A. D. 1638. Charles was, however, determined to perſevere. He ſeemed to deſpiſe the threats of the vulgar, and even the defection of the nobility. The primate of Scotland, a man of great temper, wiſdom, and religion, always averſe to the introduction of the new liturgy, repreſented to his majeſty in faithful colours, the ſtate of the nation. The earl of Traquair, lord treaſurer, repaired to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before the king. But all their repreſentations were in vain: Charles was inflexible. He had, however, nothing to oppoſe to ſo violent a combination of the whole nation but a proclamation, wherein he promiſed pardon for all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the uſe of the liturgy. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that it was immediately oppoſed by a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindeſey. This was the criſis of the oppoſition: the inſurrection which had been gathering by degrees, now broke out at once; the ſtandard of rebellion was diſplayed, and the ſword of civil diſcord on the point of being ſheathed in the bowels of that unhappy country. No diſorder, however, attended theſe dreadful appearances of war and devaſtation: on the contrary, a new order, or rather a new adminiſtration, immediately took place; a ſufficient indication that this diſturbance had been ſecretly fomented by perſons in a ſtation far exalted above the common people. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh: one conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, and a fourth of burgeſſes; and in the hands of theſe four tables the whole authority of the government was placed. One of their firſt, and, at the ſame time, the greateſt act they performed, was that of the ſolemn league and covenant.

This celebrated compact conſiſted firſt of a renunciation of popery formerly ſigned by James in his youth, and compoſed of many invectives well adapted to inflame the minds of men againſt their fellow-creatures, whom heaven hath enjoined them to cheriſh and to love. Then followed a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers bound themſelves to reſiſt all religious innovations, and to defend each other againſt all oppoſition whatſoever: "and all this for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country." It is aſtoniſhing with what eagerneſs all ranks of people flocked to ſign this covenant, conſidered by them as the bulwark of the chriſtian religion, which, according to their narrow way of thinking, was practiſed no where in its original purity but in Scotland.

Though a people cannot be too jealous of their liberties, and though no government has a right to attack, much leſs to deſtroy them; yet this jealouſy ought to have its bounds in reaſon, in nature, and in duty. The firſt never warrants reſiſtance, but under provocation; the ſecond makes ſelf-preſervation to be her primary law; and the latter, by ſupporting ſubordination in government, preſerves the peace, the happineſs, and the tranquillity of human ſociety. Could the Scots have produced any poſitive fundamental act of their conſtitution, unintelligible as it then was, which Charles had violated; had he governed their country with a rod of iron, or arbitrarily introduced a religion eſſentially different from that eſtabliſhed by law, aſſociations might have been defenſible, though they are never eligible, till after the regular applications for redreſs have been made in vain. But how did this matter ſtand between Charles and the Scots? His father's and his own unſparing hand had enriched, embelliſhed, and ennobled their country, beyond what they ought to have done, in juſtice to their other dominions. If any iniquity had been eſtabliſhed there, it had not only been eſtabliſhed, but acquieſced in, by the legiſlative power; the wholeſomeneſs of their laws had not been corrupted into poiſon by judges, who held over their heads the rod of the king's diſpleaſure. Their civil liberties had never been attacked by power; prerogative had not, as in England, mocked at their calamities, nor ſet at nought the provident wiſdom of their anceſtors. Epiſcopal government was the legal inſtitution; nor could an attempt to introduce a diſputable mode of worſhip, approved of by the government, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, warrant that worſt part of popery, an aſſociation againſt the civil power, under pretence of religion.

But the voice of enthuſiaſm liſtens not to the declarations of reaſon. The Scottiſh preachers, determined to carry their point, though they involved the government of their country in confuſion, recommended the ſtrongeſt oppoſition to the people. Charles was alarmed, and offered to ſuſpend the introduction of the liturgy, provided they would retract the covenant. Their anſwer was, that they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm. He then relaxed in other matters, in order to preſerve epiſcopal government, and permitted a general aſſembly to be ſummoned at Glaſgow. By this unadviſed meaſure the whole deſign was finiſhed. The laity, whom the preſbyterians admitted, and who formed the ſtrongeſt part, began with impeaching the biſhops, whom they charged indiſcriminately with all ſorts of crimes. They afterwards declared all acts with regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, made ſince the advancement of James to the crown of England, null and void. Thus the canons, the liturgy, the court of high commiſſion, and even epiſcopacy itſelf, were aboliſhed in Scotland at one ſtroke. A meaſure ſo audacious could be ſupported only by arms. They accordingly prepared openly for a civil war, ſeized all places of ſtrength, fortified the town of Leith, and ſo remarkable was the deſire of completing the work, that women of quality mixed with the populace, and carried on their ſhoulders the materials neceſſary for the erecting the fortifications. A propheteſs, ſeconded by the harangues of a ſeditious preacher, wonderfully excited the general zeal and courage of the people: ſhe ſaid, that the covenant was regiſtered in heaven; called the Saviour of mankind Jeſus the Covenanter; and farcified all that was great and ſacred in religion.

A. D. 1639. Charles, though he was fond of peace, and of Scotland, his native country, could not avoid raiſing troops to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to reaſon, and ſubdue the refractory ſpirit of the Scots. By his œconomy, he had ſaved two hundred thouſand pounds; and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, engaged them to grant the king a conſiderable ſupply. The Engliſh fleet was very formidable, and well provided with every neceſſary. Five thouſand land forces were embarked on board this ſquadron, the command of which was given to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the Frith of Forth, and cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the rebels. An army of near twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe was levied, and commanded by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but famous neither as a ſoldier nor a ſtateſman. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman extremely popular, and of great military abilities, was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horſe. On the twenty-ninth of May, the king himſelf joined the army, and ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. Few diſregarded the ſummons; ſo that the Engliſh army reſembled rather the court of an eaſtern prince than a military expedition againſt an enemy.

The forces of the malecontents were little inferior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, but almoſt deſtitute of cavalry. The infantry conſiſted, indeed, of an undiſciplined and ill-armed rabble, but animated with a religious fervour, which, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied the want of diſcipline, and rendered them very formidable. The declamations of the clergy had greatly aſſiſted the officers in gaining recruits, by thundering out anathemas againſt all "who went not out to help the Lord againſt the mighty." But the leaders of the malecontents did not omit the more ſafe and prudent method of negotiation. They knew that a defeat muſt be fatal; and however their troops might be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic fury, they were unable to ſtand the regular attacks of diſciplined forces. They therefore immediately ſent very ſubmiſſive meſſages to the king, begged leave to be admitted to a treaty, in order to reſtore tranquillity to their native country, and ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of civil diſcord.

Several conferences were accordingly held; but ſo many difficulties occurred, that it was ſome time before even any preliminary articles could be eſtabliſhed. At laſt, however, a pacification was agreed to, on the following terms:

"1. The forces of Scotland to be diſbanded, and diſſolved, within eight and forty hours after the publication of his majeſty's declaration being agreed upon.

"2. His majeſty's caſtles, forts, ammunition of all ſorts, and royal honours, to be delivered after the ſaid publication, ſo ſoon as his majeſty can ſend to receive them.

"3. His majeſty's ſhips to depart preſently after the

the delivery of the caſtles, with the firſt fair wind, and in the mean time to cauſe no interruption either to trade or fiſhing.

"4. His majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to cauſe to be reſtored all perſons, goods and ſhips, detained and arreſted ſince the firſt of November laſt.

"5. That there ſhall be no meetings, treatings, conſultations, or convocations, of his majeſty's ſubjects, but ſuch as are warranted by act of parliament.

"6. The works on all fortifications to be abandoned, and the places themſelves to be delivered up to his majeſty.

"7. To reſtore to every one of his majeſty's ſubjects their liberties, lands, houſes, goods, and all other particulars whatſoever, taken or detained from them ſince the above term."

The Scottiſh deputies were at a loſs how to appeaſe their principals with regard to theſe articles, which fell far ſhort of what their ſanguine hopes had taught them to expect. Accordingly the earls of Caſſils, and ſeveral other noblemen and heads of the malecontents, loudly exclaimed againſt a pacification, which was to diſarm them, and leave them, in that condition, to the mercy of the court. No abolition of epiſcopacy, nor acknowledgment of the aſſembly at Glaſgow, had been ſtipulated, as they had been made to believe; the reſtitution of ſhips taken ſince the firſt of November was but a poor conſideration, in compariſon of the common cauſe; and the drawing off the Engliſh fleet from the coaſt was of little importance, becauſe the ſhips might return whenever his majeſty pleaſed. Add to theſe conſiderations, that Charles, in one of the anſwers he had given to the deputies, had actually diſowned the aſſembly at Glaſgow; nor would he conſent to any thing farther than to refer civil matters to a parliament, and eccleſiaſtical affairs to a general aſſembly; both of which he could call or diſſolve at pleaſure.

Nor was the peace more agreeable to the Engliſh; they exclaimed againſt it as loudly as the Scots; and there ſeemed very little hopes that it would be of any long continuance: the ſeeds of diſaffection were ſown in Scotland, and it was no eaſy taſk to prevent their growth.

While Charles was thus engaged in reducing his rebellious ſubjects to reaſon, an incident happened on the coaſt of England, which ſeemed to threaten alarming conſequences. The firmneſs of Charles in ſteadily preſerving his neutrality diſconcerted Richelieu's plan for attacking the ſea-coaſt of Flanders; and the count d'Eſtrades was ſent to conclude a new treaty of ſubſidy with the prince of Orange, in order to enable the Dutch to attack Antwerp, while the French were to beſiege St. Omers. The ſucceſs of thoſe attempts are foreign to this hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that theſe diſpoſitions induced the court of Spain to fit out a ſtrong ſquadron at Corunna, conſiſting of fifty ſhips, under the command of Don Antonio Doguendo, a celebrated ſea officer. Twelve thouſand foot were embarked on board this ſquadron, which was deſigned to join another fleet of Spaniſh ſhips at Dunkirk. Richelieu gave immediate notice of the ſailing of this fleet to the prince of Orange, who ſoon after diſcovered, that the Spaniſh admiral was ordered not to fight, if he could poſſibly avoid it; but put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh, and land his men upon the coaſt of Flanders. This armament, and the fear of its being joined by the Engliſh fleet, greatly alarmed both the French and Dutch; and extraordinary efforts were made to put their fleets to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to render any attempt of the Spaniards abortive. A ſmall ſquadron of the Dutch, then at ſea, fell in with, and attacked the Spaniſh fleet, but with conſiderable loſs to themſelves. Soon after, the Spaniſh admiral came to an anchor near Dover, where he thought himſelf ſafe under the protection of the Engliſh. But the ambitious Richelieu had no regard to the rights of neutrality, when they oppoſed his views. He ordered d'Eſtrades to lay before the prince of Orange, "the glory that would "attend his defeating the meaſures of two great "monarchs, and of crowning all his noble exploits "in war by a victory over the fleet of Spain under "the protection of the Engliſh, and, perhaps, actually aſſiſted by their ſhips." He added, "that "ſuch an action would infallibly lay Flanders open "to the united forces of France and Holland." The prince of Orange, fond as he was of glory, eſpecially when acquired againſt Spain, was ſtartled at the thoughts of committing ſo groſs an inſult on the Engliſh flag; and aſked d'Eſtrades, with ſome emotion, "Whether Richelieu was in earneſt?" D'Eſtrades aſſuring him he was, the prince ſent orders to Van Tromp to haraſs the enemy with a kind of flying ſquadron; but not to venture a general engagement, till he was joined by admiral Everſon. As ſoon as this junction was performed, Tromp was ordered to ſend a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, acquainting him, that having received orders from his maſters to attack their enemies wherever he found them, he requeſted that the Engliſh ſhips might leave the Spaniſh ſquadron, becauſe he was commanded not to attack them, unleſs they aſſiſted the enemy, and in that caſe his orders were to attack both without diſtinction. Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity how to behave on this alarming occaſion. The haughty republicans were now at the height of their power: their fleet, when united, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips of war, commanded by the beſt ſea-officers in the world; they were highly exaſperated againſt Charles for refuſing them the liberty of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts, and wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging the affront, by deſtroying his fleet. At the ſame time, the public were perſuaded, that the Spaniſh fleet was either intended to conquer England, or aſſiſt the king in ſubduing his rebellious ſubjects. Charles therefore knew that he could not truſt to the fidelity of his ſeamen, even if the Dutch ſhould violate their neutrality. At the ſame time, he knew that the Spaniſh fleet, which conſiſted of ſixty-ſeven large ſhips, was in want both of cannon and ammunition; while the Dutch were liberally ſupplied with both from Calais, and other ſea-port towns in France. It was ſome time before the whole Dutch fleet appeared, and made the proper diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy. During this interval, the Spaniſh miniſter preſented repeated memorials to Charles, for his protecting the Spaniſh fleet, which was now riding at anchor under the guns of the Engliſh caſtles near the South Foreland, while the Dutch remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt any Engliſh ſhip being employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. Charles knew not how to behave in this critical conjuncture, but at laſt determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; and immediately iſſued orders, that no Engliſh ſhip ſhould take any Spaniards on board, or paſs from London below Graveſend without a licence. At the ſame time, he acquainted the Dutch ambaſſador, that he could not, without the higheſt diſhonour, refuſe the Spaniards that protection on his coaſts they had a right to demand from the law of nations; and that he had ſent orders to Sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four ſail of Engliſh men of war, to join that fleet which ſhould be firſt attacked. This declaration leſſened the ardour of the Dutch, and the Spaniſh admiral found means to ſend twelve large ſhips and four thouſand men to Dunkirk. Charles was, however, fearful of the conſequences; and ſent the earl of Arundel to perſuade the Spaniſh admiral to ſlip away the firſt fair wind, as he could not be anſwerable for the ſucceſs of an engagement, if the Spaniards were attacked by the Dutch. Doguendo would gladly have followed this advice, but could not, on account of contrary winds: and the Dutch fleet being now completely reinforced, Van Tromp ſent a letter to Pennington, demanding the benefit of his neutrality, under pretence of the Spaniards having violated their privilege of protection, by firing on the Dutch admiral's barge, and killing one of his men. Tromp accordingly attacked the Spaniſh fleet with the utmoſt fury, forced them to cut their cables, drove twenty-three ſhips a-ſhore, of which three were burnt, and two ſunk. The Thereſa, mounted with a hundred braſs guns, was burnt, ſixteen were taken, and ſent to Fluſhing, with four thouſand five hundred priſoners, and fourteen ſhips were loſt near Boulogne; the Dunkirk ſquadron, under Doguendo, only eſcaping. The victory was complete on the ſide of the Dutch, though it was not obtained without ſome loſs; ten of their ſhips periſhing in the action.

Charles did not fail to repreſent this conduct of the Dutch, as an inſult upon the Britiſh flag; and made uſe of it as an argument for inforcing the payment of ſhip-money, in order to be able to keep a ſufficient fleet at ſea to curb the inſolence of thoſe republicans. New writs were accordingly iſſued and ſent to all the counties of England and Wales for collecting the tax. About this time the lord-keeper Coventry, who had the good fortune to hold the great ſeal many years, died in poſſeſſion of that high office. Every day now increaſed the obſtinacy of Charles, when it ought rather to have increaſed his caution. He determined to ſeize by violence that power which would enable him to govern the nation without controul, and to exerciſe it with prudence and equity, or, at leaſt, with ſomething which Laud and his own conſcience termed equity. The great ſeal was given to Finch, a man fit for promoting every arbitrary purpoſe.

But though the odious tax of ſhip-money was raiſed with great ſeverity, and other acts of deſpotic power were daily exerciſed, the people diſcovered no remarkable uneaſineſs at the neglect of parliaments and the unconſtitutional meaſures of the government. Peace and plenty reigned in the kingdom, and the wars that raged in the other nations of Europe, made England the repoſitory of riches from every part of the world. This greatly contributed to render the people almoſt paſſive in their preſent ſituation. They knew indeed their rights; they murmured at their being violated; they publickly proclaimed their grievances; they proteſted againſt illegal exactions: but this was nothing more than forming a rope of ſand; a parliament was wanting to give their complaints ſtrength and conſiſtency. On the other hand, the ſituation of affairs ſeemed to be irremediable even by wiſdom itſelf, and men of ſenſe plainly perceived that if the affairs of Scotland did not oblige the king to call a parliament, he would continue to govern by his preſent arbitrary methods, till the uſe of thoſe aſſemblies was forgotten.

The conduct of Charles in Scotland anſwered the moſt ſanguine hopes of the warmeſt patriots; and the diſpoſitions of the Scots were equally favourable for bringing matters to the criſis they deſired. The nobility and perſons of conſequence in that kingdom, were perſuaded they had ſufficiently guarded againſt all reſumptions of church revenues by exacting a promiſe from Charles to call a free parliament and an aſſembly of the clergy. They would willingly have waited the reſult of both; and that great point, the only one they dreaded, being gained, they would willingly have concurred and acquieſced in every dutiful meaſure towards the crown. But they found the people untractable: they refuſed to ſtop till epiſcopacy was totally abrogated, and the principles of civil liberty founded on a more ſolid baſis than at preſent. This ſcheme might have anſwered the juſt expectation of men of property, and, at the ſame time, if not have fully ſatisfied the wiſhes, have calmed the ſpirit of the people; but the whole was defeated through a want of moderation on the part of government. The marquis of Hamilton laid before Charles the deſtructive conſequences that muſt attend his not acting with ſincerity, by leaving the approaching parliament and aſſembly in Scotland, at free liberty to gratify the people with regard to every thing that had been underſtood to have been granted by the late pacification. By this he meant the total abolition of the epiſcopal order both in church and ſtate; but he perceived by the manner in which the king received his repreſentations, that this would not be granted. He therefore reſigned the office of high-commiſſioner in Scotland, and that invidious poſt was given to the earl of Traquaire.

The moderate part of the Scottiſh nobility would have been contented with ſome reſtraints being laid on epiſcopal power in parliament; but ſo furious was the ſpirit of the people, that it was thought there was leſs danger in an entire abrogation of the order, than either in continuing it, or riſking the conſequences of popular fury. The marquis of Hamilton was entirely of this opinion, and fairly laid all his reaſons before the king, who had continued ſome time at Berwick. Charles was aſtoniſhed, and ordered fourteen of the chief covenanting lords to attend him, in order to conſult the proper meaſures for ſettling the affairs of Scotland. The people were alarmed at this meſſage, and openly declared, that it had been propoſed by their own leaders in order to elude the force of the covenant. This ſo greatly intimidated the noblemen, that three only of the fourteen lords, could be prevailed upon to obey his majeſty's orders. Montroſe, Loudon, and Lothian, were the perſons who deſpiſed the fury of the populace when it tended to prevent their obedience to the king. The buſineſs of Charles was ſerious and important: he was deſirous of learning the whole deſign of the covenanters, and what they intended to demand in the approaching parliament and aſſembly. Montroſe was one of thoſe noblemen who thought the king had done enough to ſatisfy all his Scottiſh ſubjects, who had no dangerous or fanatical views. His two companions, particularly the earl of Loudon, were of the ſame opinion, but wiſhed to have ſecurity for the performance; and this they thought could only be effected by ſome additional bulwarks to the liberties of their country, eſtabliſhed in a full and free parliament. They therefore laid fairly before Charles what they expected from the next parliament.

In the firſt place the currency of the coin in that country was not very large; but its value might be raiſed or lowered by the crown in ſo arbitrary a manner, that all property, in a great meaſure, depended upon the king, and, at beſt, was very uncertain. The ſame power had formerly been exerciſed in England, and proved an intollerable grievance; but it carried with it its own remedy when commerce enlarged. For foreigners, without regarding the orders of the Engliſh government, always proportioned the price of their commodities to the intrinſic, not the nominal value of the coin. This conduct at laſt obliged the crown to lay aſide thoſe deſtructive practices, which could ſerve only ſome mercenary immediate ends, and the Engliſh mint had been, for ſome time, under excellent regulations. But Scotland had not the ſame remedy againſt this alarming oppreſſion, becauſe the commerce of that kingdom was more reſtrained, and money of much greater value than in England. It was therefore juſtly thought, that the ſubject ought to have ſome ſecurity againſt this grievance; and that the king ſhould declare, "that the coin ſhould not be meddled with, but by advice of parliament."

The next grievance enumerated by the Scots, was that of the command of their garriſons being given to ſtrangers. Both James and Charles had, indeed, to uſe their own expreſſions, broken down the partition-wall between the two kingdoms; and the Scots had poured by multitudes into England, where they enjoyed a great number of offices both eccleſiaſtical and military. But the wiſeſt men in both nations condemned this partiality in favour of the native country of their prince; and even the generality of the Scots themſelves were diſſatisfied with the encouragement many of their great men met with in England; which induced them to ſpend both their money and eſtates in that country. The Engliſh, a great and powerful people, had far leſs to apprehend from the Scots than the Scots from them. The caſtles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were already garriſoned by the Engliſh; and it was always eaſy for their navy to deſtroy the commerce of Scotland. The Scots therefore thought it reaſonable, that no ſtranger ſhould be intruſted with the government of any of their caſtles, unleſs by the advice of the ſtates.

The heritable juriſdictions of Scotland were thought, even by the natives themſelves, to be dangerous, becauſe they created too great a dependence of the inferior people on particular families. They demanded, therefore, that no commiſſion of juſticiary or lieutenancy might be granted, but for a limited time.

Laſtly, they excepted againſt the precedency of the lord treaſurer and lord privy-ſeal, as not being warranted by any poſitive law. This exception was, probably, intended to prevent arbitrary promotions, which might eclipſe the luſtre of their ancient nobility, and create too powerful an influence of the crown in parliament.

Such were the demands intended by the Scots to be made in the enſuing parliament; and, poſſibly, if Charles had acted with ſincerity, they had ſtopped there; but he could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy. The covenanters ſaw this, and were convinced that all conceſſions made by the king muſt be forced, and that he would retract them the firſt favourable opportunity. Their chiefs, therefore, thought they had no ſafety but in uniting more cloſely than ever, and openly oppoſing the power of the crown itſelf. Though their army had ſeparated on the concluſion of the late treaty, they continued ſtill in large bodies; the fortifications of Leith were continued; they iſſued commiſſions for purchaſing large quantities of arms and ammunition abroad; and Leſley ſtill kept up the character and title of general.

As ſoon as Traquaire received his commiſſion, he returned to Edinburgh, where both a parliament and an aſſembly were held. They immediately paſſed a bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and another for removing the grievances already mentioned. The king was greatly exaſperated at theſe precipitate proceedings, and Traquaire received orders to prorogue both the parliament and aſſembly; but his authority was diſregarded; they continued their ſeſſion; and ſent the bill they had paſſed to Charles for the royal aſſent, pretending that no prorogation could take place without the conſent of the eſtates of the kingdom in parliament.

The aſſembly proceeded with equal violence; and all that Charles could obtain was an explanation of the famous covenant, in the following terms: "We "do ſwear not only our mutual concurrence and "aſſiſtance for the cauſe of religion, and to the utmoſt of our power, with our means and lives, to "ſtand to the defence of our dread ſovereign, and "his authority, in the preſervation and defence of "the ſaid true religion, liberties, and laws of this "kirk and kingdom: but alſo in every cauſe which "may concern his majeſty's honour, we ſhall (according to the laws of this kingdom, and the "duties of good ſubjects) concur with our friends "and followers, in quiet manner or in arms, as we "ſhall be required of his majeſty's council, or any "having his authority." Charles was not contented with this explanation, though it was more than could have been expected from perſons of their diſpoſition. The aſſembly paid not due deference to the king's prepoſſeſſions, though they gave the utmoſt indulgence to their own. They voted epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: the king was willing to allow it, contrary to the inſtitutions of that church. They ſtigmatized the liturgy and canons as popiſh: he agreed ſimply to their being aboliſhed. They denominated the high commiſſion tyranny: he was willing to ſet it aſide. Both were determined to perſevere; and on this account recourſe was again had to arms, and it was now ſuppoſed the ſword alone muſt decide the diſpute.

A. D. 1640. The king, on ſigning the late pacification, had diſbanded his army, a very conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary for raiſing another, and the council was greatly perplexed to diſcover neceſſary ways and means for that purpoſe. The only conſtitutional method, by ſummoning a parliament, was thought a dangerous experiment; but the neceſſities of the crown were ſo preſſing, that it was determined to ſummon that aſſembly. It was, however, thought, that there was a neceſſity for ſtriking ſome bold, ſpeedy, and effectual blow, to intimidate the rebels; and that the parliamentary ſupplies would be too ſlow and uncertain to anſwer the purpoſe. The earl of Strafford therefore propoſed a ſubſcription, and generouſly opened it with twenty thouſand pounds. The young duke of Richmond followed his example, and ſubſcribed the ſame ſum. Their examples influenced many of the nobility and clergy; ſo that a large ſum was ſoon ſubſcribed, in order to enable the king to oppoſe his rebellious ſubjects.

On the thirteenth of April, the parliament met at Weſtminſter; and were informed by the lord keeper Finch, that the king had been able to aſſemble and ſupport his army, not by any revenue he poſſeſſed, but by means of a large debt, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given ſecurity upon the crown lands. He repreſented, that it was neceſſary to grant ſupplies for the urgent demands of his military armaments: that the ſeaſon was far advanced, the time precious, and that none of it muſt be loſt in deliberations: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary pomp, ſumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever ſupplies had been levied from his ſubjects, had been employed for their advantage and preſervation; and, like vapours ariſing out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in ſweet and refreſhing ſhowers on the ſame fields from which they had, at firſt, been exhaled: that though the king deſired ſuch immediate aſſiſtance, as might, for the time, prevent a total diſorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the ſtate of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the relief of their grievances: that as much as was poſſible of this ſeaſon ſhould be allowed them for that purpoſe: that as he expected only ſuch ſupplies at preſent as the current ſervice abſolutely required, it would be neceſſary to aſſemble them again next winter, when they ſhould have full leiſure to conclude whatever buſineſs had been left imperfect and unfiniſhed: that the parliament of Ireland had twice put ſuch truſt in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, a very large ſupply, and had always experienced good effects from the confidence repoſed in him: and that in every circumſtance his people ſhould find his conduct ſuitable to a juſt, pious, and gracious king, and ſuch as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

But theſe topics, however plauſible, produced not the deſired effect. The leaders of the diſcontented party began to foreſee the conſequences of the Scottiſh inſurrection, and to hope that the time ſo long wiſhed for was at hand, when royal authority muſt become wholly ſubordinate to popular aſſemblies; and when public liberty muſt acquire the full aſcendant. A reaſonable compliance with the meaſures of the court was now conſidered as ſlaviſh dependence; a regard for the king, ſervile flattery; a confidence in his promiſes, ſhameful proſtitution. It was hoped, that by reducing the crown to neceſſities, the king would be puſhed into violent meaſures, which could not fail of ſerving their purpoſes; and that by multiplying theſe neceſſities, his prerogative, undermined on all ſides, muſt at laſt be overthrown, and rendered no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people.

Full of theſe ſentiments, every meaſure that had a tendency to preſerve the government in its preſent form was zealouſly oppoſed by the popular leaders. Inſtead, therefore, of taking notice of the king's complaints againſt his Scottiſh ſubjects, or his applications for a ſupply, the houſe entered immediately upon grievances, and a ſpeech made by Pym upon that ſubject was much more attended to than the harangue delivered by the lord keeper in the name of their ſovereign.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the Scottiſh covenanters were not idle; they proceeded in their preparations with a ſpirit far above their ſtrength. The noblemen and gentry of that party ſtripped themſelves of every luxury, and the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, in order to ſupport the neceſſary expences of what they termed a holy war. Some of the fortifications of Edinburgh having fallen down, the covenanters not only refuſed to ſuffer them to be rebuilt, but openly oppoſed an order ſent by the king for throwing in ſtores, proviſions and ſoldiers, to reinforce that fortreſs. Men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity on the fortifications of Leith; and the covenanters having demanded that the caſtle of Edinburgh ſhould be delivered into their hands, declared Ruthven, the governor, a traitor, for refuſing to deliver up the fortreſs.

In the mean time, the ſcene of grievances was every day extended in the houſe of commons. But ſtill there wanted a proper cement for the rougher and leſs valuable, though not leſs ſtrong and uſeful materials, that were to compoſe the mighty fabric of oppoſition. Many gentlemen ſat in the lower houſe, eaſy in their circumſtances, unmoleſted in their properties, and therefore unſuſpicious of any dangerous attempts againſt public liberty. They had ſeen Charles purſue methods which they knew to be illegal; but excepting a few inſtances, and theſe far removed from themſelves, no rigorous ſeverities had been inflicted; and the fortune of other nations, now deſolated by war, taught them to enjoy their own in tranquillity. They were not affected with apprehenſions of public, while they continued to enjoy private liberty. But though inſenſible to realities, they were alarmed by appearances; the ſubſtance was leſs formidable than the ſhadow; the danger which they imagined attended religion, united them all in the preſervation of liberty. They accordingly divided the public grievances into three claſſes, the infringement of parliamentary liberties, innovations in religion, and grievances againſt property, and the common liberties of the kingdom. Each of theſe branches was referred to a proper committee; and it was determined to apply themſelves to remove the grievances of the nation, before they granted any ſupplies to his majeſty.

This perverſe behaviour of the commons excited the indignation of the king. He came to the houſe of peers; and having ſent for the commons, he told them, "That the cauſe of his coming was to put them in mind of what had been delivered in his name by the lord keeper, at the opening of the ſeſſion.

"That, contrary to his expectations, the houſe of commons had held conſultations with regard to religion, property of goods, and liberty of parliament; had voted ſome things on each of theſe three heads, and therefore given them precedence to the matter of his ſupply: that his neceſſities were ſo preſſing, as not to bear delay; but if the commons would truſt him, whatever had been promiſed in his name by the lord keeper ſhould be faithfully performed.

"That with regard to religion, his heart and conſcience went together with that eſtabliſhed in the church of England; and that he would iſſue ſtrict orders to his archbiſhops and biſhops, that no innovations might be made.

"That as to ſhip-money, he never made, nor intended to make any profit of it himſelf, but had levied it merely to preſerve the dominion of the ſeas, which was ſo neceſſary, that without it the kingdom could not ſubſiſt; but left it wholly to them, whether they would raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the defence of the kingdom by ſhip-money, or any other means.

"That as for property of goods and liberty of parliament, he always deſired his people ſhould enjoy them, and conſidered no monarch ſo great as he who governed a rich and free people; but if they had not property of goods and liberty of perſons, they could neither be opulent nor free.

"That if the houſe of commons refuſed to truſt him, the affairs of government muſt be diſordered, and the preſent opportunity of retrieving them irrecoverably loſt: that though they truſted him in part at firſt, yet before the concluſion of the parliament, he muſt totally truſt to them, and they, at laſt, wholly confide in him for the execution of every thing paſſed in the preſent aſſembly: that ſince there was nothing more than who ſhould be firſt truſted, and that the truſt in him was but a truſt in part, he deſired the lords to take into their ſerious conſideration his and their own honour, the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom, and the great danger with which it was now threatened; and that they would endeavour, by their advice, to diſpoſe the houſe of commons to give his ſupply the precedence to grievances."

This ſpeech either convinced the houſe of lords, or they were gained over to the intereſt of the court, for they immediately voted that the ſupply ought to have the precedence of all other matters. But this determination of the peers produced not the deſired effect; the commons voted it a breach of their privileges, the propoſing and granting ſubſidies naturally belonging to their houſe. The commons were, however, fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of granting the king a preſent ſupply; and nothing but the violent counſels of Laud, and the other miniſters, could have prevented its being granted. But inſtead of liſtening to any remonſtrance from the commons concerning their grievances, Charles abſolutely inſiſted, that the ſupply ſhould have the preference of all other matters. Accordingly, on Monday the fourth of May, he ſent the following meſſage by Sir Henry Vane:

"Whereas on Saturday laſt, his majeſty was pleaſed to ſend a meſſage to this houſe, deſiring you to give a preſent anſwer concerning his ſupply; to which, as yet, his majeſty has had no other anſwer, than that, upon this day, you will again take the matter into farther conſideration: his majeſty, therefore, the better to facilitate your reſolutions this day, has thought fit to let you know, that, of his grace and favour, he is pleaſed, upon your granting him twelve ſubſidies, to be preſently paſſed, and to be paid in three years, with a proviſo, that it ſhall not determine the ſeſſion, his majeſty will not only, for the preſent, forbear the levying any ſhip-money, but will give way to the utter aboliſhing of it, by any method you yourſelves ſhall propoſe.

"And for your grievances, his majeſty will, according to his royal promiſe, give you as much time as may be now and the next Michaelmas; and expects a preſent and poſitive anſwer, upon which he may rely, his affairs being in ſuch a condition as can endure no longer delay."

The houſe immediately reſolved itſelf into a committee; and a debate enſuing, the ſpeaker, by a pathetic ſpeech, turned the attention of the members on the buſineſs ſo ſtrongly urged by his majeſty; and the only queſtion was, the proportion of ſupply that ſhould be granted. Vane now ſtood up, and told them, that he had authority to ſay, the king would accept of nothing leſs than what had been mentioned in his meſſage. This ill-timed ſpeech threw the whole houſe into a flame, and they immediately adjourned till the next day.

Charles was highly exaſperated, eſpecially when Vane informed him that the commons intended to aboliſh ſhip-money, and all the other branches of the revenue. Determined to prevent any attempt of that kind, Charles came the next morning to the houſe of lords; and having ſent for the commons, diſſolved the parliament.

It is agreed by all hiſtorians that no parliament ever met with better diſpoſitions than this, both with regard to king and people. Even Strafford himſelf had adviſed its being called, and Charles, in his laſt meſſage, had propoſed an expedient, which would have healed all the breaches between himſelf and his people. But the truth is, a ſtate of public tranquillity muſt, to many, have become a ſtate of private danger. The ſecret connections with the Scots had, by thoſe who were enemies to tranquillity in both houſes, been carried into treaſon, and might have been puniſhed by the approbation of the public. Hambden, Pym, and other members of parliament, had been deceived in their opinion of the temper of the nation, which was much more favourable for the king than they imagined. Had the houſe been brought to truſt the king in one inſtance, he had probably gained their confidence for ever. The inſolence of the Scots, their erecting the banner of their covenant againſt the authority of a ſovereign who appeared to have done ſo much to give them ſatisfaction; their repeated menaces of invading England, and their application to the French for aſſiſtance, were ſuch flagrant characters of rebellion, that the parliament could not have failed to have voted a war againſt them to be juſt; the conſequence of which would infallibly have involved all their abettors, whether ſecret or open, in inevitable ruin. Add to this, that Vane's antipathy to Strafford, whoſe talents he could not equal, undoubtedly influenced him on this occaſion, to make that ill-timed ſpeech in the houſe of commons.

Strafford had diſcovered amazing abilities for government. Nor did thoſe conſiſt in low intrigue, in forming cabals, or airy ſpeculative notions of policy, but in the manly, practicable, executive part. He had for ſome time been made lord-deputy of Ireland, and in that capacity experienced the misfortune which attends every prince or miniſter, who attempts to humanize a people, that of being forced to have recourſe to many ſeverities, which, in a well regulated government are unjuſtifiable, though neceſſary in an unſettled ſtate. Many great men in Ireland, though otherwiſe friends to the Engliſh adminiſtration, could not bear that impartial rigour which Strafford always exerted. But his great merit and ſucceſs were ſufficiently conſpicuous through the cloud of malice and envy. The king drew upwards of an hundred pounds a year, clear revenue, from that kingdom. Its manufactures flouriſhed, the people proſpered, the parliament was pleaſed and dutiful, and the army regular and powerful. Strafford was perſuaded that theſe particulars ſpoke ſo ſtrongly in his favour, that the voice of calumny could not be heard; he imagined his public conduct ſtood in need of no private management, either to vindicate or recommend it; and as he was as great an œconomiſt for himſelf as for his maſter, he was above the neceſſity of mean, oppreſſive practices, to increaſe his own fortune. He had alſo the merit of adviſing Charles to call the laſt parliament, a fact not only publickly known, but mentioned with applauſe in both houſes. Strafford's enemies were therefore in danger of ſeeing him at once both popular and powerful. It is therefore no wonder that both puritans and papiſts conſpired his deſtruction; for he was no friend to either.

Charles had hardly diſſolved the laſt parliament before he was convinced of his error. He perceived he had acted too precipitately, and was deſirous, when it was too late, to retrieve it. He was now obliged to call upon his friends for their ſubſcriptions; and ſuch was their ardour, joined with that of the public, that in a few weeks no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds were brought into the exchequer. This ſum, with the aſſiſtance he expected from Ireland both of men and money, enabled him to purchaſe arms, erect magazines, and levy forces in every part of England. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horſe. According to the original plan of this campaign, an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe was deſigned to act on the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be landed from Ireland, and to take poſſeſſion of the town of Aire, in Scotland; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be ſent into the north of that kingdom; and a fleet of ſhips, having a conſiderable number of ſoldiers on board, were to ſail into the Frith of Forth. Had the ſums of money raiſed by the king been ſufficient to execute this ſcheme with vigour, Scotland muſt have trembled to its foundations.

The heads of the Scottiſh covenanters, ever ſince the breaking up of the laſt aſſembly, had been employed in modelling their church, their ſtate, and their army, according to their own pleaſure, without the leaſt regard to the royal authority. They had blocked up the caſtle of Edinburgh, impriſoned ſeveral noblemen who were friends to the king; and a reſolution was taken, in a meeting at Edinburgh, to march their army into England, under the command of Leſley, their former general. Their parliament met on the ſeventh of June, purſuant to their prorogation; and though an order was ſent down from the king to prorogue it for a longer time, the king's meſſage was diſregarded, under pretence of its being defective in form. They endeavoured to excuſe this proceeding in a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate; but added the ſevereſt menaces, if the king did not order Ruthven to deliver up the caſtle of Edinburgh, and withdraw his ſhips from their coaſt, where they did infinite prejudice to their commerce. They conſidered the diſſolution of the late parliament in England as a proof of their ſtrength in that kingdom; and looked upon the queen, Laud, and Strafford, as the only enemies they had in the nation. This opinion, however unjuſt, gave them infinite ſpirits; and it is aſtoniſhing with what alacrity the gentry, the citizens, and even the lower ranks of people, threw their plate and money upon the tables of the covenant, taking only the bonds of their chiefs for their ſecurity.

The Engliſh convocation was ſtill ſitting; where Laud, from his zeal to ſupport the royal authority, puſhed on the moſt deſtructive meaſures. After granting the king a liberal benevolence, they framed ſeventeen new canons, and aſſumed to themſelves the name of "the holy, ſacred ſynod." One of thoſe canons was calculated to prevent the increaſe of popery, but all the reſt were ſtrongly tinctured with arbitrary doctrines.

It was, however, evident, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums brought into the royal exchequer, that they were inſufficient to anſwer the expences of an offenſive war againſt Scotland; and recourſe was accordingly had to a cabinet council; the fatal reſult of which was, to employ the whole force of the prerogative in raiſing money. All the various oppreſſive methods already enumerated were accordingly employed in the moſt execrable manner. The feudal grievances were revived, knight-money was exacted, the tenants who held of the king in capite were unreaſonably taxed for men, horſes and arms. Privy-ſeals were every where circulated for a loan; ſhip-money was rigorouſly exacted; cart and conduct-money for the ſoldiers was levied, under the empty promiſe, indeed, of re-payment. It was with great difficulty that Charles was diſſuaded by the merchants from ſeizing all the bullion in the Tower, and to content himſelf with forty thouſand pounds. Commiſſions were renewed for compounding with recuſants; patents, and pardons of all kinds, were ſold for money; and great quantities of India goods were purchaſed upon credit by the king's officers, and ſold at vaſt diſcount for ready money. But what was of ſtill worſe conſequence to the royal cauſe, an order was iſſued, commanding the city of London to furniſh four thouſand men with cart and conduct-money, for the expedition againſt Scotland. The lord mayor and aldermen were alſo ſummoned by the council to give in the names of ſuch citizens as were beſt able to lend the king two hundred thouſand pounds; and, upon refuſal, Sir Nicholas Rainton, and the aldermen Soams, Atkins, and Geere, were ſent to the Tower.

It was no wonder if theſe violent meaſures occaſioned an univerſal diſguſt. The very ſoldiers catched the infection, and repaired ſo unwillingly to the ſeveral places of rendezvous in the north, that in ſome of the towns they mutinied, and murdered their commanders, and in others were guilty of the greateſt diſorders. Notwithſtanding this, an army of twenty thouſand men was raiſed, and continued their march to the northward. In the mean time, the earl of Northumberland was taken dangerouſly ill; and Strafford being very lately recovered from a very alarming diſtemper, was unable to join the army; ſo that the active part of the command fell upon lord Conway, who was by no means equal to the taſk.

The Scots army, though ſuperior in numbers, was ſooner ready than the king's, and advanced with great alacrity to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, beſides their general knowledge of the diſcontents of the kingdom, lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of ſix noblemen, the moſt conſiderable in England, in which the Scots were invited to aſſiſt their neighbours in procuring a redreſs of their grievances. But notwithſtanding theſe warlike preparations, the covenanters ſtill made uſe of the moſt pacific and moſt ſubmiſſive language; and entered England, as they pretended, with no other view than that of obtaining acceſs to the king's preſence, and laying their humble petition at his royal feet.

On their reaching Newburn upon Tyne, they were oppoſed by a detachment of four thouſand five hundred men, under the command of lord Conway, who ſeemed determined to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scots firſt intreated them, with great civility, not to ſtop them in their march to their gracious ſovereign; but being refuſed, they attacked them with ſuch fury, that they gained the paſſage, and drove the Engliſh from their intrenchments. A panic now ſeized the whole army, and the forces left to defend Newcaſtle fled, with the utmoſt precipitation, to Durham; and not yet thinking themſelves ſafe, they left that city, and retreated into Yorkſhire.

The Scottiſh army marched immediately to Newcaſtle; and though ſufficiently elated with their victory, they preſerved an exact diſcipline; well knowing, that if they acted otherwiſe, the people would become their enemies, join the king's army, and drive them back into their own country. They alſo diſpatched meſſengers to the king, who was now arrived at York; and were particularly careful, after the advantage they had obtained, to redouble their expreſſions of loyalty, duty, and ſubmiſſion to his perſon; and even made apologies, full of ſorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

Charles had ſummoned a great council of the Engliſh peers to meet at York, and was highly exaſperated at the proceedings of his Scottiſh ſubjects, but he was in no condition to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Served by officers whom he could not employ; ſurrounded by counſellors whom he dared not truſt; his exchequer empty, his ſpirits low, his general deteſted, and his cauſe diſliked by the public, to what ſide could he turn for advice? When he mentioned war and the chaſtiſement of the rebels, he met with coldneſs in every look of his peers, more expreſſive of diſapprobation than the moſt violent debate. Such ſullenneſs forced him to aſk counſel of his faithful Strafford, who frankly confeſſed he was for fighting the rebels. This advice was, doubtleſs, the beſt that Charles could have purſued at that critical juncture. Notwithſtanding the coldneſs of his peers, and the diſlike many of them entertained againſt Strafford, the Engliſh would have gladly revenged upon the Scots the inſult of invading their country. The refinements of the great had not reached their inferiors, and every man who could ſee or feel was touched with the indignity ſuffered by the Engliſh. The emptineſs of the exchequer was no argument againſt fighting, becauſe the two armies might have met in a few days, and the conteſt have been ſoon decided. Should the attempt have been unſucceſsful, Charles, even after the loſs of a battle, could not have been more diſtreſſed, or reduced to a more deplorable ſituation: on the contrary, it would, in all human probability, have ſo exaſperated the Engliſh, that they would have forgot, at leaſt for a time, their hatred of the court, and exerted all their efforts to take a dreadful revenge on their inſulting enemy. The marquis of Hamilton retained ſtill his pacific ſentiments; he trembled for the danger of his native country, ſhould the king be victorious; and for his majeſty's ſituation, ſhould the Scots ſucceed. He was therefore very earneſt for concluding a treaty; and was ſo well ſeconded by the reſt of the council, that Charles determined to embrace pacific meaſures.

During theſe tranſactions in the Engliſh council, the Scots actually gave themſelves over for loſt, and the heads of the army held ſeveral conſultations on the moſt eligible meaſures to be purſued in this alarming criſis. It was even propoſed to throw themſelves entirely upon the king's mercy, and to give up the names of the Engliſh, who had not only encouraged, but invited them to invade their country. They were, however, diverted from this reſolution, by intelligence received from their friends in the Engliſh camp; but it was not without difficulty they were perſuaded to continue in their preſent ſituation, and to endeavour to conciliate the friendſhip of the Londoners by ſome ſignal act of kindneſs. They wrote a very affectionate letter from Newcaſtle to the mayor and aldermen of London, inviting them to continue the Newcaſtle trade, and aſſuring them of all imaginable ſecurity. This was a very prudent and ſucceſsful meaſure, and induced the citizens to ſend a petition to his majeſty for calling a parliament; and ſoon after, twelve noblemen preſented a petition to the ſame purpoſe. As theſe petitions ſeemed to expreſs the ſenſe of the whole nation, Charles iſſued writs for the meeting of the parliament on the third of November.

On the twenty-fourth of September, Charles opened the great council of peers with a ſpeech, in which he demanded their advice with regard to two particulars of the utmoſt importance. What anſwer was proper to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated? And what methods muſt be uſed for raiſing money till a parliamentary ſupply could be obtained? After various debates, it was reſolved to name commiſſioners for treating with the Scots; and fourteen noblemen, all of them profeſſed friends to moderate meaſures, were named as commiſſioners. It was firſt propoſed, as moſt conſiſtent with the king's dignity, that the conferences ſhould be held at York; but the Scots, not ſo much from any real apprehenſion they entertained of danger, as to increaſe the popular odium againſt Strafford, refuſed to meet in a place where he had any power, and Rippon was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe. With regard to the king's ſecond queſtion, it was propoſed to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds of the city of London: but this loan could not be obtained till the peers aſſembled at York joined in the requeſt; ſo low was this unfortunate prince already fallen in the eyes of his own ſubjects!

The Scots, during the whole conference, behaved with that inſolence, as ſufficiently ſhewed they were not ignorant of their own importance. The earl of Rothes, though no commiſſioner, upbraided the lord Mandeville for not having more early appeared, purſuant to the promiſe he had made under his own hand. Mandeville, ſeemingly ſurprized at this, Rothes put the forged letter, already mentioned, into his hand. The ſignatures were ſo exactly copied, that it would have been difficult for the lords, whoſe names were forged, to have denied the writing; but by their all concurring in the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that the whole was a forgery, the Scots were ſatisfied they had been impoſed upon.

After propoſing ſome inſolent preliminaries, the Scots demanded forty thouſand pounds a month for the ſubſiſtence of their army during the treaty. Charles would very gladly have conſented to the diſbanding of both armies, but could not prevail, and ſoon perceived that nothing advantageous to him could reſult from the conferences at Rippon. He therefore made another attempt to remove the meeting to York, where the great council of peers were ſtill ſitting; but was again diſappointed through the obſtinacy of the Scots. Some of the Engliſh noblemen, exaſperated at their inſolent behaviour, adviſed Charles to break up the conferences, and fortify himſelf in York, where he might be able to ſet his enemies at defiance, and, in all probability, render their expedition abortive. This was, indeed, the only expedient Charles could have taken to ſupport his own authority; but the majority of the council were of a different opinion, and it was therefore rejected.

The conferences, though they ſtill continued at Rippon, were carried on in ſo languid a manner, that the commiſſioners ſeemed to meet rather to conſult meaſures than to ſettle differences. The Scots, who were very aſſiduous in careſſing the Engliſh, ſolemnly proteſted, that they intended nothing more than to concur with the parliament in limiting the prerogative, in circumſcribing the high claims of the clergy, in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the papiſts, and in ſettling the conſtitution of the two kingdoms upon free and equitable principles. Nothing but the facility of the Engliſh commiſſioners could have given the Scots ſuch great advantages on this occaſion, though it muſt be admitted they behaved with great addreſs. They had treated Wilmot, and other Engliſh officers taken priſoners at Newburn, with the utmoſt politeneſs; and after giving them the higheſt ideas of their courage, reſolution, diſcipline, and good intentions, ſent them back to the Engliſh camp. This behaviour was of the utmoſt conſequence to their affairs, which were far from being in ſo promiſing a condition as the public imagined. The earl of Montroſe had kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the king; and one of his letters, either through accident or treachery, fell into the hands of Leſley, the Scottiſh general. This affair was at once both alarming and delicate. The Scots were particularly deſirous of carrying on their deſigns with an air of candour, in conjunction with their Engliſh friends; but the reputation of Montroſe, the moſt able officer they had, together with the ſenſe of his ſervices, which were far ſuperior to thoſe of any other nobleman, rendered him dear to the whole army. His correſpondence with the king, after the many profeſſions of loyalty the Scots had made for his majeſty's perſon, could not, with any appearance of juſtice, be deemed treaſonable; but, at the ſame time, the heads of the covenanters were convinced that he had abandoned their cauſe. Montroſe ſoon perceived that his correſpondence was diſcovered, by his being no longer admitted to the private conſultations and councils of war held by the other general officers; but he took no pains either to conceal or excuſe the fact: he openly avowed and juſtified it. Leſley was for bringing him to a court-martial, and putting him to death; but the other noblemen were more cautious: they knew that the ſoldiers loved Montroſe, and the loſs of their leader might make ſuch a diviſion in their army as might prove their ruin. Charles was reduced to ſo unfortunate a ſituation, that he could take no advantage even of this favourable incident. His own commiſſioners preſſed him to remove the conferences from Rippon to London, and he was obliged to comply, though he was very ſenſible of the great advantages the Scots would reap by it. A ceſſation of arms was alſo agreed to, by which the Scots were aſſured of maintenance for their army, and the river Tees was made the boundary between both parties.

The utmoſt endeavours had been uſed throughout the nation in electing members for the enſuing parliament; and the perſons returned were, perhaps, men of the greateſt abilities that any age or country ever ſaw convened together at one time. Happy had it been for England, had the virtues of ſome of them been equal to their abilities! The circumſtances of the juncture were as extraordinary as the characters of the members. The army of an enemy, whoſe riches were not ſufficient to ſupport it ten days beyond the bounds of their own country, lay in a friendly manner in the heart of England. So violent were the prepoſſeſſions of all ranks againſt the conduct of the miniſtry, that the ſword of the enemy was thought leſs dreadful than the power of the court. The nobility alſo, whom the king had no means of retaining by offices and preferments ſuitable to their rank, had been ſeized with the general diſcontent, and unwarily threw themſelves into the ſcale, which began already too much to preponderate. Senſible of ſome encroachments that had been made by royal authority, the people entertained no jealouſy of the commons, whoſe enterprizes for the acquiſition of power had always been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no farther than ſome diſappointed efforts and endeavours. The progreſs of the Scots had reduced the crown to an entire dependence for ſupply; their union with the popular party in England brought the latter a great acceſſion of authority; the near proſpect of ſucceſs rouzed all the latent murmurs and pretenſions of the nation, which had hitherto been held in ſuch violent conſtraint; and the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran ſo ſtrong againſt the court, that the king was in no ſituation to refuſe any reaſonable pretenſions of the popular leaders, either for reſtraining or limiting the powers of his prerogative.

The parliament met on the third of November, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne; but this was very little regarded; the grievances of the kingdom engaged the whole attention of the commons. Unfortunately, the Engliſh conſtitution, obſcure, uncertain, and ill-ſettled in ignorant and troubleſome times, opened a wide field for troubles and diſcord. The monarch concluded he was maintaining an inviolable right, in ſupporting an authority which the Tudors enjoyed in tranquillity. He thought it would be a diſgrace to him to ſacrifice any branch of the prerogative. The parliament, on the other hand, perceiving open attempts were made againſt the laws, exulted in the defence of civil liberty, of which they had acquired much clearer ideas, and the love of which was now the prevailing paſſion among the people. Encouraged by their firſt attempts, and animated by reſiſtance, they forgot the reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to the ſovereign, and determined to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem of government, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the ancient conſtitution. Intereſt, ambition, cabals, and, above all, fanaticiſm, united their formidable influence with that patriotic zeal, which, while it was contending for liberty, threw the whole nation into a flame. At the very opening of the ſeſſion, one of the members complained, that religion was ſtigmatized with the name of puritaniſm. "Whoever (ſaid he) will conform his actions to divine and human laws, is a puritan. Whoever declines to do what others chuſe he ſhould do, is a puritan." The great object of theſe declarations was to render thoſe odious who profeſſed the catholic religion, by repreſenting them as diſaffected to the ſtate.

Strafford was too much devoted to the intereſts of his maſter, too vigilant, and too firm in his adminiſtration, not to be univerſally hated by the popular leaders. Pym began the attack in a long ſtudied ſpeech, divided into many heads, after his general manner; wherein he enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and inferred, from a complication of ſuch oppreſſions, that a deliberate plan had been laid for changing entirely the form of government, and ſubverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing (ſaid he) increaſe our indignation againſt ſo enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the beſt of princes, the conſtitution has been endangered by the worſt of miniſters, and that the virtues of the king have been ſeduced by wicked and pernicious counſels. We muſt enquire (continued he) from what fountain theſe waters of bitterneſs flow: and though, doubtleſs, many evil counſellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is intitled to the firſt place among the betrayers of his country; I mean the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been intruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a ſurvey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counſel." He proceeded to enumerate ſome particulars of imperious actions and expreſſions; and then entered on a more perſonal attack of that miniſter, and endeavoured to expoſe his whole character and manners. At laſt the orator concluded, that it belonged to the houſe to provide a remedy proportioned to the diſeaſe, and to prevent further miſchiefs, which might otherwiſe be juſtly apprehended from the influence he had acquired over the meaſures and counſels of their ſovereign.

Several other ſpeeches were made againſt the miniſter; and it was at laſt moved, that Strafford ſhould be impeached of high-treaſon. This motion was received with univerſal applauſe; nor was there a ſingle perſon who ſpoke in his favour. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modeſtly deſired the houſe to conſider, whether it would not be more conformable to the gravity of their proceedings, firſt to digeſt, by a committee, many of thoſe particulars that had been mentioned, before they ventured to ſend an accuſation againſt him to the lords. But this was over-ruled, the accuſation was voted, and Pym choſen to carry up the impeachment, and was followed by the greater part of the commons. Strafford was in the houſe of peers when Pym brought up the impeachment. The lords ſeemed almoſt as much prejudiced againſt him as the commons, for all the favour he could obtain was to be heard in his place. He urged how unreaſonable it was, upon a general charge, unſupported by evidence, to deprive him of liberty, which was in itſelf a puniſhment, before any crime had been proved againſt him; and how dangerous a precedent to the peerage itſelf they would eſtabliſh, by admitting ſuch precipitate meaſures. But theſe conſiderations, however juſt, had very little weight with the houſe: the earl was committed to the cuſtody of the black rod, till the commons ſhould exhibit a more particular charge againſt him.

Having been thus ſucceſsful againſt a man who was conſidered as their capital enemy, they proceeded to conſider more particularly the grievances of the nation, which they reduced under the heads, Privilege of parliament; prejudice of religion; liberty of the ſubject.

"Under the firſt head were reckoned, 1. Reſtraining the members of parliament from ſpeaking. 2. Forbidding the ſpeaker to put a queſtion. 3. Impriſoning divers members for matters done in parliament. 4. Proceeding againſt them in inferior courts. 5. Enjoining their good behaviour, and continuing them in priſon till death. 6. Abrupt diſſolutions of parliament.

"Under the ſecond head of religion were mentioned, 1. The ſuſpenſion of the laws againſt perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion. 2. Their places of truſt and honour in the commonwealth. 3. Their free reſort to London, and to the court, to communicate their counſels and deſigns. 4. Their being permitted to have a nuncio here, to execute the orders of the pope.

"Under innovations in religion were enumerated, 1. Maintenance of popiſh tenets in books, ſermons, and diſputes. 2. Practices of popiſh ceremonies countenanced and enjoined, as altars, crucifixes, and images. 3. Diſcouragements of proteſtants, by rigid proſecutions of the ſcrupulous, for things indifferent; no vice being conſidered ſo great as non-conformity. 4. Encroachment of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

"Under the third head were claſſed the grievances. 1. By tonnage and poundage unduly taken. 2. Compoſition for knighthood. 3. The unparalleled grievance of ſhip-money. 4. Enlargement of the foreſts beyond due bounds. 5. Selling of nuiſances, by compounding for them. 6. The commiſſion for building. 7. The commiſſion for depopulation. 8. Unlawful military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the lieutenants of the counties, and their deputies. 9. Extra-judicial declarations of judges, without heating counſel or arguments. 10. Monopoliſts countenanced by the council-table, and juſtices of the peace required to aſſiſt them. 11. The ſtar-chamber court. 12. The king's edicts and proclamations lately uſed for maintaining monopolies. 13. The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority, and abſolute power in kings to act as they pleaſe. 14. The intermiſſion of parliaments."

Theſe heads of inquiry ſufficiently indicated, that a total alteration in government was intended, and this intention was ſupported by ſpeeches enforced by all the learning and eloquence of that age. Almoſt every county in England had its peculiar grievances, which were preſented to the houſe by members, many of whom were afterwards the firmeſt friends to the king, and ſuffered deeply in his cauſe. They who were the warmeſt aſſerters of the king's legal prerogative, inveighed with the greateſt vehemence againſt its abuſe. Among others, Mr. Capel, who afterwards fell a victim to his loyalty, expatiated in the warmeſt manner on the grievances of the county of Hertford, which he repreſented in parliament. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, and Falkland, were alſo in this number: but, in their ultimate views and intentions, they differed widely from the majority, though they were equally deſirous of removing the real grievances of the nation, and of placing proper bounds to the royal prerogative.

The houſe of lords were not backward in encouraging this ſpirit of the commons. Lord Digby, who afterwards ſuffered ſo deeply in the cauſe of royalty, was among the firſt who inveighed againſt the oppreſſions of the court. But other matters, for ſome time, engaged the attention of the parliament. Sir Thomas Rowe having made a report concerning the treaty with the Scots, it appeared, that a contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day had, for a very conſiderable time, been levied on the inhabitants of the north, and that they had petitioned his majeſty for relief in the moſt affecting terms. From theſe complaints, it was ſuſpected, that they were unable to ſupport this heavy contribution; and it was known that the Scots had declared, they ſhould conſider the ceſſation of payment as an infraction of the treaty; and that they ſhould be then at liberty to paſs the river Tees, and advance farther into the heart of England.

From this ſhort ſtate of the caſe, the lord-keeper, in a conference between the two houſes, endeavoured to prove, that as the lords commiſſioners were the firſt that adviſed the ceſſation of arms, the miſeries of the country, in conſequence of that meaſure, could not be attributed to the king. This being premiſed, he admitted the neceſſity of providing for the Scottiſh army, but, at the ſame time, enlarged on the abſurdity of ſuffering that of the king to ſtarve, or be diſbanded; becauſe Yorkſhire, and ſeveral of the fineſt counties in England, would, by that means, be wholly expoſed to the ravages of an inveterate and rapacious enemy. The commons, however, were of a very different opinion: they had already ſhewn ſome diſguſt at an expreſſion in his majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, in which he had called them traitors, and had called one of their own members to the bar of the houſe for making uſe of the ſame expreſſion. They were even ſo far from cenſuring the lords commiſſioners at Rippon, that it was reſolved upon the queſtion, “That this houſe doth approve of the perſons of thoſe lords that were commiſſioners in the late treaty of Rippon, to be commiſſioners now, to treat with the Scotch commiſſioners; with this declaration, that no concluſion of their's ſhall bind the commons without their conſent in parliament.” The houſe could not, however, with any appearance of decency, refuſe to provide for the royal, as well as for the rebel army. But it was ſufficiently apparent, that the former was not an object of their favour. They appointed a committee to conſider the ſtate of the king's army, and what commanders, or other inferior officers, were papiſts; to conſider of the ſtate of the northern counties; and how the money, after being raiſed, may, with convenience and diſpatch, be ſent into the north.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners were by this time arrived in London, where they were received as the guardian angels of the rights and liberties of the people. They were attended by Henderſon, and other fanatical preachers; and the church of St. Atholin was appointed for the place of their devotions. It was amazing to ſee the propenſity of the public for this new religion: multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. They who were ſo happy as to find acceſs early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: thoſe who were excluded, clung to the doors and windows, in hopes of catching at leaſt ſome broken murmurs of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the ſpirit of liberty, and employed in the moſt important intereſts of the nation, was attended to with much leſs avidity than theſe lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbariſm and ignorance.

The commons were now very aſſiduous in providing for the ſubſiſtence of the two armies; and becauſe ſubſidies would be levied too ſlowly for ſo urgent an occaſion, money was borrowed from the city on the ſecurity of ſome particular members. Two ſubſidies, a very ſmall ſum, not more than a hundred thouſand pounds, were at firſt voted; the intention of this ſupply being only to indemnify the members, who by their private had ſupported public credit.

It ſoon appeared, that the buſineſs of the Scotch commiſſioners was rather to conſult meaſures with their friends, than to finiſh the treaty. It was ſufficiently evident, that the Scots had proceeded much farther than they originally intended, which was nothing more than that of forming and ſecuring the conſtitution of their country; but this was rather owing to the arts of the malecontents in England than their own. The great aim of the popular leaders was to protract the treaty, though that could not be effected but at the enormous expence of maintaining at leaſt forty thouſand men, in a country already exhauſted. The commons, indeed, made no ſecret of retaining theſe invaders of their country till all their enemies were ſuppreſſed, and all their purpoſes effected. “We cannot ſpare the Scots, (ſaid Strode plainly in the houſe) the ſons of Zeruiah are ſtill too ſtrong for us.” The earl of Rothes, a man of parts, and of great credit with his countrymen, though he had never joined their popular clamour, was very ſenſible of this deſign, and exerted all his intereſt to render it abortive. But he ſoon perceived that his labours were in vain; the Scottiſh commiſſioners being given to underſtand, that if they did not aſſiſt their Engliſh friends, their country would be abandoned to the mercy of the king.

Many of the leaders of the commons were, however, alarmed, and thought it highly improper that the ſpirit of oppoſition ſhould loſe any of its vigour, till the parliament had teſtified, in the ſtrongeſt terms, its diſapprobation of the late arbitrary meaſures, and inflicted ſome ſignal infamy or puniſhment upon their principal authors. A committee was accordingly appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, and the members were to be directed in their proceedings, by the petitions againſt grievances, ſent up by different counties. Religion was one of the principal ingredients in the compoſition of the remonſtrance intended to be drawn up by this committee, and it was reſolved to accuſe Windebank of high-treaſon, for the many ſervices and favours, which he, as ſecretary of ſtate, had conferred on prieſts and papiſts. Windebank ſaw their intention; but affected ſuch a firmneſs of reſolution, that the commons imagined he would make a ſtand againſt all the power of their indignation; but being interrupted by a meſſage from the lords, when they were on the point of declaring him a traitor to his country, he took the opportunity of leaving the houſe, and made his eſcape into France.

Several violent ſpeeches were made againſt the uſurpations of the clergy; and it was reſolved to purge the army of papiſts, to preſent the names of recuſants, to examine the high commiſſion courts of Canterbury and York, and to enquire into the proceedings of the late convocation, or as the clergy themſelves had termed it, the holy and ſacred ſynod. Theſe reſolutions were hardly finiſhed when alderman Pennington preſented to the houſe, a petition ſubſcribed by above fifteen hundred perſons in the city of London, againſt the hierarchy and government of the church of England, by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and arch-deacons, praying the houſe, “that the ſaid government, with all its dependences, roots, and branches, might be aboliſhed; and all laws in their behalf made null and void.” A ſchedule was annexed to this petition, conſiſting of twenty-eight articles, in which were contained all the common-place objections to the epiſcopal hierarchy, whether founded on the pretended unlawfulneſs of the order itſelf, or the abuſes and vices of thoſe who compoſed it.

Thus was launched the dreadful bolt which had been long preparing againſt the church, and which, at laſt, together with the church, deſtroyed the conſtitution of England. The length of the ſchedule annexed to this petition, required time for deliberation, and it was ordered that members only ſhould have a copy of either. Four days after the petition was delivered, the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

“That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or ſynod, or otherwiſe, have no power to make any conſtitutions, canons, or acts whatſoever, in matter of doctrine, diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind the clergy, or laity of this land, without the common conſent of parliament.

“That the ſeveral conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical, paſſed with the conſent and approbation of his majeſty, in the laſt ſynod, do not bind either the clergy or laity of this kingdom.

“That theſe canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhed with the king's conſent in the laſt ſynod, contain in them many matters, contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliaments, and to the property and liberty of the ſubject; and alſo matters tending to ſedition and dangerous conſequence.

“That the ſeveral grants of the benevolence, or contribution, granted by his majeſty by the laſt ſynod, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy.”

Theſe reſolutions were followed by ſeveral bitter ſpeeches againſt Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, particularly one by Mr. Grimſtone. He accuſed the primate of having introduced the earl of Strafford to his majeſty, and of procuring the poſt of ſecretary for Windebank, whom he termed "the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon." He upbraided him for having advanced Montague, Manwaring, and other prelates, ſuſpected of popery; and laſtly, he accuſed him of being the main ſpring and promoter of all the deteſtable projects and monopolies, that had proved ſo oppreſſive to the ſubject. Several others ſpoke nearly to the ſame purpoſe, and it was at laſt voted, that Mr. Hollis ſhould go up to the lords with a meſſage, "To accuſe William Laud. archbiſhop of Canterbury, of high-treaſon, in the name of the commons of England, and to deſire he might be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed; and that the houſe, in a convenient time, will offer particular accuſations againſt him."

The demand of the commons was immediately complied with, and the primate was ordered to withdraw, but he requeſted to be heard a few words in his place. This being complied with, he began with proteſting his innocency, and added, that he was perſuaded, there was not a member in the houſe of commons, who believed, in his heart, that he was a traitor. He was called to order for that expreſſion by the earl of Eſſex, who obſerved, that the primate had ſeverely reflected on the houſe of commons, by affirming they had brought him in guilty of a charge, which they themſelves did not believe. Laud was deſirous of retracting this indiſcretion, which had eſcaped him without mature deliberation; but the peers were ſo little favourable to his cauſe, that they refuſed to grant him even this ſmall indulgence. He was immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody.

The fall of Laud was accompanied with the releaſe of biſhop Williams from the Tower. The maxims and conduct of that able prelate were remembered to his honour by all parties. His ſufferings had rendered him popular. and every wiſe and moderate Engliſhman, thought him the only perſon, whoſe counſels and prudence could give ſuch weight to the epiſcopal character, as would enable it to ſtem the torrent by which it was now oppoſed. During all his ſufferings he had behaved towards his country like a genuine patriot, and towards the church as a worthy prelate. Thoſe who formed the oppoſition to the king were perſuaded, that the many provocations he had received could not fail of having rendered him an implacable enemy to the court; but the friends of Charles knew too much of his private character to believe, that his reſentments would ever influence him to join with thoſe who aimed at the deſtruction both of church and ſtate. He had made ſeveral dutiful applications to the king to be reſtored to his ſeat in parliament, but all his attempts were defeated by the violent oppoſition of Laud, notwithſtanding the queen herſelf had interpoſed in his favour. This was now publickly known, and a motion was made and carried in the houſe of peers, for reſtoring Williams to his ſeat in parliament. The king readily gave his conſent, and he was, with great pomp, introduced into the houſe of lords, where he omitted nothing conſiſtent with his duty, as a churchman, to conciliate the friendſhip and good opinion of the houſe of commons.

The cauſe of ſhip-money now came to be heard before the commons, and ſeveral animated ſpeeches were made on the occaſion, and it was reſolved, "that the charge impoſed upon the ſubjects of this kingdom, for the providing and furniſhing of ſhips, and the aſſeſſments for raiſing of money for that purpoſe, commonly called ſhip-money, are againſt the laws of the realm, the ſubjects right of property, and contrary to former reſolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right."

This reſolution was followed by others which condemned the extra-judicial determination of the judges upon ſhip-money, publiſhed in the ſtar-chamber, all writs iſſued for levying it, and the judgment in the exchequer againſt Mr. Hambden. It ſhould be remembered, that all theſe reſolutions paſſed in the houſe without one diſſenting voice, though many gentlemen, who afterwards ruined their families and loſt their lives in defence of his majeſty, were members. A convincing proof in favour of thoſe meaſures that rendered the calling of a parliament neceſſary, and firſt kindled the flames of popular diſcord in the kingdom.

But the great queſtion is, whether thoſe meaſures were not carried too far, and whether they ought not to have left ſufficient power in the crown after all the grievances were removed, and the conſtitution ſettled upon a ſolid foundation. That the nation had been provoked is paſt all doubt. But was there a neceſſity that the knife of juſtice, intended to prune away the luxuriances of government, ſhould wound its eſſence and its root? Should the medicine, intended to cleanſe and heal the wound, be converted into a poiſon that cankers and deſtroys? Perhaps from a fair and candid collection of facts, the reader will be beſt enabled to form a proper judgment, whether the houſe of commons, through the ignorance of many, the inadvertence of ſome, and the malice of a few, did not afterwards paſs that ancient boundary, beyond which the conſtitution of England cannot ſubſiſt. Their firſt and greateſt grievance was the earl of Strafford: he had deſerted the country party, and conſequently irritated the leaders in the oppoſition. His great abilities rendered him dangerous; his lofty carriage unpopular, and his ſeverity, odious. But ſtill thoſe particulars admitted of degrees of alleviation. His abilities could not have injured a people, protected by a parliament always on its guard; and he had effected one of the greateſt ſervices that could poſſibly have been done to the crown and people of England, by rendering Ireland, inſtead of being dangerous, to be dependent upon England; from being a gulph of expence, to be a province of profit. It ought therefore to have been the care of parliament to have preſerved thoſe advantages which Strafford had procured; to have improved thoſe revenues he had raiſed; and to have prevented thoſe dangers he had introduced. His practices, as lord-preſident of the council of York, amounted, at moſt, to nothing more than miſdemeanors; and with regard to Ireland, his government, however ſevere, tranſgreſſed not the bounds of juſtice; and that ſeverity was perhaps abſolutely neceſſary among a wild and ferocious people. The arbitrary maxims he had ſupported at the council-board, were juſtly odious in a free nation; but they had been cruſhed in the bud, and were never ſo ſufficiently proved as to deſerve a parliamentary condemnation. The people were now ſufficiently convinced, that the greateſt miniſter muſt be levelled with the meaneſt ſubject, when he became obnoxious to the kingdom. The impeachment and impriſonment of Strafford had more effectually plucked the ſting from prerogative, than all the oppoſitions, the ſufferings, the remonſtrances, and reſolutions of parliaments had ever been able to effect; and there ſeems to have been no neceſſity of having recourſe to injuſtice to ſhed the blood of a perſon who could no longer direct the councils of his ſovereign.

The next public grievance was archbiſhop Laud, a man great indeed by his ſtation in the church and his favour with his ſovereign, but, ſtripped of thoſe accidents, deſpicable in his qualities, either to hurt or to ſerve the public. His actions againſt the commonwealth had proceeded from an enthuſiaſtic zeal, bordering upon frenzy, and an inſatiable deſire of extending eccleſiaſtical dominion. His cenſure therefore could not be too ſevere for his demerits, yet in his perſon he was too inconſiderable to be the cauſe of ſtraining juſtice, or even hazarding the conſequences of ſhocking the minds of many well-meaning people, who highly reverenced his character, by bringing his grey hairs to the grave, in a manner till then unprecedented, and which it is to be hoped will never be revived.

The book of canons was a third national grievance; and certainly they well deſerved the attention of parliament, becauſe they ſerved as a ſcourge to freemen. They were paſſed in the late convocation; and though ſome of them were excellent, and others indifferent, yet the whole was poiſoned by the firſt canon, which eſtabliſhed the indefeaſibility of kingly authority, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſting it on any pretence whatever. Several of the other canons tend to eſtabliſh a deteſted and unnatural power in the church, and to exclude the lawful exerciſe of reaſon in religion. But the malignity of thoſe canons ought to have been imputed to the whole body of the clergy aſſembled in convocation, many of whom were unimpeached in their lives and principles, and no power of the crown prevented the parliament from cenſuring them for their behaviour in convocation. Neither Charles nor his miniſters ought therefore to have been charged with this crime, nor ought the ſword of public juſtice to have fallen on the head of any ſingle perſon on this account.

The breach of parliamentary privileges, and of perſonal liberty, is the next grievance loudly complained of by the commons. But theſe, however neceſſary to be ſupported, and however neceſſary to be redreſſed, ought impartially to be conſidered as the acts of thoſe who had already ſuffered, or were now ſuffering for them. All that the commons could do, was to proſecute the authors of ſuch pernicious meaſures, and to prevent their being repeated for the future. They had full liberty from the king to do this; and if they failed in the attempt, the fault could not be imputed to him. The ſame may be ſaid of ſhip-money, the adviſers of which, and the judges who had given their opinions for it, being now under proſecution by the houſe, were all the ſacrifices Charles could make to atone for the abuſes he had authoriſed.

With regard to the other grievances, they were nothing more than ſuch as may happen under any well-regulated government. Parliaments had been intermitted, and to that intermiſſion the unpuniſhed abuſes of power were chiefly, if not entirely, owing. But a bill was now preparing of a new and unuſual, though ſalutary, nature, to remove that complaint for the future. The Engliſh conſtitution knew no other law than the will of the ſovereign, with regard to the ſittings of parliaments. Thoſe who wiſhed well to both the king and his people, thought that the ſpirit of the conſtitution ought, in this reſpect, to ſupply the letter. While the feudal ſyſtem continued in vigour, the ſubject ſeldom complained of the intermiſſion of parliaments, becauſe by their aſſiſtance only the king could demand other aids and ſubſidies. Under the government of the Tudors, till towards the end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, parliaments were conſidered as the ſcourges of the people; both the wicked and the virtuous were alike ſacrificed to their fear, their venality, or their bigotry. But when the people began to think for themſelves; when they diſcuſſed the great points between the crown and the ſubject, they perceived many examples of parliaments forcing kings to give up miniſters to juſtice, and to redreſs the grievances of the public, in conſideration of the aids and ſubſidies they received from the people. The condition of the ſubject was deſperate, if theſe aids could be commanded by the crown without the conſent of parliament; becauſe then there could be no neceſſity for calling one. This had, in fact, been the caſe under Charles; nor did he ever call a parliament, but when his revenue, however illegal, was inſufficient to defray the expences of his government. The parliament now ſitting had, by their vigorous proceedings, gone far towards ſtopping the ſources of iniquitous exactions, which, in fact, muſt have put Charles under a tacit neceſſity of frequently calling parliaments.

But theſe precautions were not thought ſufficient; it was feared that ſome rapacious miniſter might prevail upon the king to diſſolve the parliament, cruſh their proceedings in the bud, and attempt to reduce England to a deſpotic government. To prevent ſo dreadful a calamity, no meaſure was thought ſo proper as ſome poſitive, conſtitutional act, which might render the calling of parliaments leſs precarious, and more frequent. Many ſpecious arguments, beſides thoſe drawn from the circumſtances of this important criſis, were urged, with great force and eloquence. Parliaments, in former times, regularly met once a year, and it could not be any unreaſonable conceſſion in the crown to bring the conſtitution ſo far back to its firſt principles, as to paſs an act for triennial parliaments. This bill was ſtrongly ſupported by lord Digby, ſon to the earl of Briſtol. He appealed for the truth of what he urged to the violations of the petition of right, which had happened through the diſcontinuance of parliaments. "Let his majeſty (ſaid he) hear our complaints ever ſo compaſſionately; let him purge away our grievances ever ſo efficaciouſly; let him puniſh and expel ill miniſters ever ſo exemplarily; let him make choice of good ones ever ſo exactly: if there be not a way ſettled to preſerve and keep them good, the miſchiefs will all grow again like Sampſon's locks, and pull down the houſe upon our heads.

"The people of England (continued he) cannot open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, or their purſes, to his majeſty, but in parliament. We can neither hear him, acknowledge, nor give, but there.

"This bill, Mr. Speaker, is the ſole key that can open the way to thoſe reciprocal endearments, which muſt make and perpetuate the happineſs of the king and kingdom.

"Let no man object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it: we only preſent the bill; it muſt be made a law by our ſovereign; his honour and his power will be as conſpicuous in commanding at once, that a parliament ſhall aſſemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to aſſemble this or that year: there is more of majeſty in ordaining primary and univerſal cauſes, than in the actuating of ſubordinate effects.

"I do not doubt but that the glorious king Edward III. when he made thoſe laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right ſenſe of his dignity and honour: the truth is, the kings of England are never in their glory, their ſplendor, their majeſtic ſovereignty, but in parliament. Where is the power of impoſing taxes? Where is the power of reſtoring from incapacities? Where is the legiſlative authority? In the king, Mr. Speaker, but how? In the king encircled and environed by his parliament.

"Out of parliament the king has only a limited power, a circumſcribed juriſdiction; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the eaſt is ſo abſolute in diſpelling grievances.

"In chaſing away bad miniſters, we do nothing more than diſſipate clouds that may gather again; but in voting this bill, we ſhall contribute, as far as is in our power, to the perpetuating our ſun, our ſovereign, in his vertical, in his noon-day luſtre."

Such were the ſentiments of that great man, who afterwards loſt his life and fortune in the royal cauſe. He thought the ſentiments of liberty were not at all incompatible with thoſe of loyalty; that a king of England could be great only by ruling over a free people; and that the people could be no longer free than the king was great. But he believed, and believed with reaſon, that Charles had imbibed falſe notions of royal greatneſs, and that he ſought to make that perſonal which was only political. That a king of England can do no ill, was an allowed maxim in the conſtitution; but that his miniſters may, and that they may be puniſhed for it, was equally allowed. Charles, while he was able to keep the ſeat of power, ſupported the firſt of theſe maxims, but was willing to evade the latter. He endeavoured to ſcreen his miniſters, and by this prepoſterous conduct, he at laſt received, in his own breaſt, thoſe darts of popular reſentment which were originally aimed only at his miniſters.

The more the commons proceeded in their inquiry after grievances, the more they multiplied. The truth is, there was a party in the houſe of commons, who laboured aſſiduouſly to diſcover grievances, and ſought rather to propagate than extinguiſh them. Every unthinking court divine, every buſy officer, and every imprudent perſon who was honoured with a commiſſion in the army or navy, who ſpoke with warmth for ceremonies in religion, or deſpotiſm in the ſtate, were called before the commons, and their follies or offences were obliquely charged upon the court. The ſervants of the high commiſſion court, the ſtar-chamber, and other officers, where illegal or other arbitrary meaſures had been purſued, were condemned to make ſatisfaction to the injured parties, and ſometimes corporally puniſhed. By theſe, and other artful meaſures, the anger of the houſe againſt the late grievances was kept up perpetually, without allowing a calm hour for reflection, or the leaſt allowance for natural infirmity, miſtakes, or miſrepreſentations. Some alleviations ought ſurely to have been made for the weakneſſes and infirmities of human nature: it would be the height of cruelty to demand perfection in a mortal being. But men's paſſions were now too much heated to be ſhocked by any inſtance of injuſtice, which ſerved ends ſo popular as thoſe purſued by the houſe of commons.

The king remained entirely paſſive during theſe violent operations. The few ſervants who continued faithful to him, were ſeized with aſtoniſhment at the rapid progreſs made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffenſive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent riſing to ſo dreadful and ſo unexpected a height, all thoſe who, either from intereſt or habit, were moſt attached to monarchy, were ſeized with deſpair: and with regard to thoſe who maintained their duty to the king, merely from their regard to the conſtitution, they ſeemed, by their concurrence, to ſwell that inundation which began already to deluge the kingdom. Charles ordered both houſes of parliament to attend him at Whitehall, where he complained ſtrongly of their ſlow proceedings, and recommended to them the better ſupport of the two armies, the forts and the navy. He profeſſed, in very earneſt terms, his deſire of their perfecting the reformation they had begun; but, at the ſame time, wiſhed them not to make any alteration in the eſtabliſhed government. "You have (ſaid he) taken the whole machine of government in pieces; a practice frequent with ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the wheels from any ruſt which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, provided it be put up entire, ſo that not a pin be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons; they were perſuaded that the machine was incumbered with many wheels and ſprings which retarded and croſſed its operations, and deſtroyed its utility. Happy would it have been for themſelves, and happy for the kingdom, had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented with their preſent plenitude of power, to remove ſuch parts only as might juſtly be deemed ſuperfluous and incongruous.

The petition preſented by alderman Pennington againſt the government of the church, had hitherto lain dormant; the attempt was thought too dangerous, and the leaders of the oppoſition determined to proceed with caution. They accordingly introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen from exerciſing any civil office. One of the conſequences of this bill would have been a deprivation of the biſhops of their ſeats in the houſe of peers; but it was ſoon diſcovered, that though this meaſure was very acceptable to the zealous commons, who obſerved, with regret, the firm attachment of that order to the crown, it was not generally approved; for when the bill was preſented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. This was the firſt check the commons had met with in their popular career; and ſufficiently informed them of the oppoſition they muſt expect to meet with from the upper houſe, whoſe inclinations and intereſt could never be totally ſeparated from the throne.

The cry againſt popery was immediately revived; an engine which the commons well knew would effectually alarm the populace. One Goodman, a Romiſh prieſt, but of a very inoffenſive and virtuous character, and guilty of no crime beſides that of executing the duties of his function, had been tried and found guilty; and Charles, from motives of juſtice and compaſſion, had reprieved him from time to time. This mercy was conſidered as a crime by the commons, and a remonſtrance was preſented to the king on this ſubject. Though this violent proceeding could be conſidered only as a groſs inſult upon the common underſtanding of mankind, yet Charles thought proper to ſend an anſwer to the houſe, in which he obſerved, that there was no inſtance upon record of any prieſts being executed merely for their religion, either in the reign of queen Elizabeth, or that of her father; and that he feared any acts of ſeverity exerciſed on perſons guilty of no other crime than that of religion, would be fatally felt both by his own ſubjects in foreign countries, and the proteſtants abroad. He, however, added, that after informing the houſe of the real reaſons that influenced his conduct, he ſhould leave the affair entirely to their determination, and think himſelf ſufficiently diſcharged from any ill conſequences that might enſue upon the execution of Goodman.

But this moderation of the king was much leſs remarkable than the magnanimity of the prieſt, who preſented to Charles the following petition, which deſerves to be recorded, as it does honour to his memory.

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"The humble petition of John Goodman humbly ſheweth,

"That whereas your majeſty's petitioner hath been informed of a great diſcontent in many of your majeſty's ſubjects, at the gracious mercy your majeſty was freely pleaſed to ſhew your petitioner, by ſuſpending the execution of the ſentence of death pronounced againſt your petitioner for being a Roman prieſt: Theſe are humbly to beſeech your majeſty, rather to remit your petitioner to their mercy that are diſcontented, than to let him live the ſubject of ſo great diſcontent in your people againſt your majeſty; for it hath pleaſed God to give me the grace, to deſire with the prophet, that if this ſtorm be raiſed for my ſake, I may be caſt into the ſea, that others may avoid the tempeſt.

"This is, moſt ſacred ſovereign, the petition of him who ſhould eſteem his blood well ſhed to cement up the breach between your majeſty and your ſubjects upon this occaſion."

Charles immediately ſent this remarkable petition to the houſe; but whether it produced any effect on the popular leaders, is uncertain. Goodman, however, eſcaped with life; but, probably, more from the multiplicity of buſineſs than any pity ſo uncommon an inſtance of magnanimity excited in the breaſts of thoſe who had given riſe to ſo much diſturbance.

For ſome years, Can, a Scotchman, and afterwards Roſetti, an Italian, had openly reſided at London, and frequented the court, as perſons veſted with a commiſſion from the pope. The queen's zeal and authority with her huſband had been the cauſe of this imprudence, ſo offenſive to the nation. But the ſpirit of bigotry now roſe too high to permit any longer ſuch indulgences. Informed that the commons were greatly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, and deſirous of removing every cauſe of complaint, the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, in which ſhe obſerved, "That ſhe had been always ready to uſe her beſt endeavours for removing all miſunderſtandings between the king and his ſubjects: that, at the requeſt of the lords, who petitioned the king for calling a parliament, ſhe wrote expreſsly to his majeſty, conjuring him to have recourſe to ſo ſalutary a method: that ſhe had ſince been moſt willing to do every good office in her power between the king and his people, a circumſtance not unknown to ſeveral in the houſe of lords; and that ſhe would continue to purſue the ſame intention, from a full perſuaſion of its being the only method of procuring happineſs to the king, to herſelf, and to the kingdom: that it was her earneſt deſire, that all things might be juſtly ſettled between the king and his people, and all cauſes of miſunderſtanding taken away and removed; that her majeſty being informed that the perſon ſent to her from the pope is obnoxious to the kingdom, ſhe is deſirous of giving all the ſatiſfaction in her power, and will, within a convenient time, remove him out of England: that underſtanding exception has alſo been taken at the great reſort of people to her chapel at Denmark-houſe, her majeſty will be careful not to exceed what is convenient and neceſſary for the exerciſe of her religion: that as the parliament is not ſatisfied with the method ſhe purſued for raiſing money on the catholics, for aſſiſting the king in his late journey to the north, ſhe deſires it may be obſerved, that ſhe was moved to it merely by her dear and tender affection for the king, and the example of many others among his majeſty's ſubjects. If, therefore, any thing in her proceedings be illegal, ſhe hopes it will be remembered, that ſhe was ignorant of any laws to the contrary, and carried away by her great deſire of aſſiſting the king on ſo preſſing an occaſion; but promiſes to be more cautious for the future, not to do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom: that being deſirous of employing her own power to unite the king and his people, ſhe wiſhes the parliament would look forward, and paſs over ſuch errors and miſtakes as her ſervants may formerly have committed; and promiſes to repay this inſtance of reſpect with all the good offices ſhe can do the houſe; and that they ſhall experience the real good effects of her interpoſition, as often as there ſhall be occaſion."

A bill was brought in for giving the king the duties of tonnage and poundage for a limited time; but the utmoſt care was taken by the commons, in the preamble, to aſſert their own right of beſtowing this gift, and to diveſt the crown of all independent title of aſſuming it. And that they might increaſe, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and ſubjection of the king, they voted theſe duties only for two months; and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, by very ſhort periods. Charles paſſed this important bill without any heſitation; probably with an intention to ſhew, that he entertained not the leaſt intention of ever more attempting to govern without a parliament.

The triennial act did not ſo readily obtain the royal aſſent. By this bill it was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was firſt bound under ſevere penalties, failed to iſſue writs by the third of September, every third year, any twelve or more of the peers ſhould be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, the ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. ſhould ſummon the voters: and, in their default, the voters themſelves ſhould meet, and proceed to the election of members, in the ſame manner as if writs had been regularly iſſued from the crown: nor could the parliament, after it was aſſembled, be diſſolved in leſs than fifty days. As this act, however neceſſary to prevent the diſuſe of parliaments, retrenched ſome of the nobleſt and moſt valuable prerogatives of the crown, it is no wonder that the king was unwilling to paſs it into a law; eſpecially as theſe aſſemblies had lately eſtabliſhed it as a maxim, to carry their ſcrutiny into every part of government. But finding nothing leſs would ſatisfy the commons, he came to the houſe of lords, and gave it the royal aſſent. Solemn thanks were returned to his majeſty by both houſes for this mark of condeſcenſion. Great rejoicings were made in every part of the kingdom, eſpecially in the capital; and the higheſt profeſſions were every where made of gratitude and mutual returns of ſupply and confidence.

The king had determined to beſtow gratifications on individuals, as a much ſurer method of ſoftening the malignancy of the popular leaders, than any conceſſions he could make to the public. Accordingly ſeveral new privy-counſellors were ſworn; among whom were the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton: all theſe were of the popular party; and afterwards, when the commons puſhed affairs to extremity, proved the greateſt ſupport of the throne. Juxon, biſhop of London, was very deſirous of reſigning the treaſurer's ſtaff, a poſt he had never ſollicited; and the king at laſt conſented to his requeſt. It is ſomething very remarkable, that during all the ſevere inquiries carried on againſt the conduct of miniſters and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who filled both theſe invidious characters, continued unmoleſted. The ſtaff was intended for the earl of Bedford, a popular nobleman of great authority, as well as prudence and moderation. But unfortunately both for the prince and people, he paid the debt of nature ſoon after his being ſworn one of the privy council. The following promotions were alſo intended: St. John, ſollicitor-general; Hollis, ſecretary of ſtate; Pym, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Say, maſter of the wards; the earl of Eſſex, governor; and Hambden, tutor to the young prince. But it was ſoon perceived that theſe promotions would not be ſufficient to anſwer the end propoſed, as theſe popular leaders ſeemed determined ſtill to promote all the meaſures of the parliament; or, in other words, to oblige the king to reſign himſelf paſſively to their direction and government. The projected promotions, therefore, never took place.

Ever ſince the impriſonment of the earl of Strafford, the king had laboured inceſſantly to ſave his life. He attempted to mollify, by every indulgence, the rage of his moſt inveterate proſecutors, and was willing to make almoſt any ſacrifice to obtain his wiſhes. But he laboured in vain: the members of the oppoſition dreaded his experience and great capacity; and were fully perſuaded, that if he eſcaped their vengeance, he would again aſſume his former power, and ſeverely repay the miſeries he had ſuffered. They therefore conſidered his death as their only ſecurity, and on which all their ſucceſs in their future enterprizes muſt ultimately depend. Every method was therefore taken that human prudence could ſuggeſt, to prevent his eſcaping the fate they were preparing for him. An oath of ſecrecy had been taken by the committee appointed to draw up the charge againſt him; and they were inveſted with the power of examining all witneſſes, of calling for all papers, and of uſing every means of ſcrutiny with regard to any part of the earl's conduct and behaviour. A man muſt have been very cautious, or very innocent indeed, not to afford, during the whole courſe of his life, ſome matter of accuſation againſt him; eſpecially when ſo general and unbounded an inquiſition was exerciſed by ſuch powerful and implacable enemies.

The houſe of commons in Ireland, as ſoon as advice arrived of Strafford's impriſonment, entered into all the violent counſels againſt him, notwithſtanding they had ſo very lately beſtowed the moſt ample praiſes on his adminiſtration. They prepared a repreſentation of the miſerable ſtate into which the kingdom was fallen, as they ungenerouſly pretended, by his miſconduct. They ſent over a committee to England, to aſſiſt in the proſecution of their unfortunate governor.

A. D. 1641.

A. D. 1641. Some unfair methods had been uſed to intimidate the biſhops, and they were privately given to underſtand, that no farther notice would be taken of the petition from the citizens, provided they did not inſiſt upon their right of ſitting on Strafford's impeachment. By an ancient canon they were forbid to aſſiſt in any trial for life, and being unwilling to exaſperate the commons, who were already too much prejudiced againſt them, they thought proper to withdraw, nor did they aſſiſt at any of the tranſactions preparatory to this famous trial.

The earl of Arundel, was appointed lord high-ſteward, a nobleman not at all favourable to Strafford. He was, indeed, a perſon of too great honour to be guilty of any glaring injuſtice, but he ſeized not any opportunities of doing him ſervice, though ſeveral offered during the courſe of this celebrated trial. The cauſe came on before the houſe of lords on the twenty-ſecond of March, in Weſtminſter-hall, where both houſes were aſſembled, the one as accuſers, the other as judges. Beſides the chair of ſtate, a cloſe gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial.

Twenty-eight articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt Strafford, and regarded his conduct, as preſident of the council of York, as deputy of Ireland, and, as counſellor or commander in England. But though every method had been uſed; though the managers had ſpent four months in framing the accuſation; and though the earl was obliged to give his anſwers extemporary, it appears, from compariſon, that he was not only free from the crime of treaſon, of which indeed there is not the leaſt appearance, but that his conduct, though expoſed to ſuch ſevere ſcrutiny, if proper allowance be made for the infirmities inſeparable from human nature, innocent and even laudable. His greateſt enemies confeſſed, that his defence was ſomething more than human.

With regard to his behaviour when preſident of the council of York, it appeared to have been unexceptionable. The power of the council had indeed been greatly extended; but there was not the leaſt reaſon to conclude that Strafford had uſed any art to procure theſe extenſive powers; becauſe, after the court was inveſted with the authority ſo loudly complained of, he had never once ſat as preſident, nor exerciſed one act of judicial authority.

The Iriſh committee had, if poſſible, ſtill leſs reaſon to complain. Induſtry and the arts of peace had been introduced, during his adminiſtration, among that rude and ſavage people: the ſhipping of the kingdom had been augmented more than an hundred fold: the cuſtoms trippled upon the ſame rates: the exports double in value to the imports: manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted: agriculture, by means of the Engliſh and Scots plantations, gradually advancing: and the proteſtant religion encouraged, without having recourſe to perſecution. Theſe were known facts, and ought to have concealed any diſcretionary authority, ſo much practiſed during that age, eſpecially as they were never exerciſed to the prejudice of the people. No illegal adviſe or action was proved againſt him; and the whole amount of his guilt during his adminiſtration in Ireland, conſiſted of ſome peeviſh, at moſt, imperious expreſſions, which, during ſuch dreadful extremities, and during a bad ſtate of health, had caſually dropped from him.

Among all the ſpecies of guilt the laws of England had, with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, defined that of treaſon; becauſe on that ſide it was found moſt neceſſary to protect the ſubject againſt the violence of the king and his miniſters. By the famous ſtatute of Edward III. all kinds of treaſon are enumerated, and every other crime, beſides ſuch as are there expreſsly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that denomination. The commons endeavoured to prove that Strafford had been guilty of "An endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom;" and would willingly have inferred that the crime was treaſon. But ſurely to introduce a ſpecies of guilt of which the act is totally ſilent, and conſtrue it treaſon, is, in itſelf, a ſubverſion of all law; becauſe, under the ſpecious pretence of defending liberty, it reverſes a ſtatute the beſt calculated for defending liberty, that had ever been enacted by an Engliſh parliament.

On the thirteenth of April Strafford was brought to the bar, and commanded to make a general reply to all the crimes laid to his charge. This he very nobly performed in a ſpeech that does honour to human abilities; nor perhaps can hiſtory produce any performance equal to it, in the perſpicuity of language and ſtrength of reaſoning, in ſtating, clearing or evading controverted evidences and facts, in extenuating ſome charges, in confuting others, and in following a ſubtle adverſary through all the mazes of a long and complicated impeachment. In all the argumentative part of this noble ſpeech, the earl confined his language only to the facts themſelves; but when he comes to repel the arguments of the commons, to make the guilt amount to treaſon, he gave himſelf a much greater latitude, and diſplayed ſuch an amazing ſtrength both of ſtyle and reaſoning, as at once aſtoniſhed and affected the audience.

"Where, (ſaid he) has this ſpecies of guilt lain ſo long concealed? Where has this fire been buried, during ſo many centuries, that no ſmoke ſhould appear, till it burſt out at once to conſume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all, and by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourſelves the beſt we can, to the arbitrary will of a maſter; then fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find, at laſt, that this law ſhould inflict a puniſhment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of the proſecution. If I ſail on the Thames, and ſplit my veſſel on an anchor; in caſe there be no buoy to give warning, the party ſhall pay me damages: but if the anchor be marked out, then is the ſtriking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark ſet upon this crime? Where is the token by which I ſhould diſcover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could ſave me from the deſtruction with which I am threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and forty years ſince treaſons were defined; and ſo long has it been, ſince any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myſelf. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourſelves at home: we have lived glorious abroad, to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us: let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in thoſe killing and deſtructive arts. Great wiſdom it will be in your lordſhips, and juſt providence, for yourſelves, for your poſterities, for the whole kingdom, to caſt from you into the fire, theſe bloody and myſterious volumes of arbitrary and conſtructive treaſons, as the primitive chriſtians did their books of curious arts, and betake ourſelves to the plain letter of the ſtatute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own deſtruction, awake thoſe ſleeping lions, by rattling up a company of records, which have lain, during ſo many ages, by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my former afflictions, add not this, my lords, the moſt ſevere of any; that I, for my other ſins, not for my treaſons, be the means of introducing a precedent, ſo pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country.

"However theſe gentlemen at the bar ſay, they ſpeak for the commonwealth, and they believe ſo: yet, under favour, in this particular, it is I who ſpeak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like thoſe endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed againſt me, muſt draw along ſuch inconveniences and miſeries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the

“ condition expreſſed in a ſtatute of Henry IV. and no man ſhall know by what rule to govern his words and actions.

“ Impoſe not, my lords, difficulties unſurmountable upon miniſters of ſtate, nor diſable them from ſerving with chearfulneſs their king and country. If you examine them, under ſuch ſevere penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the ſcrutiny will be intolerable; the public affairs of the kingdom muſt be left waſte; and no wiſe man, who has any honour or fortune to loſe, will ever engage in ſuch dreadful, ſuch unknown perils.

“ My lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips a great deal longer than I ſhould have done. Were it not for the intereſt of theſe pledges, which a ſaint in heaven left me, I ſhould be loth”---Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping ſtopped his voice---“ What I forfeit for myſelf, it is nothing; but I confeſs, that my indiſcretion ſhould forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleaſed to pardon my infirmity: ſomething I ſhould have ſaid; but I ſee I ſhall not be able, and therefore I leave it.

“ And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his bleſſing, ſufficiently inſtructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I ſubmit clearly, and freely, to your judgments: and whether that righteous doom ſhall be to life or death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my exiſtence.”

Whitlocke, who was himſelf chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment againſt this unfortunate nobleman, candidly declares, “ That never any man acted ſuch a part, on ſuch a theatre, with more wiſdom, conſtancy, and eloquence; with greater reaſon, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent perſon; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, ſome few excepted, to remorſe and pity.” In a word, this nobleman, without the leaſt aſſiſtance, blending modeſty and humility with firmneſs and vigour, made ſuch a defence, that the commons themſelves, tho’ far from being ſtrangers to his great abilities, were aſtoniſhed: they perceived that it would be impoſſible, by any legal proſecution, to obtain a ſentence againſt him, and therefore determined to bring in a bill of attainder immediately after the pleadings were finiſhed; for many of the leaders in the oppoſition well knew, that either Strafford or themſelves muſt periſh. It was known that he intended to impeach Pym, Hambden, and ſeveral others, of high treaſon, for having invited the Scots to invade England. It was thought, that had he not been prevented by the accuſation of the commons, he would that very day have preſented the impeachment to the houſe of peers. The bill was therefore puſhed, with the utmoſt violence, in the lower houſe. This gave great offence to the lords; becauſe it, in a manner, altered the courſe of the proceedings, as the commons ſeemed deſirous of exchanging the character of proſecutors for that of judges. The friends of Strafford, who had the courage to declare their ſentiments, took great advantage of this particular; they declared rebellion to be equally odious with treaſon; and that it was plain the commons intended, with the aſſiſtance of their friends, the clamorous and inſolent populace, to deprive the crown and houſe of lords of their moſt valuable privileges. The peers themſelves ſeemed to entertain ſome apprehenſions of this kind, and declared their intention of proceeding according to the method already begun by impeachment. The bill, however, paſſed the commons, with only fifty-nine diſſenting voices. It was, however, apprehended the bill would miſcarry in the upper houſe, and it became neceſſary for the popular leaders to make uſe of other methods to execute their purpoſe.

The puritanical miniſters, who hated Strafford, entertained their congregations, the Sunday after the bill of attainder was paſſed by the commons, with the moſt enthuſiaſtic declamations on the neceſſity of executing juſtice on great delinquents. Theſe deſtructive orations were not uttered in vain. About ſix thouſand men, armed with ſwords, ſtaves, &c. iſſued from the city, and ſurrounded the two houſes of parliament. They threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments the fifty-nine members who had voted againſt the bill of attainder, and poſted up their names in every part of the city, under the title of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country; by which means they were expoſed to the continual inſults of an ungovernable rabble: and all the peers ſuſpected of being friends of the unfortunate miniſter, were ſure to meet with menaces of the moſt deſperate vengeance from the enraged populace. The lords ſent complaints to the commons againſt theſe violences, which they juſtly repreſented as the moſt flagrant breach of privilege, and as tending to deſtroy the freedom of parliament. But they ſoon perceived, from the affected coolneſs and indifference of the lower houſe, that the popular tumults were far from being diſagreeable. So greatly were their ſentiments altered with regard to the privileges and freedom of parliament!

A diſcovery, which was made about this time, tended to increaſe theſe popular diſorders. Some of the principal officers of the Engliſh army, partly from an attachment to the court, and partly from a diſguſt they had conceived againſt the parliament, at the preference they gave the Scottiſh army, entered into an aſſociation, took an oath of ſecrecy, and kept up a cloſe correſpondence with ſome of the king's ſervants. They drew up the form of a petition, and propoſed to get it ſigned by the whole army. In this petition they repreſented, that the great and unexampled conceſſions made by the king for the ſecurity of public peace and liberty, produced not the deſired effects; becauſe of ſome inſatiable, turbulent ſpirits, whom nothing leſs than a total ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution can appeaſe. “ Far be it from our thoughts (added they) to believe, that the violence and unreaſonableneſs of ſuch perſons can have any influence upon the prudence and juſtice of the parliament. But what increaſes our preſent trouble and diſcontent is, that we are informed theſe ill-affected perſons are ſupported in their violence by the multitude, and the power of raiſing tumults; that thouſands flock at their call, and beſet the houſes of parliament, and even Whitehall itſelf; not only to the prejudice of that freedom ſo eſſentially neceſſary to great councils, and judicial proceedings, but may poſſibly be productive of ſome perſonal danger to your ſacred majeſty, and the peers.

“ Deſirous of preventing the malignant deſigns of thoſe perſons, and the licentiouſneſs of the multitudes that follow them; and impreſſed with the deepeſt care and zealous affection for the ſafety of your ſacred majeſty and the parliament, our humble petition is, that in your wiſdom, you would be pleaſed to remove ſuch dangers, by puniſhing the ringleaders of theſe tumults, that your majeſty, and the parliament, may be ſecured from ſuch inſolences for the future. For the ſuppreſſion of which, we offer, in all humility, to wait upon you ourſelves, hoping we ſhall appear a ſufficient defence to our gracious ſovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom, and able to repel whatever numbers may audaciouſly preſume to violate them: ſo ſhall we, by the wiſdom of your majeſty and the parliament, not only be vindicated from the precedent innovations, but be ſecured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former.”

The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed upon to counter-ſign it himſelf, as a mark of his approbation. The officers in general approved of this petition; but ſuſpecting that unleſs they went farther, they ſhould be abandoned by the court, and if they went ſo far they ſhould become obnoxious to the parliament, the petition itſelf, with the whole project was laid aſide.

About two months after, Goring, one of the principal actors, betrayed the ſecret to the popular leaders, who took advantage of it to alarm the people, tho' they well knew the danger was over. The attempt fully anſwered their purpoſe. Pym opened the matter in the houſe; and the terror was ſoon conveyed to every corner of the kingdom. A proteſtation was ſigned by the parliament, declaring that they would defend their religion and liberties againſt any force whatever. The panic of the people was artfully kept up by alarms continually ſpread of freſh conſpiracies. It was given out, That great numbers of papiſts were gathering in Lancaſhire: that ſecret meetings were held by them in ſubterraneous paſſages in Surry: that they had entered into a plot to blow up the Thames with gunpowder, in order to drown the city: that proviſions of arms were making in foreign parts: ſometimes France, ſometimes Denmark, was forming deſigns againſt the kingdom. All this tended to one point, namely, that of animating the people in their demands of juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford.

The king was now greatly alarmed for the fate of his favourite miniſter, whom his conſcience told him, was innocent. He came to the houſe of peers, and offered the parliament any ſecurity that Strafford ſhould never again be employed in any public buſineſs, provided his life might be ſaved. At the ſame time he declared, that he was totally diſſatisfied with regard to the circumſtances of the treaſon; and on that account mentioned his difficulty of giving his aſſent to the bill of attainder ſhould it paſs the houſe of peers. This miſtaken mercy in the king, produced a fatal effect. Charles ſhould have known, that his attachment to Strafford was the chief motive for paſſing the bill; and that the great proofs he gave of his anxious concern for the life of his miniſter, rendered his deſtruction the more inevitable. The commons took fire at this proceeding, and voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the houſe.

Numbers of the lords were ſo intimidated by the popular tumults, that they retired into the country, to avoid the brutal fury of the rebels; ſo that only forty-five were preſent when the bill of attainder was brought into the houſe. Yet even of this ſmall number nineteen had the courage to vote againſt it. A certain proof, that if entire freedom had been allowed, it would have been rejected by a great majority. The popular leaders of the commons knew this, and were therefore very aſſiduous in raiſing the popular tumults which prevented the lords from attending their duty, and conſequently deſtroyed the freedom ſo neceſſary in parliamentary debates: they ſupported the very grievance they had ſo long and ſo loudly complained of; for nothing is more evident than that all this ſtorm of popular fury, was raiſed, directed, or allayed, by the breath of the fanatical preachers, and the violent enemies of Strafford.

The condition of Charles was now truly deplorable. Racked with the pangs of conſcience, with regard to his conſenting to the death of a miniſter whom he loved, eſteemed, and believed to be innocent. He ſaw the commons whom he and his family had always hated and deſpiſed treating him as the mere phantom of a king; and that they reverenced his perſon only, that they might preſent him with a reed inſtead of a ſceptre. The two armies continued in their former ſituation, but greatly altered in their ſentiments and affections. The Scots perceived they had been made the tools of a party, who had reduced the power of the crown much lower than they had ever intended to level it in Scotland. But they had experienced the fruits of this deſpicable employment, by an immenſe profuſion of money, as it were thrown at their feet, for their entertainment: at the ſame time they were highly careſſed and complimented by the parliament. The Engliſh forces, on the other hand, tho' extremely well diſpoſed to ſupport the power and authority of the king, were no friends to the queen and her party; and perceived that they muſt entirely depend upon the parliament for ſubſiſtence. The popular leaders made the greateſt advantages of this unhappy ſituation of the Engliſh troops, and endeavoured to fill the minds of the people with terror, by repreſenting the army as little better than a company of wild beaſts who could be kept tame and innocent only by feeding them with a ſparing hand. At the ſame time the commons, by raiſing all the money neceſſary for the payment of the two armies in the city of London, made, in fact, that city the national creditor, and themſelves her debtors. The money had been raiſed by a vote of parliament; the parliament was therefore to refund it; and the intereſt of the city depended upon ſupporting the credit of the parliament, which could only be done by prolonging the duration of that aſſembly. Such was the artful reaſoning that induced many well meaning members to give their conſent for the bringing in a bill "That the parliament ſhould not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, but by its own conſent."

It muſt be granted that by this bill, the parliament diſſolved the Engliſh conſtitution. Even the people themſelves, however diſguſted againſt the meaſures of Charles, would not have ſuffered the thoughts of ſuch a bill, had they not ſeen it through a falſe medium; through the miſt of terror, occaſioned by ſeventy thouſand men in arms, ready to ſheath their ſwords in the bowels of their country. Charles beheld all the tumults excited by the arts of ambitious men, with amazement and diſmay. He imagined that the ſceptre trembled in his hand, even at the time when its touch would have diſpelled every commotion, had not his hand been too weak to wield it.

The populace now flocked about Whitehall and accompanied their demand of juſtice upon Strafford, with the moſt ſhameful and open menaces. Rumours of conſpiraces were again ſpread abroad: invaſions and inſurrections talked of: and the whole nation thrown into ſo violent a ferment, as ſeemed to foretell ſome great and alarming convulſion. Wherever the king turned his eyes he was preſented with a gloomy and frightful proſpect: he perceived no reſource, no expedient, no ſecurity. All his ſervants prefered their own ſafety to that of their maſter, and even declined interpoſing with their advice between him and his parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of ſuch alarming inſurrections, preſſed him with tears to ſatisfy his people with regard to his miniſter, as it was hoped that his death would reſtore that tranquillity which had for ſome time forſaken the kingdom. Juxon alone, whoſe courage was not inferior to his other virtues, deſpiſed the menaces of the populace, and boldly told the king, that if in his conſcience he thought Strafford innocent of the treaſon laid to his charge, he ought not to paſs the bill of attainder.

While the king continued in this dreadful ſituation of mind, Strafford took a ſtep which demonſtrated that his ſoul was a ſtranger to fear. He wrote a letter to the king, in which he intreated his majeſty to prefer the peace and ſafety of his kingdom to the life of an unfortunate, though innocent man; and quiet the tumultuous populace, by granting the requeſt they made with ſo much vehemence. "In this, added he, "my requeſt will more acquit you to God, than all "the world can do beſides. To a willing man there "is no injury. And by God's grace, I forgive all the "world with a calmneſs and meekneſs, of infinite "contentment to my diſlodging ſoul; ſo, Sir, to you "I can reſign the life of this world with all imaginable chearfulneſs, in the juſt acknowledgment of

“ your exceeding favours.” This letter aſtoniſhed his majeſty: he knew the ſoul of Strafford was not eaſily terrified, but he thought him not endowed with ſuch amazing magnanimity. But it tended little to remove the doubts of Charles: he could not bear the thought of putting to death a man whom he loved, eſteemed, and believed to be innocent.

At laſt, however, after the moſt violent anxiety and doubt, Charles granted a commiſſion to four noblemen, empowering them to give the royal aſſent to the bill. Carleton, ſecretary of ſtate, was ſent to inform Strafford that the bill of attainder was ſigned. On receiving this fatal news, he roſe from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and ſaid, “ Put not your truſt in princes, nor in the ſons of men, for in them there is no ſalvation.” He, however, ſoon recollected his ſpirits, and prepared himſelf to ſuffer the fatal ſentence. Three days only were allowed him; nor could the king, though he ſent a letter by the prince of Wales to the parliament, obtain any longer reſpite.

He was attended, in his laſt moments, by archbiſhop Uſher; and in paſſing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the ſcaffold was erected, he ſtopped under the window of archbiſhop Laud, with whom he had long lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip. The aged primate appeared diſſolved in tears; and on Strafford's begging the aſſiſtance of his prayers in thoſe awful moments which were ſo nearly approaching, the prelate pronounced, in a broken voice, a tender bleſſing on his departing friend, and ſunk into the arms of his attendants. This affecting ſcene of tender friendſhip drew tears from the eyes of the unfortunate Strafford, but could not ſhake the magnanimity of his ſoul. With a mind ſuperior to his fate, he marched on with an air of greater dignity than that which uſually attended him. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was noble and decent. “ I fear (ſaid he) it is an ill omen for the projected reformation in the ſtate, to begin with ſhedding innocent blood.” He complained not of the malice of his enemies, nor of the methods that had been taken to deprive him of life; but laid himſelf down with great tranquillity, and his head was ſevered from his body by one ſtroke of the executioner. He periſhed on the twelfth of May, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Strafford was one of the greateſt men that ever appeared in England; and though he was not irreproachable, yet he certainly merited a much better fate: and whatever advice he might give his majeſty when dangers rendered deſperate methods neceſſary, yet he often repeated to his maſter this memorable and noble maxim, “ That if ever neceſſity obliged “ the ſovereign to violate the laws, it ought to be “ done with great reſerve; and that, as ſoon as it was “ poſſible, reparation ought to be made to the laws “ for what they had ſuffered by ſuch violation.”

The ſame commiſſioners who ſigned the bill againſt the miniſter, ſigned alſo another more fatal to the royal authority. By this act it was declared, that the parliament ſhould not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes. The king conſidered not the conſequence of this ſtatute. Abſorbed in grief for the loſs of his favourite, he gave his aſſent to an act that rendered him the ſlave of his oppreſſors.

It was in vain that Charles expected a proportional return for ſo many inſtances of unbounded compliance. The commons proceeded in their career, and reſolved to annihilate all remains of arbitrary power. They attacked the court of high commiſſion and the ſtar-chamber, whoſe juriſdiction, almoſt without rule or bounds, put real ſhackles on civil liberty. A bill unanimouſly paſſed the houſe to aboliſh theſe courts; and, in them, to annihilate the principal and moſt dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. The breach made in the power of the crown by this abolition was the greater, as the ſtar-chamber took cognizance of all the infractions of the royal proclamations. The right of iſſuing ordinances was, from that time, in a great meaſure abrogated, as the king no longer had it in his power to carry them into execution.

The marſhal's court, which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was thought not ſufficiently limited by law, was alſo, for that reaſon, aboliſhed. The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners, being liable to a ſimilar objection, underwent a ſimilar fate. The abolition of the council of York, and the council of Wales, followed from the ſame principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, to whom the care of a general inſpection of the weights and meaſures throughout England was committed, was transferred to the mayors, ſheriffs, and ordinary magiſtrates.

Thus did the commons aboliſh every remains of arbitrary power; and made the rigid maxims of law and equity the ſole rule of conduct. No courts of judicature now exiſted but thoſe of Weſtminſter-hall; and though the means they made uſe of to procure theſe great advantages to poſterity, often favoured of artifice, ſometimes of violence, yet it ſhould be remembered, that it is, perhaps, impoſſible to effect a revolution in government, merely by the force of reaſon and argument. Upon the whole, therefore, if we except that complication of cruel iniquity that effected Strafford's attainder, it muſt be owned, that the tranſactions during the firſt period of this memorable parliament, were productive of very great advantages to the nation, by fixing the liberty of the ſubject on a firm and ſolid foundation.

The parliament now adjourned to the twentieth of October; and the king ſet out on a journey to Scotland, in order to ſettle the government of that kingdom. As his path lay through the places where both the Engliſh and Scottiſh armies were cantoned, the commons entertained great jealouſy on that account; and a committee of their houſe was appointed to attend him, under pretence of ſeeing the articles of the treaty with the Scottiſh commiſſioners fully executed, but in reality to be a ſpy upon his actions.

While Charles continued in Scotland, Argyle and Hamilton precipitately left the parliament, where every tranſaction was carried on with candour, under pretence that the earl of Crawford and others intended to aſſaſſinate them. This plot, if indeed any thing of that kind ever exiſted, ſeems to have been laid in England, where it made a much greater noiſe, and was much better underſtood than in Scotland. Charles on this occaſion behaved nobly. He went, attended by about five hundred gentlemen, to the parliament, and deſired the members not to be alarmed at pretended deſigns, which had, probably, no real exiſtence, but ſearch the affair to the bottom, and reſtore ſecurity to the kingdom, by withdrawing the veil of deception, or puniſhing, with the utmoſt ſeverity, thoſe who dared diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. His advice was followed; and the circumſtances of the plot being thoroughly examined, they were found to be wholly deſtitute of ſupport; and even the noblemen themſelves were ſo much aſhamed of their conduct, that they returned in a few days to attend their duty in parliament. But though this incident had no effect in Scotland, it was attended with very alarming conſequences in England. The parliament, which was now again aſſembled, repreſented it as a premeditated deſign in the papiſts to break off the treaty of pacification; and that there was not the leaſt doubt of their having a large party to carry on the ſame deſigns in England. The two houſes, therefore, came to the moſt alarming reſolutions; and circular letters, full of apprehenſion and terror, were ſent to all the civil and military officers in the kingdom.

The arrival of the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Edinburgh changed the face of affairs in that kingdom. Charles was obliged to conſent to every propoſal, however exorbitant, in order to ſave the lives of his friends who were ſtill in priſon. For notwithſtanding the articles ſigned at London, it was now made a matter of conſcience with the violent covenanters, that according to their religious engagements, their deaths only ought to ſatisfy them. Strange and prepoſterous conduct, to make religion, intended to diſſeminate peace and happineſs in every part of the world, the author of the moſt horrid crimes! Charles, who determined not to abandon thoſe who ſuffered for their loyalty, was obliged to court the favour of the Scots. He made ſuch a diſtribution of public poſts and preferments among the rigid covenanters, that it may with juſtice be ſaid, that his enemies were loaded with riches and honours, while his friends were abandoned to poverty and diſtreſs.

It was the fate of Charles to ſee his three kingdoms in flames at the ſame period of time. Ireland had been peaceable ſince the eſtabliſhment of the laws, and a proper ſubordination, till the late tranſactions of the Engliſh parliament excited the flame of rebellion in that kingdom. The remains of the old Iriſh families had indeed never been thoroughly ſatisfied with their ſtate of ſubjection under the kings of England, while the aſſiſtance they conſtantly received from the catholic princes, kept them firmly attached to the religion of Rome. There were among them, as well as among the Engliſh and Scotch, men of ſenſe and penetration, who knew the dreadful effects of enthuſiaſtic fury, among a wild and ferocious multitude. They had ſeen its conſequences in their ſiſter kingdom, and determined to follow the example. Popery in Ireland acted in the ſame manner, and pointed to the ſame ends, as fanaticiſm in England and Scotland. They began with wreſting from the government many civil privileges; and at firſt attempted nothing more than the free exerciſe of their own religion. Charles had agreed that four catholic regiments ſhould be ſent over into Spain in order to ſerve in the armies of that kingdom. Had this been effected, the dreadful rebellion and maſſacre that enſued had, poſſibly, never been excited: the horrid deſign had ſlept in the boſom of its contrivers, and periſhed with them: but this meaſure was oppoſed by the puritans in England, and the papiſts in Ireland. The faction in England oppoſed it merely becauſe the king was engaged in honour to aſſiſt the king of Spain: the well-meaning papiſts in Ireland oppoſed it in parliament, becauſe they knew from fatal experience, how dangerous enemies to the civil government of their own country all Iriſh ſoldiers are, when bred in foreign ſervice: and the malignant papiſts oppoſed it, becauſe they were unwilling to loſe ſo large a body of their friends, who could not fail of being of the utmoſt ſervice in their projected rebellion. Charles therefore was obliged to break his promiſe with the Spaniſh monarch, and the Iriſh committees, who had aſſiſted in the proſecution of Strafford, returned from England loaded with favours and privileges for their countrymen.

By the ancient conſtitution of Ireland, their ſucceſſions paſſed by a kind of adoption. Thus every ſept or family, out of which a king or leader happened to be elected, conſidered itſelf as the deſcendants of that man, and as having a right to the territories he had governed. Thoſe prejudices were encouraged by the clergy, who conſidered themſelves as ſo many martyrs and confeſſors, while aliens and heretics enjoyed their power and poſſeſſed their patrimonies. The old Engliſh families, who had, in fact, conquered Ireland for the kings of England, thought themſelves ill treated, and moſt of them being catholics, they joined in ſentiments, as they had done before in intereſts and alliances, with the old Iriſh.

The party being thus numerous both in country and parliament, they followed the example ſet them by the Engliſh, and their attempts were crowned with ſimilar ſucceſs. They impeached and perſecuted all the miniſters of Charles, till there was hardly a ſingle perſon left, who had courage ſufficient to oppoſe their deſtructive meaſures. Nor was there any thing a people could deſire, with regard to indulgence in religion, or the ſecurity of their properties, which the Iriſh did not now enjoy. But theſe were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the craving diſpoſitions of the Iriſh. Zealous catholics, but ſunk into the very abyſs of brutal and ſuperſtitious ignorance, they beheld with horror a number of puritans ſcattered over their country, and the ancient revenues withheld from their clergy.

Roger More, a gentleman deſcended from a very ancient family in Ireland, and highly celebrated among his countrymen, for valour and capacity, firſt formed the project for expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independency of his native country. He was indefatigable in the purſuit of his purpoſe; going, with the utmoſt ſecrecy, from one chieftain to another, and uſing all the arts in his power to awaken every latent principle of diſcontent. He maintained a cloſe correſpondence with lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O Neale, the moſt powerful perſons among the ancient Iriſh. He obſerved, that the rebellious factions in England and Scotland offered the moſt favourable opportunity for effecting their purpoſe; that the Engliſh planters who had expelled them from their poſſeſſions, ſuppreſſed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful when compared with the natives; that though the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in ſome tolerable degree, the exerciſe of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they muſt henceforth expect the government would be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament having at laſt ſubdued their ſovereign, would, doubtleſs, when their power was conſolidated, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the ſame furious perſecution, to which their brethren in England were at preſent expoſed; and that a revolt in the Iriſh, tending only to vindicate their native liberty againſt the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion, much leſs, during the preſent confuſions, when their prince was, in a manner, a priſoner, and obedience muſt be paid, not to him, but to thoſe who had traiterouſly uſurped his authority.

Conſiderations like theſe could not fail of awakening the native pride of the Iriſh, and induce them to form a conſpiracy againſt their hated maſters. Plunket, a ſoldier of fortune, readily engaged in the undertaking, and it was agreed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conſpirators, ſhould begin the inſurrection on the ſame day in the different provinces, while lord Maguire and Roger More made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Dublin. The twenty-third of October was the day fixed upon for carrying their deſign into execution. The ſcheme was at firſt propoſed with a great deal of moderation; it was reſolved not to ſpill any blood but in caſes of neceſſity, and not to moleſt the Scots, who were very numerous in the northern parts of the kingdom. The Engliſh ambaſſadors at foreign courts, received frequent hints of what was projecting in Ireland, and the lords juſtices were deſired, by repeated advices, to be upon their guard; but all theſe intimations produced no effect, they continued in the ſame ſupine indolence and ſecurity. The caſtle of Dublin, by which the capital itſelf was commanded, contained arms for a hundred thouſand men, thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportional quantity of ammunition: yet even this important fortreſs, was guarded by no greater force than fifty men. The truth is, there was at this time ſo great a ſimilarity of intereſts between the Engliſh puritans, and the Iriſh catholics, that the lords juſtices, who were enemies to Strafford, did not chuſe to be very active againſt the papiſts. Leiceſter, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remained in London, and Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, the two chief juſtices, were men of ſlender capacities, and owed the promotion merely to their zeal for the party that now governed every thing. Tranquil from their ignorance and want of experience, they ſlumbered on the very brink of deſtruction.

But the evening before the horrid deſign was to be carried into execution, they were rouſed from their lethargy by the information of O'Connolly, an Iriſh proteſtant, who betrayed the whole ſecret to Parſons. On his information, Mahone, lord Maguire, and about thirty of the conſpirators were ſeized during the night; but More, Plunket, and ſome others, made their eſcape. Mahone diſcovered the project that was formed for a general inſurrection, but his information came too late to prevent the intended effect.

The conſternation which the diſcovery of this conſpiracy occaſioned among the Engliſh in Dublin, was greatly increaſed, when it was known that the catholics in every part of the kingdom had been barbarouſly punctual at the appointed time. It is ſhocking to imagine, much more to deſcribe, the maſſacre that followed. Death was the ſmalleſt penalty thoſe religious ruffians exacted from the unhappy proteſtants. It would have exhauſted the fancy of the moſt ingenious ſavages, practiſed in all the cruel arts of deſtruction, to have inflicted greater inhumanities than the Iriſh rebels perpetrated on men, women, and children, without diſtinction. Theſe barbarities appeared as works of piety to thoſe in whom ſuperſtition had extinguiſhed every natural ſentiment. And while they were inflicting the moſt brutal torments on the unhappy proteſtants, they told them, with a kind of infernal pleaſure, that the miſeries they ſuffered were only the beginning of an eternity of torments they were going to receive in the regions of perdition. Some authors make the number of proteſtants that periſhed in this rebellion amount to one hundred and fifty, or two hundred thouſand; but according to the loweſt computation, above forty thouſand fell by the hands of theſe mercileſs enthuſiaſts.

Had Dublin fallen into the hands of the rebels, all the Engliſh had been exterminated; but the capital being preſerved, a ſmall remnant eſcaped thither, and were preſerved from the ſwords of the catholics.

Charles was in Scotland when he received advice of this rebellion and maſſacre; and appeared ſo ſenſibly affected by it, that he recommended, in the moſt affecting language, the relief of the Iriſh proteſtants to the parliament of Scotland; and was extremely deſirous that ſome part of the Scottiſh army, which had not either yet been diſbanded, or might eaſily be re-aſſembled, might be ſent immediately over to Ireland. The Scots were not at all averſe to this propoſition, and appointed a committee of their parliament to treat with the commons of England; but ſo much time was ſpent in negotiations, that the opportunity of chaſtiſing the rebels, and putting a ſtop to their inhuman ravages, was irretrievably loſt; and the unfortunate proteſtants denied that aſſiſtance from their brethren in England, which even the laws of nature, and the ſacred ties of friendſhip, gave them the higheſt reaſon to expect.

When the heat of ſlaughter was over, and cool reflection returned, the Iriſh rebels trembled for their ſituation, and endeavoured to conceal the blackneſs of their crimes by the moſt horrid impoſture. They pretended they had received authority from the king and queen, eſpecially from the latter, for the horrid murders they had committed; and by this ſpecious aſſertion, though deſtitute of the leaſt foundation in truth, they deceived many of their deluded countrymen. They added, that the ſole reaſon for their taking up arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, ſo unjuſtly invaded by the puritanical parliaments of England and Scotland. To give ſome colour of truth to this improbable declaration, recourſe was had to artifice and fraud. Sir Phelim O Neale having found a royal patent in the houſe of lord Cranfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the ſeal, and affixed it to a commiſſion he had forged for himſelf.

Senſible of his utter inability to defend his Iriſh ſubjects, and chaſtiſe the rebels for their inhuman murders, Charles was obliged to have recourſe to his Engliſh parliament for that aſſiſtance he was unable to ſupply. He flattered himſelf, that the terror they had always expreſſed againſt popery, a religion that now appeared in all its horrors, would ſufficiently ſecond his exhortations, and procure his proteſtant ſubjects immediate relief. But he was miſtaken; a real zeal for religion was not the object of the parliament; it wanted the ſtimulation of faction or intereſt to produce the deſired effect. Charles was not, however, wanting on his part, to rouze the parliament to revenge the blood of their countrymen. He laid before the commons all the intelligence he had received; and informed them, that the inſurrection was not, in his opinion, the reſult of any raſh and furious enterprize, but of a formed conſpiracy againſt the crown of England. He added, that a cauſe ſo important to national and religious intereſts, required their utmoſt attention, muſt be entered upon immediately, and purſued with vigour.

But he ſoon perceived that the parliament were more deſirous of exalting their own authority on the ruins of the prerogative, than of ſending aſſiſtance to their brethren, though plunged in the very abyſs of diſtreſs. As ſoon as the particulars of this infernal maſſacre arrived, all the privy-counſellors in the neighbourhood of London repaired to the houſe of commons, and laid before the aſſembly all the informations they had received. The dreadful narrative ſeemed to rouze in the breaſts of the members the tender feelings of humanity; and it was immediately reſolved to borrow fifty thouſand pounds from the city, on parliamentary ſecurity. Several committees were appointed to take care of the Iriſh affairs; and the following reſolutions were taken by the houſe:

" That a convenient number of ſhips be provided for guarding the ſea-coaſts of Ireland.

" That ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, be raiſed with all convenient ſpeed, for a preſent expedition into that kingdom.

" That the lord-lieutenant be deſired to preſent to both houſes of parliament the names of ſuch officers as he ſhall think proper to ſend into Ireland, for commanding the forces intended to be tranſported thither.

" That magazines of proviſions be immediately provided at Weſt Cheſter, in order to be ſent over to Dublin, as the occaſions of that kingdom may require.

" That the magazine of arms, ammunition and powder, now in Carliſle, be forthwith ſent over to Knockfergus, in Ireland.

" That it be referred to his majeſty's council to conſider of ſome method of offering rewards to ſuch as ſhall ſignalize themſelves in the Iriſh expedition; of pardoning thoſe rebels in that kingdom who ſhall make their ſubmiſſion in a limited time; and of offering ſums of money as rewards to ſuch as ſhall bring in the heads of the principal rebels.

" That letters be immediately ſent to the juſtices in Ireland, informing them how ſenſible this houſe is of the affairs of that kingdom.

" That the committee of Iriſh affairs conſider how and in what manner this kingdom may make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Scotland in the affairs of Ireland.

" That directions be given for drawing a bill for impreſſing men for this particular ſervice.

But notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions, the preparations were carried on ſo ſlowly, that all the hopes of the Iriſh proteſtants with regard to a ſpeedy aſſiſtance from their brethren in England, vaniſhed. In the mean time, the commons took care to alarm every part of the kingdom with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of the horrid deſigns and numbers of the papiſts. This gave many of their own friends in the houſe of commons a diſlike to their proceedings; they began to be alarmed at their conduct, and to miſtruſt their deſigns. Capel, member for Hertfordſhire, and a perſon of great integrity, had been very warm in the oppoſition, and as forward as any gentleman in the houſe for removing the real grievances of his country. The ſame may be ſaid of the lords Falkland and Digby, Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others whoſe concurrence in the meaſures againſt the court had given great credit to the oppoſition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and, perhaps, farther in duty than they could require; and therefore, that all oppoſition ought now to ceaſe. They made no ſecret of theſe ſentiments; but none, except lord Digby, had as yet the courage to break with the popular leaders in the houſe of commons.

It was, however, ſufficiently evident, that the two parties muſt ſoon divide; and the oppoſition took every method in their power to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the approaching rupture, and to prevent the deſertion of ſo many powerful friends from having any effect in turning againſt them the current of popular favour. Nothing contributed more to this than the continual alarms they artfully ſpread with regard to the deſigns of the papiſts, already ſo much the object of general abhorrence. Accuſtomed, in all their invectives, to join the prelatical party with the catholics, the people immediately ſuppoſed the inſurrection in Ireland to be the reſult of their united counſels: and when they heard that the rebels in that kingdom pleaded the king's commiſſion for all their violences, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, aſſented, without ſcruple or examination, to that groſs impoſture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance ſhocking to humanity. It is, however, at preſent, ſo univerſally allowed that the king had no hand in the Iriſh rebellion, that it would be nothing leſs than offering an affront to the judgment of the reader, to urge any arguments to prove a point that ſtands in need of no elucidation.

The commons, however, took care not to contradict a report that ſeemed ſo favourable to their deſigns. They did not, indeed, pretend to charge the king with this enormous cruelty, but inſinuated that the Iriſh rebellion had been ſecretly planned, and was at that very time fomented by papiſts in great truſt about the perſons of the king and queen. Alarmed at theſe baſe imputations, Charles, to clear himſelf and his conſort from all ſuſpicions, unhappily recommended the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion to his parliament. Probably, the popular leaders had foreſeen this, and took care to make uſe of the advantages they had acquired from an act of ſo much imprudence. Under pretence of this acquiſition of truſt, they aſſumed the power of diſpoſing of the royal magazines, and of iſſuing orders for raiſing forces, which till that time had always been underſtood to be lodged in the crown. In ſhort, Charles, by thus injudiciouſly devolving his authority to the parliament, in ſome meaſure put his own ſword into the hands of his ſubjects. Care was taken to publiſh to the whole world, that his majeſty had particularly recommended the preſervation of Ireland to both houſes of parliament; but, at the ſame time, effectual meaſures were purſued to defeat the king's prudent intention of ſending over immediately a body of Scots to ſuppreſs the Iriſh rebels, and to reſtore peace to that miſerable kingdom. They had, indeed, voted, that a conſiderable army ſhould be immediately raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland; but no effectual ſtep was taken for carrying that vote into execution, though the rebellion was now arrived to ſuch a height, as to call for the whole power of England. They, however, carried on the proſecution againſt the papiſts with the utmoſt vigour: five prieſts were executed at one time: the law of nations was violated with regard to foreign ambaſſadors, whom they ſuſpected of harbouring prieſts: all the recuſants of any figure or fortune in England were ſecured; and it was reſolved that all the Iriſh in the inns of court, who refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſhould be expelled thoſe ſocieties, and rendered incapable of being again admitted. Theſe violent proceedings alarmed the lords, who expreſſed a viſible reluctance to proceed to ſuch extremities. This occaſioned ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions of the commons, ſufficiently indicating their intention of acting without the concurrence of the houſe of peers, if they continued to oppoſe them.

On the twenty-fifth of November, Charles arrived in London from Scotland; and was ſoon informed, that the commons were preparing a remonſtrance on the ſtate of the nation. It ſoon after appeared, and was followed by very important conſequences. It was not addreſſed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. It was a recapitulation of all the wrong meaſures embraced by the king ſince the commencement of his reign: the unſucceſsful expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé are mentioned; the ſending ſhips to France for the ſuppreſſion of the Hugonots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for refuſing to obey illegal commands; the violent diſſolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government that always ſucceeded; the queſtioning, fining, and impriſoning members, for their conduct in the houſe; the levying taxes without conſent of parliament; the introducing ſuperſtitious innovations into the church, without the authority of law: in ſhort, every thing which, either with or without reaſon, had given offence during the courſe of fifteen years, from the acceſſion of the king to the calling of the preſent parliament.

Had Charles been ſtill in the full exerciſe of his authority; had the necks of his people been ſubject to the chariot-wheels of his power; had the deteſtable rod of the ſtar-chamber ſtill hung over the heads of his ſubjects; had the court of high-commiſſion ſtill endeavoured to fetter their conſciences with the cords of iniquity; had all theſe, and a thouſand other oppreſſions, ſtill continued, this famous remonſtrance had been the braveſt and wiſeſt meaſure that any parliament ever purſued, and muſt have gained its authors immortal honours. But as the landmarks of the conſtitution had been now replaced; as Charles had been as liberal in granting as his people had been importunate in aſking; as nothing that the will of heaven could warrant, or the art of man deviſe, was now wanting to the ſecurity of the people; and as no recent violations of the king's conceſſions, or the people's rights, had been ſo much as pretended; it is ſufficiently plain, that this remonſtrance could not be calculated to promote the happineſs and tranquillity of the nation.

It was eaſily perceived, that ſome farther attacks on the prerogative were intended, and that the remonſtrance was intended as a ſignal to the whole party to exert all their powers. It is, therefore, no wonder that it met with very ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons. For more than fourteen hours the debate was ſupported with remarkable warmth and acrimony; and the remonſtrance would poſſibly have miſcarried, had not the uncommon length of the debate wearied out many of the king's party, which principally conſiſted of perſons advanced in years; for it was at laſt carried by a ſmall majority of eleven.

When Charles returned from Scotland, he was received at London with ſhouts and acclamations of the people. This was not at all agreeable to the leaders of the commons; and one of the principal deſigns of the remonſtrance undoubtedly was to efface thoſe favourable ſentiments which the citizens were inclined to entertain of the king, and to reconcile them to the commons. It was ſoon after preſented to his majeſty, together with a petition, requeſting, that the biſhops might be deprived of their votes in parliament, that ſeveral alterations might be made in the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and that the king would remove all evil counſellors from his preſence. They did not, indeed, name particulars; that was impoſſible; becauſe all places of power, profit, and confidence, about his perſon, and in his councils, were filled by men recommended by the commons, and in whom they placed an entire confidence. But the words Religion, Popery, Purity, Malignance, with the unmeaning ſounds of Arminianiſm, and others of a ſimilar kind, reconciled every doubt, and removed every difficulty.

During the king's abſence, the commons affected ſuch terror, that they procured a guard from the earl of Eſſex; but on his return, Eſſex ſurrendered his commiſſion, as general on the ſouth of Trent; and Charles had the reſolution to order the guard to be diſcontinued; adding, that his royal preſence ought to be a ſufficient ſafety to his parliament.

Soon after the remonſtrance of the commons appeared, Charles diſperſed an anſwer to it, though he lay under very great diſadvantages in the conteſt. The only reaſons on which he could apologize for his former conduct, were of ſuch a nature, that it would have been imprudent to have urged them at this dangerous criſis. To have blamed the paſt conduct of the parliament, would have been conſidered as an affront to the nation; and had he aſſerted the prerogative of ſupplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, ariſing chiefly from the obſtinacy of parliaments, he would have increaſed the clamours which already reſounded in every part of the kingdom. He therefore contented himſelf with obſerving in general, that even during the period ſo much and ſo bitterly complained of, the people enjoyed a large ſhare of happineſs, even when compared with the moſt fortunate periods of Engliſh hiſtory. He made the warmeſt profeſſions of ſincerity in the reformed religion; promiſed indulgence to tender conſciences, with regard to the ceremonies of the church; enumerated his great conceſſions to natural liberty; and blamed the infamous libels every where diſperſed againſt his government and the national religion. “ You have thrown out (ſaid he)
“ general reproaches with regard to pernicious councils;
“ but aſk your own conſciences, have I protected
“ any miniſter from parliamentary juſtice?
“ Have I retained any unpopular ſervant, or conferred
“ offices on any one who enjoyed not, in a high
“ degree, the eſteem of the public? But if, notwithſtanding
“ this, any malignant party ſhall take heart,
“ and be willing to ſacrifice the peace and happineſs
“ of their country to their own ſiniſter ends and ambition,
“ under whatever pretence of religion and
“ conſcience; if they ſhall endeavour to leſſen my
“ reputation and intereſt, and to weaken my lawful
“ power and authority; if they ſhall attempt, by
“ diſcountenancing the preſent laws, to looſen the
“ bands of government, that all diſorder and confuſion
“ may break in upon us; I doubt not but
“ God, in his own good time, will diſcover them to
“ me; and that the wiſdom and courage of my high
“ court of parliament will join with me in their ſuppreſſion
“ and puniſhment.”

This anſwer, though the king was obliged to conceal the ſtrongeſt reaſons for his conduct ſo greatly complained of in the beginning of his reign, and to confine himſelf within the limits of civility towards ſubjects who had tranſgreſſed all the bounds of regard and good manners, had great effect on the more wiſe and prudent part of the nation. Even the leaders of the commons themſelves were alarmed, and began to fear, that unleſs they could remove the biſhops from the houſe of lords, they ſhould never ſucceed in the plan they had projected. They had already attempted this without ſucceſs, though thirteen of the biſhops were impeached of high-treaſon. Nor could the committee, with all their art, draw up any charge againſt Laud that would affect either his life or fortune. They, however, renewed their attempts againſt the biſhops with great violence, but without ſucceſs; the peers thought it highly unreaſonable to condemn them before they were proved to be guilty. Exaſperated at this, and other inſtances of oppoſition they had lately met with from the upper houſe, particularly by their inſiſting on taking ten thouſand Scots into their pay, the commons appointed a committee “ to prepare heads for a conference
“ with the lords, and to acquaint them what
“ bills this houſe hath paſſed, and ſent up to their
“ lordſhips, which much concerned the ſafety of the
“ kingdom, but have had no conſent of their lordſhips
“ to them; and that this houſe being the repreſentative
“ body of the whole kingdom, and their
“ lordſhips being but particular perſons, and coming
“ to the parliament in a particular capacity; that if
“ they ſhall not be pleaſed to conſent to the paſſing
“ of thoſe acts, and others, neceſſary for the preſervation
“ and ſafety of the kingdom, that then
“ this houſe, together with ſuch of the lords as are
“ more ſenſible of the ſafety of the kingdom, may
“ join together, and repreſent the ſame to his majeſty.
“ They are likewiſe to take into conſideration
“ ſome methods for guarding the towns of Hull and
“ Newcaſtle; and they are for this ſervice to withdraw
“ immediately into the inner court of wards.”

It is very difficult, even in this enlightened age, to diſcover the real intention of this ſtrange reſolution. But tares, in this ſeaſon, grew among the wheat, and a fanatical fury often obſcured the reaſoning faculty. The public had now acquired a great compaſs of knowledge with regard to the Engliſh conſtitution; nor were there wanting many great men, who were perſuaded that ſeveral abuſes had crept into the conſtitution, and could plead no better right to their continuance than preſcription. This, in effect, was all the plea the biſhops had to offer for their ſeats in parliament, and which ſtood on the ſame foundation with thoſe of the temporal lords. The commons, perhaps, ſaw how difficult it would be to deprive the biſhops of their votes, without affecting the privileges of all the peers; and knew no better expedient for ſucceeding, than by intimidating the lords into their meaſures, by aſſerting a new doctrine, which they afterwards carried into execution: that the original conſtitution knew no diſtinct houſe of parliament, becauſe in theſe early times all the members ſat together in one houſe, and enjoyed the ſame powers. If, therefore, the conſtitution ſhould revert to its firſt principles, it would be found that the majority in both houſes was concluſive upon the whole, by which the majority of the lords alone loſt their negative upon the commons. Bold and abſurd as this doctrine ſeemed, the lords knew the ſpirit of the commons too well to exaſperate them: they paſſed no violent votes on that head, though the reſolution carried with it a much ſtronger violation of the privileges of the peers, than Charles, during his whole reign, had ever committed on thoſe of the commons.

But this violence of the lower houſe produced a different effect from what it was intended; it operated ſtrongly in favour of the king. They ſoon perceived it; and in order to avert the conſequences, encouraged the lower claſs of people, and perſons incapable of judging for themſelves, to preſent petitions to the houſe againſt the biſhops votes in parliament. One was brought up by the London apprentices. But the principal object of their attention was that of wreſting from Charles all his power over the military. He had offered to raiſe ten thouſand volunteers for the ſervice of Ireland; but the propoſal was rejected under pretence that they were unwilling to truſt the king with ſo large a military force; though the moſt dreadful accounts and pathetic petitions were every day received from the proteſtants in Ireland. The Scots thought themſelves trifled with, and preſented a paper to the commons, inſiſting upon a categorical anſwer. It was in vain for Charles to endeavour to quicken the motions of the commons by repeated meſſages; the time was fruitleſsly ſpent in voting money, that was never paid; in making reſolutions, that were never executed; in conferences that had no concluſion, and in debates that had no meaning.

Though the tumultuous aſſemblies of the lower claſs of people ſtill continued about Weſtminſter-hall, and the two houſes of parliament, yet the popularity of Charles daily increaſed among the better ſort. The common-council of London not only diſclaimed publicly their having any ſhare in them, but alſo preſented ſeveral dutiful addreſſes to the king, beſeeching him to continue his reſidence at Whitehall, and aſſuring him of protection againſt any who ſhould dare to offer him the leaſt inſult. The Scots alſo, affected to ſee their king ill uſed by others, however contumaciouſly they had treated him themſelves, informed him of the correſpondence carried on between the chief covenanters and the principal leaders of the houſe of commons, both before, and during the continuance of the late invaſion.

Unfortunately Charles miſtook this gleam of compaſſion for the return of luſtre to his reign. He began therefore to act with more ſpirit and vigour. He diſcharged Belfour from his government of the Tower, and appointed Lansford in his place, notwithſtanding the warm declarations made againſt it by the commons. But Charles wanted courage to ſupport his nomination; he ſoon after diſmiſſed Lansford, and gave the command to Sir John Biron. On the eleventh of December, while the houſe was engaged in warm debates with regard to biſhops voting in parliament, the king iſſued a proclamation for paying obedience to the laws for eſtabliſhing the true religion in England; and the next day he iſſued another, commanding all abſent members to attend their duty in parliament. Theſe two proclamations, publiſhed at ſuch a juncture, gave the commons room to believe, that Charles was meditating ſome dreadful blow, and their apprehenſions were increaſed when they ſaw Falkland, Culpepper, Hyde, and ſevera others of the wiſeſt and moſt popular members in the houſe, divide againſt them.

The commons had paſſed a bill for impreſſing men for the ſervice of Ireland; in the preamble to which the king's power of impreſſing, though always practiſed by former princes, was declared illegal, as contrary to the liberty of the ſubject. While this bill was debating by the peers, Charles, unwilling to ſubmit to ſo conſiderable a diminution of his power, came to the upper houſe, where he told the lords he was very willing to paſs the bill without the preamble, by which means, he obſerved, that ill-timed queſtion with regard to the prerogative would, for the preſent, be avoided, and the pretenſions of each party remain entire. Both houſes took fire at this precipitate meaſure; and immediately declared it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill before it was preſented to him for the royal aſſent. The king ſoon perceived his error, and made an apology to the parliament.

A. D. 1642. Weary at laſt of making conceſſions, which inſtead of acquiring returns of gratitude, tended only to increaſe the demands of the commons, Charles unfortunately determined to alter his conduct. He aſcribed the inſolence of the commons in a great meaſure to his own indolence and facility, and was unhappily confirmed in this opinion by the queen and ladies of the court; who repreſented to him, that if he exerted the vigour, and diſplayed the majeſty of a monarch, the daring uſurpations of his ſubjects would ſhrink before him. Had the king continued in tranquillity, and cautiouſly eluded, for a little longer, the violence of the tempeſt now raiſed againſt him, the leaders of the oppoſition would ſoon have loſt their popularity, and alſo their majority in the houſe, and the king, in the end, would have certainly prevailed; at leaſt ſo far as to have preſerved entire the ancient laws and conſtitution of England. But Charles had taken his meaſures, and loſt all the advantages he had gained over the oppoſition by a ſingle ſtroke.

Perſuaded that he was now capable of giving the final blow to the popularity of the diſcontented leaders, by producing undoubted evidences of their having invited the Scots to invade England, the king ordered the attorney-general to impeach them of high treaſon, at the bar of the houſe of lords. He obeyed his majeſty's commands, and preſented at the clerk's table in the houſe of peers, the following accuſations.

"Articles of high-treaſon, and other miſdemeanors againſt the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hambden, and Mr. William Strode.

"1. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of England, to deprive the king of his royal authority, and to place in ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and eſtates of his majeſty's ſubjects.

"2. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured, by many foul aſperſions upon his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majeſty odious to them.

"3. That they have endeavoured to draw his majeſty's late army to diſobedience to his majeſty's command, and to ſide with them in their traiterous deſigns.

"4. That they have traiterouſly invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majeſty's kingdom of England.

"5. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

"6. That in order to complete their traiterous deſigns, they have endeavoured, ſo far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traiterous deſigns; and to that end had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king and parliament.

"7. And that they have traiterouſly conſpired to levy, and actually have levied war againſt the king."

After delivering theſe articles of impeachment, the attorney demanded, in behalf of his maſter, that the houſe ſhould appoint a committee of ſecrecy for examining the king's witneſſes; that he ſhould have liberty to add or alter as he pleaſed, and that the perſons he had impeached ſhould be ſecured.

Theſe precipitate meaſures of the king aſtoniſhed the nation. It was madneſs they ſaid to ſuppoſe that the houſe of lords, however willing, would be permitted by the populace to paſs a ſentence which muſt totally ſubdue the lower houſe, and put an end to all their undertakings. But their aſtoniſhment was increaſed that a ſerjeant at arms had been ſent to the houſe of commons, and in his majeſty's name, demanded the perſons of the five accuſed members; but was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. In the mean time meſſengers were employed to ſearch for, and arreſt them. Their trunks, chambers and ſtudies were ſealed up and locked. Theſe proceedings being reported to the commons, they came to the following reſolutions.

"That the ſerjeant at arms be ordered to apprehend and bring hither as delinquents the perſons who have ſealed up the trunks, or doors, or ſeized the keys of Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, or any other member of this houſe; and that the ſerjeant ſhall have power to break open the doors, and to break the ſeals off from the trunks.

"That if any perſon whatſoever ſhall come to the lodgings of any members of this houſe and there offer to ſeal the trunks, doors, or papers of any members, or to ſeize upon their perſons, that ſuch members ſhall require the aid of the conſtable, to keep ſuch perſons in ſafe cuſtody, till this houſe give farther order; and this houſe doth declare, that if any perſon whatſoever ſhall offer to arreſt or detain the perſon of any member without firſt acquainting this houſe therewith, and receiving farther order, that it is lawful for ſuch member, or any perſon aſſiſting him,

him to ſtand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make reſiſtance according to the proteſtation taken to defend the privilege of parliament.

Irritated at theſe proceedings, the king reſolved to go the next day in perſon to the houſe of commons, and demand the impeached members. But this deſign was not kept ſufficiently ſecret to anſwer his majeſty's intention. The counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to the earl of Northumberland, diſcovered it, and ſent intelligence to the five members, ſo that they had time to withdraw a few minutes before the king entered. Charles was attended with his ordinary retinue, amounting to about two hundred men, armed in their uſual manner, ſome with halberts and ſome with walking ſwords. He left his attendants in the lobby, and the door being immediately thrown open, he entered the houſe and advanced to the ſpeaker's chair, all the members ſtanding up to receive him. Charles looked carefully round the houſe, but not ſeeing the accuſed members, he made the following ſpeech to the commons.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am ſorry for this occaſion of coming to you.
“ Yeſterday I ſent a ſerjeant at arms to demand ſome,
“ who, by my order, were accuſed of high-treaſon.
“ Inſtead of obedience, I received a meſſage. I muſt
“ here declare to you, that though no king that ever
“ was in England could be more careful of your privileges
“ than I ſhall be, yet, in caſes of treaſon, no
“ perſon has privilege. Therefore am I come to tell
“ you, that I muſt have theſe men wherefoever I can
“ find them. Well, ſince I ſee all the birds are
“ flown, I do expect you will ſend them to me as
“ ſoon as they return. But I aſſure you, on the word
“ of a king, I never did intend any force, but ſhall
“ proceed againſt them in a fair and legal way; for
“ I never want any other. And now, ſince I ſee I
“ cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit
‘ occaſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, that
“ whatever I have done in favour, and to the good
“ of my ſubjects, I do intend to maintain it.”

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the diſorder into which this imprudent action of Charles threw the houſe; and even before the king reached the door, ſome of the members called aloud, “ Privilege, Privilege.” Immediately after his departure, the houſe adjourned till the next day; and the five accuſed members retired into the city, where they were ſure of protection. The guards at the gates were immediately doubled, and the greater part of the citizens continued the whole night under arms.

Early the next morning, Charles diſpatched a meſſage to the lord mayor, ordering him to call a common council immediately. His commands were obeyed; and about ten o'clock, the king, attended only by three or four lords, repaired to Guildhall, and made the following ſpeech to the common-council.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am come to demand ſuch perſons as I have
“ already accuſed of high-treaſon, and do believe
“ are concealed in the city. I hope no good man will
“ keep them from me; their offences are treaſons,
“ and miſdemeanors of a very high nature. I deſire
“ your loving aſſiſtance herein, that they may be
“ brought to a legal trial.

“ And whereas there are divers ſuſpicions raiſed,
“ that I am a favourer of the popiſh religion, I do
“ profeſs, in the name of a king, that I did, and
“ ever will, to the utmoſt of my power, be a proſecutor
“ of all ſuch as ſhall any ways oppoſe the laws
“ and ſtatutes of this kingdom, either papiſts or
“ ſeparatiſts; and not only ſo, but I will maintain
“ and defend that true proteſtant religion which my
“ father profeſſed, and will continue in it during life.”

The lord-mayor and aldermen behaved with very great civility, and attended him to Temple-Bar; but he could not eſcape the contumelious language of the populace; the cry of “ privilege of parliament” reſounded from all quarters; and one of the rabble, more inſolent and more daring than the reſt, advanced almoſt to the coach door, and called aloud, “ To your tents, O Iſrael;” words uſed by the rebellious Iſraelites, when they abandoned their king Rehoboam.

The king had hardly left the city, before a committee of the parliament met at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, doubtleſs to inſinuate, that they did not think themſelves ſafe without the walls of London. This committee was charged with the affairs of Ireland, which, notwithſtanding the dreadful ſituation of the proteſtants in that kingdom, had been hitherto neglected. A declaration was, ſoon after their meeting, drawn up, with regard to the late attempt on the privilege of parliament, and afterwards confirmed by the houſe. It was conceived in the following terms:

“ Whereas his majeſty, in his royal perſon, came
“ yeſterday to the houſe of commons, with a great
“ multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner,
“ with halberts, ſwords, and piſtols, who came up
“ to the very door of this houſe, and placed themſelves
“ there, and in other places and paſſages near
“ to the houſe, to the great terror and diſturbance of
“ the members thereof then ſitting, and, according
“ to their duty, in an agreeable and orderly manner,
“ treating of the great affairs of both kingdoms of
“ England and Ireland; and his majeſty having
“ placed himſelf in the ſpeaker's chair, did demand
“ the perſons of divers members of that houſe to
“ be delivered to him.

“ It is this day declared by the houſe of commons,
“ that the ſame is a high breach of the rights and
“ liberties of parliament, and inconſiſtent with the
“ liberty and freedom thereof; and therefore the
“ houſe doth conceive, that they cannot, with ſafety
“ of their own perſons, or the indemnities of the
“ rights and privileges of parliament, ſit here any
“ longer, without a full vindication of ſo high a
“ breach of privilege, and a ſufficient guard wherein
“ they may confide, for which both houſes jointly,
“ and this houſe by itſelf, have been humble ſuitors
“ to his majeſty, and cannot as yet obtain.”

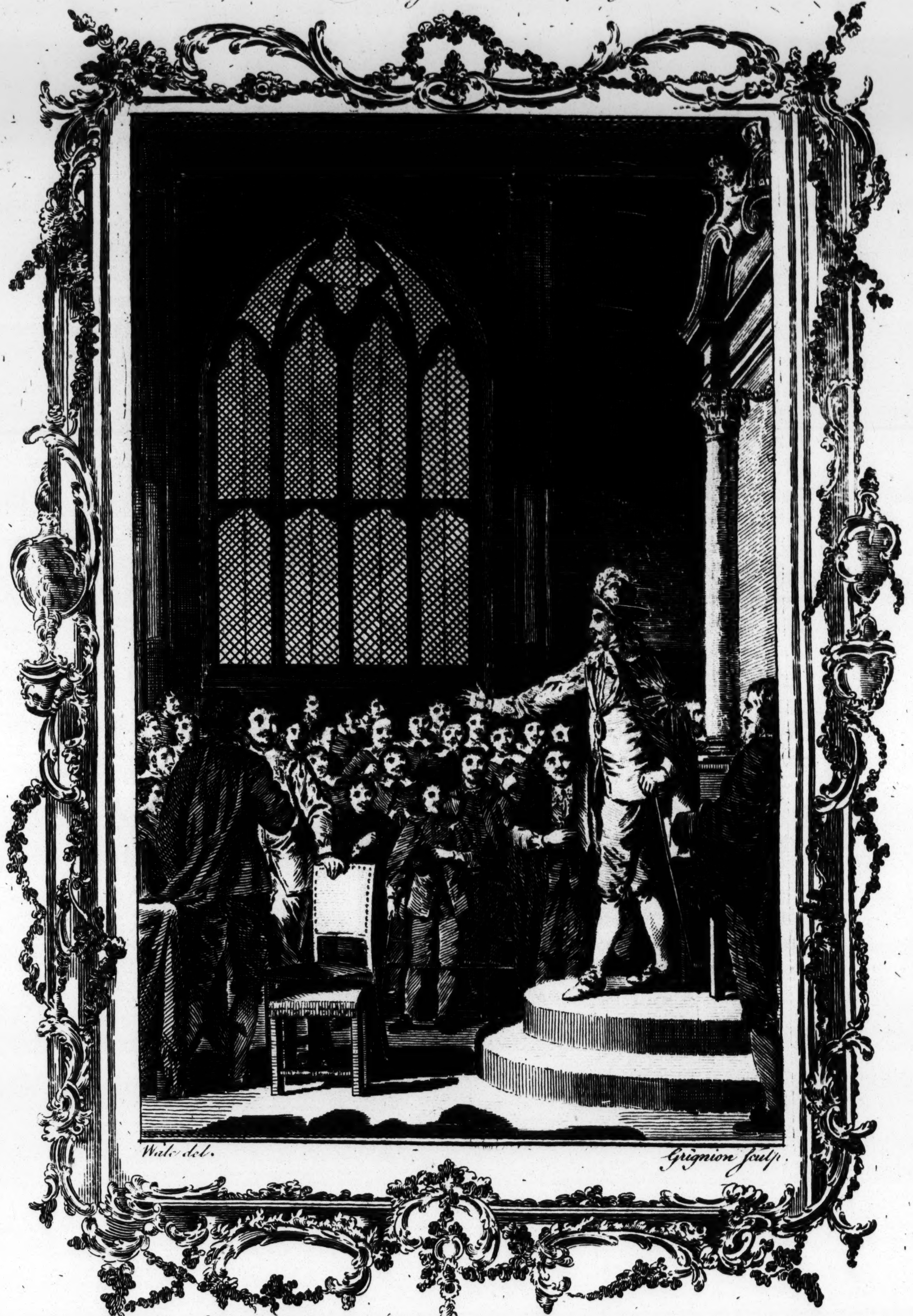
This imprudent action of Charles ſet the nation in a flame. Nothing was now talked of but declarations, votes and remonſtrances, againſt the late flagrant breach of privilege; and ſeveral addreſſes were preſented to the king, requeſting him to name the perſons who had adviſed him to purſue ſuch alarming meaſures. Petitions were alſo ſent up from different parts of the kingdom; and, among others, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, repreſented to his majeſty, “ That trade is decayed, to the ruin of the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the ſubjects, by the deſigns of papiſts; more particularly, by their fomenting the Iriſh rebellion, by changing the conſtable of the Tower, by fortifying Whitehall, and his majeſty's late invaſion of the houſe of commons. They therefore pray, that by the parliament's advice, the proteſtants of Ireland may be relieved; the Tower put into the hands of perſons of truſt; a guard appointed for the ſafety of the parliament; and that the five members may not be reſtrained, nor proceeded againſt, but by the privilege of parliament.”

Charles thought proper to return an anſwer to this petition; in which he obſerved, “ that it was impoſſible for him to expreſs a greater ſenſe of Ireland than he had done; that, merely to ſatisfy the city, he had removed a very worthy perſon from his command in the Tower; and that the late tumults had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to fortify Whitehall for the ſecurity of his own perſon: that his going to the houſe of commons was to apprehend thoſe five members for high-treaſon, to which the privilege of parliament could not extend; but that he never intended to proceed againſt them any otherwiſe than by legal methods only.”

During the continuance of the tumults of the populace in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, ſeveral reduced officers and young gentlemen from the inns of court offered their ſervice to his majeſty, to protect

his

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



Wale del.

Grignion sculp.

CHARLES *the first* DEMANDING *the five* MEMBERS
*in the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS.

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

his perſon, in this time of danger and diſorder, from the inſolence of the multitude. Frequent ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them and the populace, which ſometimes ended in blood. Theſe gentlemen, by way of reproach, called the rabble "Roundheads," on account of their wearing their hair cropt ſhort; and the others gave them the name of "Cavaliers." Thus the two factions, which had ſo long divided the nation, were now diſtinguiſhed by party names, under which they might rendezvous, and ſignalize that mutual hatred they had conceived for each other.

This did not at all tend to quiet the people. Exaſperated by oppoſition, and inflamed by the artful harangues of their leaders, the popular tumults every day increaſed; and the king thinking himſelf and family in danger, determined to remove from Whitehall, and take up his reſidence at Hampton-Court. His friends, who were beſt acquainted with the nature of popular inſurrections, particularly thoſe of the lower claſs in London, exerted all their influence to prevail upon the king to lay aſide his deſign. They obſerved, that a little firmneſs would be ſufficient to diſſipate the ſtorm raiſed by an artful faction: that if the king would remain in his palace, and his friends return to their ſeats in parliament, the giddy populace muſt ſoon ſpend their rage, and the affairs of government reſume their natural order. But all their reaſonings were in vain: Charles, after diſmiſſing the guard that attended at Whitehall, removed, with his whole family, to Hampton-court, on the tenth of January.

Two days after, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, in which he propoſed, that they ſhould agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his proſecution againſt the members, leſt farther miſunderſtandings happen with regard to privileges. In their anſwer, they deſired the king to lay the grounds of his accuſation before the houſe, pretending that they muſt firſt judge whether it would be proper to abandon their members to a legal trial. In a ſubſequent meſſage, Charles informed them, that he was willing, for the preſent, to wave all proſecution; and, by another, he offered pardon to the members; offered to concur in any law that ſhould acquit or ſecure them; offered any reparation for the breach of privileges, of which he acknowledged they had reaſon to complain. But the commons were determined to accept of no ſatisfaction, unleſs he would name the perſons who adviſed him to purſue that illegal method; a condition which they well knew he muſt refuſe.

But though the commons were deaf to all the offers made them by his majeſty, the diſtreſs to which himſelf and his family were reduced, excited the compaſſion of the wiſer part of the nation. They were alarmed at the furious proceedings of the commons: no perſon ſeemed to be ſafe, as it could not be known what they would, or what they would not vote to be treaſon. It ſoon appeared that they were determined to ſtrike a terror into every perſon who ſhould venture either to ſpeak his mind, or to do his duty. They allowed the attorney-general but one night to prepare for juſtifying his conduct with regard to his accuſing the five members; and after many captious queſtions, which he could not anſwer without breaking his oath of ſecrecy, they voted him guilty of a high crime, and addreſſed the lords to ſecure his perſon till they could bring him to an open trial. It appears, however, that the true deſign of theſe proceedings againſt the attorney-general was to diſcover the names of the witneſſes whom the king could produce againſt the accuſed members; but in this they were diſappointed by the attorney's firmneſs. Had they ſucceeded in their intention, it might, perhaps, have proved ſtill more favourable to Charles, as it is more than probable, that he had both his information and proofs from the Scots, who would then have been obliged to declare in his favour; and they ſeem themſelves to have been apprehenſive of this, for the Scottiſh parliament ordered their commiſſioners to mediate a peace between the king and his parliament.

The accuſed members, who had hitherto affected to remain in the city, now returned in triumph to Weſtminſter. The Thames was covered with boats and other veſſels, mounted with ſmall pieces of ordnance, and prepared for battle. Skippon, whom the commons, by their own authority, had appointed major-general of the city militia, conducted the members, at the head of a tumultuous army, to Weſtminſter. When the populace, both by land and water, paſſed by Whitehall, they aſked, in a very inſulting manner, "What was become of the king and his cavaliers? and whether they were fled?"

It was now ſufficiently evident, from the proceedings of both parties, that the ſword alone could decide the conteſt. Charles, however, was ſtill deſirous of averting the horrors of a civil war; and accordingly ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring, "that they would digeſt into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable aſſent to thoſe means which ſhould be thought moſt effectual for redreſs." But this requeſt was refuſed: the commons pretended they were too much engaged in matters of far greater conſequence, to allow them time ſufficient for that purpoſe.

Theſe conceſſions were ſurely ſufficient to have quieted the apprehenſions of men who were deſirous of peace. But the leaders of the party had ſo invincible a diſtruſt of Charles, that they put no confidence in his promiſes; and were perſuaded that nothing leſs than wreſting all power from his hand would be ſufficient for their ſafety. He, however, ſtood at preſent fairer in the eye of the public than they. He had taken away, by his meſſages and conceſſions, all the points controverted between them. New ones were therefore ſtarted. They deſired him to put the Tower of London, all the forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into ſuch hands as they could truſt. Charles agreed to give the command of the Tower to Sir John Coniers, inſtead of Sir John Biron, though the latter had done nothing to merit his diſcharge; but he abſolutely refuſed their requeſt with regard to the militia.

Charles had removed to Windſor, and began to make diſpoſitions againſt providing for events which he now ſaw no proſpect of avoiding. He perceived that the intention of the parliament was to ſecure the magazines in the Tower of London, Hull, and Portſmouth; and even their addreſſes to him had hinted ſomething of that kind. He had given private orders to the duke of Newcaſtle to ſecure Hull; but the deſign being diſcovered by the treachery of ſome about his perſon, the houſe of commons inſiſted on his attending his duty in parliament; and ordered Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of great eſtate in that neighbourhood, to take care of the place for the parliament. At the ſame time, they paſſed a vote, that the governor of Portſmouth ſhould admit no perſon into that fortreſs, nor ſuffer any part of the ordnance or military ſtores to be diſpoſed of, without an order from the king ſignified by both houſes of parliament.

Theſe proceedings were by many conſidered as a diſſolution of the regal government; eſpecially as the commons had taken upon themſelves, not only to diſpoſe of the militia and trained bands of the capital, but to name lord lieutenants of ſeveral counties, and even the captains that were appointed to command the ſhips of war. The duke of Richmond was highly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, and made a motion in the houſe of peers to adjourn for ſix months; but his motion was over-ruled, he was ſlightly cenſured for his conduct, and a proteſt was entered by thoſe lords who were friends to the commons, becauſe, as they pretended, his puniſhment was not adequate to his crime. So dangerous was it to oppoſe the current of popular fury, whatever unconſtitutional methods were made uſe of to effect it!

Richmond was a nobleman of great ſpirit, nearly related to the king, and in poſſeſſion of a very large eſtate. The leaders of the commons therefore thought it neceſſary to point him out as an object of popular reſentment. They procured an atteſted copy of the proteſt, and reſolved, “ that the houſe had ſufficient cauſe to accuſe him of being one of the malignant party, and an ill counſellor to his majeſty.” Sir Ralph Hopton alſo felt the weight of their reſentment. He had been one of the moſt ſtrenuous declaimers againſt the real grievances of his country; but was perſuaded the conceſſions made by the king were more than ſufficient for reforming the government, and placing the liberties of the ſubject on a baſis not to be ſhaken: He therefore oppoſed the proceedings of the houſe with great force of reaſon, and ſometimes with indecent expreſſions, ſimilar to thoſe that had been uſed by many of the leaders againſt their ſovereign. But the very words that had been applauded when uttered againſt majeſty, were cenſured when they were directed againſt the leaders of the commons. His ſpeeches were declared malignant, and he himſelf committed to the Tower.

Charles ſaw the proceedings of the commons with aſtoniſhment, and began to be anxious for the perſonal ſafety of his wife and children, whom he loved with the moſt tender affection. It was therefore reſolved to ſend them to Holland, where they would be beyond the reach of their inveterate enemies. His eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Mary, had been lately married to the prince of Orange, who now greatly intereſted himſelf in favour of a monarch reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. Charles accordingly repaired to Dover, where they embarked for the continent. While the king was employed in providing for the ſafety of his family, the commons preſented to him a bill for diſpoſing of the militia, or rather putting it entirely into the hands of the parliament. The lower houſe had been ſo accuſtomed to inſult the perſonal character of the king, that the very preambles to their bills preſented to him for the royal aſſent, were generally conceived in the moſt contumelious language. This with regard to the militia was remarkable; it was as follows: “ Whereas there has been
“ of late a moſt dangerous and deſperate deſign
“ upon the houſe of commons, which we have juſt
“ cauſe to believe an effect of the bloody counſels of
“ papiſts and other ill affected perſons, who have
“ already raiſed a rebellion in the kingdom of Ire-
“ land. And whereas by reaſon of many diſcoveries,
“ we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to
“ ſtir up the like rebellions and inſurrections in this
“ kingdom of England; but alſo to back them with
“ forces from abroad, &c.”

Charles was weary of making conceſſions, and now determined to change his conduct. He did not, however, abſolutely refuſe the royal aſſent, but replied, that he was not ſufficiently at leiſure to conſider a matter of ſuch importance, and therefore they muſt wait till his return for a poſitive anſwer. Alarmed at this delay, the parliament inſtantly diſpatched another meſſage to the king, preſſing him for an immediate anſwer. They repreſented that when dangers and diſtractions prevailed, a delay was of equal conſequence with a denial; that it was their duty to ſee a meaſure ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of the public carried into execution; that the people in many parts of the kingdom had applied to them for that purpoſe, in the moſt earneſt manner; and that in ſome places, the inhabitants were ſo alarmed at their preſent dangers, that they had exerted their own authority in preparing for their defence.

Charles had already paſſed a bill for depriving the biſhops of their votes in parliament, and hoped his compliance in that particular would have prevented their making any farther demands. He was miſtaken; and now perceived that the commons were not to be ſatisfied, while any power remained in the crown. The king did not, however, think proper to give the commons an abſolute denial; but deſired that if the military authority was in any part defective, it might be conferred on the crown; promiſing at the ſame time, that he would immediately give commiſſions to ſuch perſons only as the parliament ſhould name. But this was far from ſatisfying the commons. They replied, that the dangers of the kingdom were ſo preſſing as to admit of no longer delay; and that if his majeſty refuſed to ſatisfy his people, they would do it by their own authority. But though they had recourſe to menaces, where they found perſuaſions had no effect, they did not chuſe as yet to pull off the maſk, but pretended the greateſt ſorrow at his majeſty's leaving the capital, and earneſtly preſſed him to return, and fix his reſidence at Whitehall. The king was aſtoniſhed at this meſſage, and made the following anſwer to the committee who delivered it.

“ I am ſo much amazed at this meſſage, that I
“ know not what to anſwer. You ſpeak of jealou-
“ ſies and fears! Lay your hands upon your hearts,
“ and aſk yourſelves, whether I may not likewiſe be
“ diſturbed with fears and jealouſies; and if ſo, I
“ aſſure you, this meſſage has nothing leſſened them.

“ As to the militia, I thought ſo much of it be-
“ fore I gave that anſwer, and am ſo much aſſured,
“ that the anſwer is agreeable to what in juſtice or
“ reaſon you can aſk, or I in honour grant, that I
“ ſhall not alter it in any point.

“ For my reſidence near you, I wiſh it might be
“ ſafe and honourable, and that I had no cauſe to
“ abſent myſelf from Whitehall: aſk yourſelves
“ whether I have not.

“ What would you have? Have I violated your
“ laws? Have I denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe
“ and ſecurity of my ſubjects? I do not aſk what
“ you have done for me.

“ Have any of my people been tranſported with
“ fears and apprehenſions? I offer as free and gene-
“ ral a pardon as you yourſelves can deviſe. All this
“ conſidered, there is a judgment of heaven upon
“ this nation, if theſe diſtractions continue.

“ God ſo deal with me and mine as all my thoughts
“ and intentions are upright for the maintenance of
“ of the proteſtant religion, and for the obſervance
“ and preſervation of the laws; and I hope God
“ will bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe laws for my preſerva-
“ tion.”

The commons declared that the king's anſwer was a refuſal; that thoſe whoſe counſels he followed were enemies to the ſtate; that if he perſiſted in his reſolution, he would expoſe the ſafety of the three kingdoms to the utmoſt danger, unleſs the parliament provided ſome remedy; and that they approved the conduct of thoſe who had already put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

But notwithſtanding this they were greatly alarmed, eſpecially when it was known that his majeſty intended to viſit the northern parts of his kingdom, and to make the city of York the place of his reſidence. As ſoon as the king reached Huntingdon, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, upbraiding them for their conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and informing them, “ that he expected an equal tenderneſs in them with regard to his majeſty's known unqueſtionable privileges, among which he is ſure it is a fundamental one, that his ſubjects cannot be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction to which his majeſty hath not given his conſent; and therefore he thinks it neceſſary to publiſh, that he expects, and hereby requires obedience from all his loving ſubjects to the laws eſtabliſhed, and that they preſume not, on any pretence of order or ordinance, to which his majeſty is no party, concerning the militia, or any other things to do or execute what is not warranted by thoſe laws; his majeſty being reſolved to keep the laws himſelf, and to require obedience to them from all his ſubjects.

“ And his majeſty recommends to his parliament, what he had before required, that they ſhould compoſe and digeſt as ſoon as poſſible, ſuch acts as they ſhall think fit, for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their privileges, and the free and quiet enjoyment of their eſtates and fortunes, the liberties of their perſons, the ſecurity of the true religion now profeſſed in the church of England; the maintaining of his majeſty's regal and juſt authority, and the ſettling of his revenue; his majeſty being very deſirous to take all fitting and juſt ways; which may beget a happy underſtanding between him and his parliament, in which he conceives his greateſt power and riches conſiſt."

This meſſage threw the houſe into a new ferment. They reſolved to inſiſt upon their former reſolutions concerning the militia; they voted ſevere penalties againſt all who had adviſed the king to give that anſwer; and reſolved upon the queſtion, "that when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom, ſhall declare what the law of the land is; to have this not only queſtioned and controverted, but contradicted, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament."

Charles was now leſs afraid of their inſolence. He had reached York; and finding the people faithful to him, he determined firmly to oppoſe the attempts of the parliament with regard to the militia. On the contrary, the commons, reſolved to ſupport the power they had uſurped, in contempt of all laws, appointed lord lieutenants to the different counties, gave them the command of the militia, the garriſons, and all the forts in the kingdom; obliging them to obey his majeſty's orders ſignified to them by both houſes; that is, the orders of parliament, ſignified in the king's name, with an intent to dethrone him. Manifeſtos, the forerunners of civil wars, were publiſhed on both ſides. Thoſe of the king carried with them a force of evidence, which was only oppoſed by invectives. A detail of the ſacrifices and conceſſions he had made, and of the violences and inſults which had been their only reward, gave an appearance of juſtice to his cauſe. Confiding in the ſtrength of his arguments, the king was deſirous that the declarations of the parliament might be diſtributed with his own; while the parliament was very induſtrious to ſuppreſs the king's papers. Lord Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, were the authors of the papers in behalf of the king. In theſe the Engliſh conſtitution was defined with great preciſion; the three ſpecies of government, the monarchical, the ariſtocratical, and the democratical, were diſtinguiſhed; and the government of England ſhewn to be a compound of the whole, each tempering the other.

The parliament could not anſwer the facts brought by the king, to convince the world that he had done all that could be required of him to give them ſatiſfaction. But they pretended, that the king, even while he was making his conceſſions, was contriving the means to deſtroy them. Had they been able to prove this aſſertion; had they been able to have brought any other evidences for it than a few frivolous facts, many improbable ſuſpicions, and more groundleſs fears; could they have ſhewn any recent inſtances of the king's violating his conceſſions, or even of appearing backward to grant any thing farther, if they ſhould be found conſiſtent with the ſafety and conſtitution of the kingdom; they might have been juſtified in ſome part of their harſh treatment of majeſty. But nothing of that kind appears, even after the ſtrained conſtructions which the two houſes put upon the leaſt indiſcreet action or word of every imprudent friend of the king; and the journals of the houſe at this time are filled with inquiries, proceedings, and ſeverities, which would diſgrace not only the barbarous, but the irrational part of mankind. Charles had denied them nothing but the militia, which the conſtitution had confeſſedly lodged in his hands, and which they endeavoured to wreſt from him, under pretence of extraordinary dangers. It may here be obſerved, that the very queſtion returned againſt themſelves, which, but a few months before, they had ſo ſolemnly determined againſt Charles. He had attempted to levy ſhip-money, and other illegal taxes, under pretence of danger, of which he was the ſole judge. The parliament denied that this danger was ſufficiently imminent to warrant an arbitrary exerciſe of power; and therefore they voted his proceedings to be illegal. In the ſame manner, the parliament now demanded the militia, under pretence of extraordinary and imminent dangers. The king refuſed to gratify them, becauſe he did not apprehend theſe dangers to be ſufficiently alarming, as to warrant them to require from him a ſurrender of the real part of regal authority, which had been veſted in him by the conſtitution.

The arms of all the forces levied againſt the Scots had been depoſited in the magazine of Hull; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, had accepted a commiſſion from the parliament, but was thought to be no enemy either to the church or monarchy. Theſe circumſtances induced Charles to believe, that if he proceeded in perſon to the gates of that town, before the commencement of hoſtilities, the governor, overawed by his preſence, would admit him with his ordinary retinue; by which means he might eaſily become maſter of ſo important a place. He was, however, miſtaken. Hotham had received ſtrict orders from the parliament to be upon his guard; ſo that when Charles appeared before the place, the governor ſent him a very reſpectful meſſage, deſiring his majeſty not to approach nearer to the town; but the king continuing to advance, he ordered the bridge to be drawn up, and the garriſon to appear on the walls in a poſture of reſiſtance. When Charles was near enough for his voice to be heard by the garriſon, he called for Hotham, and demanded entrance; which the governor refuſed, declaring, that he had received his truſt from the parliament. Charles was in no condition to attack the place; and therefore repeated his demand, offering to reduce his train to twenty perſons. This was alſo denied; and the king perceiving that the governor was determined to defend the place, he retired, after proclaiming Sir John Hotham a traitor by two heralds at arms. He afterwards complained to the parliament of the diſobedience of the governor; but was ſo far from obtaining redreſs, that they juſtified the action.

The increaſing inclinations of the inhabitants of Yorkſhire for the royal cauſe, greatly alarmed the parliament. They had raiſed a guard of ſix hundred men for his perſon, and ſeemed determined to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. The parliament, though they had already levied a guard for themſelves, had attempted to ſeize the whole military power, the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom, yet they immediately voted, "that the king, ſeduced "by wicked counſels, intended to make war againſt "his parliament, who, in all their conſultations and "actions, had propoſed no other end but the care of "his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty "and loyalty to his perſon: that this attempt was a "breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, "contrary to his oath, and tending to a diſſolution "of the government; and that whoever ſhould aſſiſt "him in ſuch a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

Every thing now haſtened towards a criſis. The parliament appointed the earl of Eſſex general of their forces; and the ardour was ſo great among the people in the capital, that no leſs than four thouſand men inliſted in one day. At the ſame time, the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were iſſued for bringing in loans of money, in order to maintain the forces levied to defend the parliament: and the zeal of the people was, in this particular, more remarkable than in their enliſting under Eſſex; for during ten days, the throng was ſo great, that the perſons appointed to receive the offerings of the populace had neither time nor room ſufficient for the purpoſe:

many of them were therefore obliged to carry back their treaſures, till a more convenient opportunity, when the commiſſioners would be at leiſure to receive them.

But though the parliament was thus ſupported by the voluntary offerings of the people, they were totally eclipſed by the ſplendid appearance of the nobility, who flocked to the king at York. Above forty peers of the higheſt rank in the kingdom attended upon Charles, among whom was the lord-keeper Littleton; while the houſe of lords at Weſtminſter ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen members, and even ſome of theſe were of the royal party, and conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the commons. The king iſſued commiſſions of array all over the kingdom, but the execution of them was voted treaſonable by the parliament. They were, however, greatly aſtoniſhed and alarmed, when they perceived ſo large and reſpectable a part of the kingdom had declared for the king. This produced a new ſet of propoſitions, on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands were as follows:

“ 1. That the officers of the crown, the miniſters of ſtate, and the governors of all the ports and forts of the kingdom, ſhould be choſen and approved of by the two houſes, or by the council in the intervals of parliament. 2. That no places ſhall be given for life; but that thoſe on whom they ſhould be beſtowed, may hold them no longer than they diſcharge their duty well. 3. That the two houſes, and the council, ſhall name the perſon unto whom the government and education of the king's children ſhall be committed. 4. That no marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of the king's children, without the conſent of parliament. 5. That the laws againſt jeſuits, and other ſecular prieſts, and in general againſt all papiſts, ſhall be ſtrictly put in execution, without any toleration or diſpenſation whatſoever. 6. That the popiſh lords be expelled from the houſe of peers, and their children taken from them, in order to their being brought up in the proteſtant religion. 7. That ſuch a reformation be made of the liturgy and church government, as both houſes of parliament, with the advice of divines, ſhall adviſe. 8. That the king ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the method taken by the parliament for ſettling the militia. 9. That a ſtrict alliance be entered into with the ſtates of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and ſtates of the proteſtant religion, againſt the pope and his adherents. 10. That the five impeached members be cleared by act of parliament, and reſtored to their rights, that future parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that bad example. 11. That peers made hereafter be reſtrained from ſitting and voting in parliament, without the conſent of both houſes. 12. That the military forces now attending the king be diſcharged. 13. That the lords and others of the privy-council, and others in offices and employments, be removed, except ſuch only as ſhall be approved by both houſes of parliament; and that the perſons made choice of to fill their places and employments, may be approved of by both houſes of parliament; and that the privy counſellors ſhall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be approved of by the parliament. 14. That the great affairs of the kingdom ſhall not be concluded nor tranſacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unſworn counſellors; but that ſuch matters as concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, ſhall be debated, reſolved, and tranſacted only in parliament, and ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the cenſure and judgment of parliament; and ſuch other matters of ſtate as are proper for the privy-council, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of the nobility and others as ſhall, from time to time, be choſen to fill that board, by approbation of both houſes of parliament; and that no public act, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which is proper for the privy-council, ſhall be eſteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unleſs it be done with the advice and conſent of the major part of the council, atteſted under their hands; that the council ſhall be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any counſellor's place happen to be vacant, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the aſſent of the major part of the council, which choice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of parliament, or elſe be void. 15. That the lord high-ſteward of England, the lord high conſtable, the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great ſeal, the lord treaſurer, the lord privy-ſeal, the earl marſhal, the lord admiral, the warden of the cinque ports, the chief governor of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the maſter of the wards, the ſeveral ſecretaries of ſtate, the two chief juſtices and chief baron, ſhall always be choſen with the approbation of both houſes of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament, by the aſſent of the major part of the council, in the ſame manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of counſellors. 16. That ſuch members of either houſe of parliament, as, during this preſent parliament, have been put out of any place or office, ſhall either be reſtored, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction upon the petition of ſuch houſe of which they are members. 17. That all privy-counſellors and judges ſhall take an oath, the form whereof ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled by act of parliament, for maintaining the petition of right, and of certain ſtatutes made by this parliament, which ſhall be mentioned by both houſes; and that an inquiry of all breaches and violations of thoſe laws ſhall be given in charge by the juſtices of the king's-bench every term, and by the judges of aſſize in their circuits, and juſtices of the peace at the ſeſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to law. 18. That the juſtice of parliament ſhall paſs upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or in foreign parts; and that all perſons cited by either houſe of parliament ſhall appear, and abide the cenſure of parliament. 19. That a general pardon ſhall be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both houſes of parliament.”

It could not be expected that theſe demands would ever be complied with. No ſubjects had ever talked in ſo high a ſtrain ſince Henry III. was in the power of the Mountforts. They had, indeed, ſo changed every part of the conſtitution, that it ſcarce retained any veſtige of its former ſtate, except the name of a king at the head of a republic. “ Should I grant theſe demands,” ſaid the king in his reply, “ I may be waited on bareheaded, I may have my hand kiſſed, the title of majeſty may be continued to me, and The king's authority, ſignified by both houſes, may be ſtill the ſtyle of your commands; I may have ſwords and maces carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a crown and ſceptre, (though even theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, but the ſign of a king.”

Nor did Charles content himſelf with refuſing the demands of the parliament. He retorted their accuſations with great force; and, in a very ſpirited anſwer, exhibited his charge againſt the commons. “ If the parliament (ſaid he) had unſeaſonably vented ſuch propoſitions, as the wiſdom and modeſty of their predeceſſors never thought fit to offer to any of our progenitors; nor we in honour, or regard to our legal authority, which God hath intruſted us with for the good of our people, could receive without juſt indignation, and ſuch many of their propoſitions are, their hopes would ſoon have been

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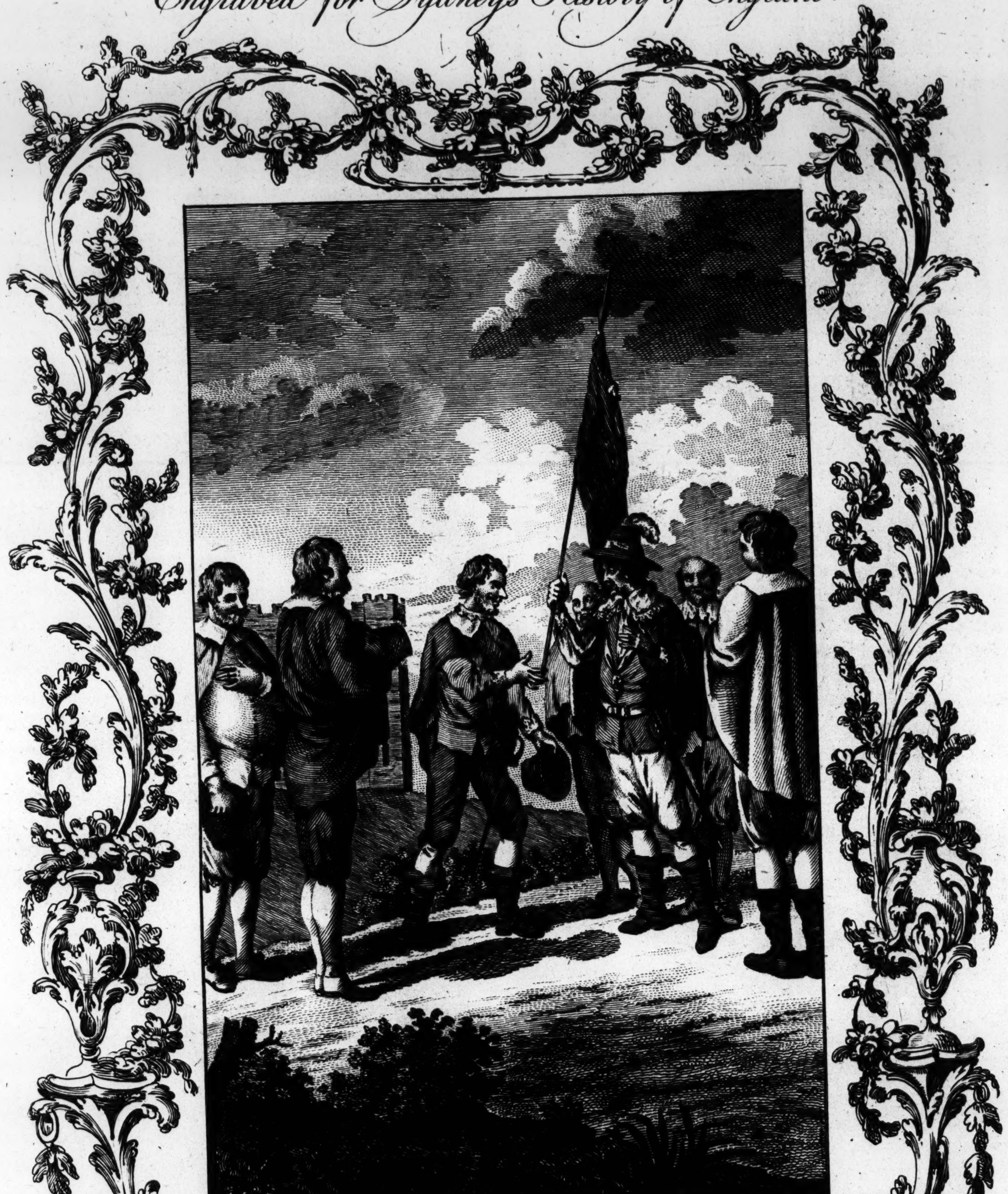
*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



S. Wale delin.

Jas.ˢ Taylor sculp.

**CHARLES I.** *ordering his Standard to be erected on Nottingham Castle.*

blaſted, and thoſe perſons to whom offices, honours, power, and commands were deſigned, by ſuch ill-timing their buſineſs, would have failed of their expectation, not without a brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any thing of this nature ſhould appear, they have (certainly with great wiſdom in the conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troubleſome rub in their way, I mean, the law; and, in order to undermine the very foundations of it, a new power hath been aſſumed, to interpret and declare laws, without us, by extemporary votes, without any cauſe judicially before either houſe, (which is, in effect, the ſame thing as to make laws without us) orders and ordinances made only by both houſes, were preſſed upon the people as laws, and their obedience required to them.

"Their next ſtep was to erect an upſtart power without us, in whom, and only in whom, the laws of this realm have placed that power, to command the militia. And to promote this deſign, they have wreſted from us our magazine and town of Hull, and abetted Sir John Hotham in his barefaced treaſon. They have prepared and directed to the people unprecedented invectives againſt our government, to weaken, as much as lay in their power, our juſt authority, and due eſteem among them: they have, as injuriouſly as preſumptively, (though we conceive by this time impudence itſelf is aſhamed of it) attempted to caſt upon us aſperſions of an unheard of nature, as if we had favoured a rebellion in our own bowels. They have likewiſe broached a new doctrine, that we are obliged to paſs all laws that ſhall be offered to us by both houſes, however our judgment and conſcience ſhall be unſatisfied with them; a point of policy as proper for their preſent buſineſs, as deſtructive to all our rights of parliament; and ſo, with ſtrange ſhameleſsneſs, will forget a clauſe in law, ſtill in force, made in the ſecond year of Henry V. wherein both houſes of parliament acknowledge, that it is of the king's regality to grant or deny ſuch of their petitions as pleaſeth himſelf. They have interpreted our neceſſary guard, legally aſſembled, for the defence of us, and of our children's perſons, againſt a traitor in open rebellion, to be with intent to levy war againſt our parliament, the thought whereof our very ſoul abbors, thereby to render us odious to our people.

"They have ſo awed our good ſubjects with purſuivants, long chargeable attendance, heavy cenſures, and illegal impriſonments, that few of them durſt offer to preſent their tenderneſs of our ſufferings, their own juſt grievances, and their ſenſe of thoſe violations of the law, the birthright of every ſubject of this kingdom, though in an humble petition directed to both houſes; and if any did, it was ſtifled in the birth, called ſedition, and burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

"They have reſtrained the attendance of our ordinary houſhold ſervants, and ſeized upon thoſe ſmall ſums of money which our credit had provided to buy us bread, with injunctions that none ſhould be ſuffered to be returned or conveyed to us at York, or to any of our peers or ſervants with us; ſo that, in effect, they have blocked us up in that county.

"They have filled the ears of the people with the noiſe of fears and jealouſies, though taken up upon truſt, tales of ſkippers, ſalt fleets, and ſuch like, in order by which alarms to prepare them to receive ſuch impreſſions as might beſt advance this deſign when it ſhould be brought to maturity; and now it ſeems they think we are ſufficiently prepared for theſe bitter pills. We are in a handſome poſture to receive theſe humble deſires, which probably are intended to make way for a ſuperfetation of a yet higher nature, if we had not made this diſcovery, for they do not tell us this is all. In them we muſt obſerve, that theſe contrivers, the better to advance their true ends, diſguiſed, as much as poſſible, their intentions, with a mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man; and ſome which were already granted by us; all which are artfully blended with thoſe other things of their main deſign of ambition and private intereſt; in hopes that, at the firſt view, every eye may not ſo clearly diſcern them in their proper colours."

The ſword of civil diſcord was now drawn, and both parties made preparations for deciding by it the dreadful conteſt. Hambden, Whitlocke, Mainyard, Grimſtone, St. John, and Selden, accepted of the parliament's commiſſions, under the ordinance of militia; but the great weight of landed intereſt declared for the king. Charles was furniſhed by his queen with money, which ſhe had borrowed upon her jewels; but the parliament had a much ſurer reſource in public credit, upon which great ſums were raiſed by way of loan; and ſmall ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the royal and parliamentary parties in different parts of England.

The houſe of peers had hitherto ſhewn a ſpirit becoming ſo auguſt a body. But the greater number of the lords were now with the king; ſome of them were reduced by the authority of Eſſex, and the leading members of the commons; ſome were intimidated by the danger to which their perſons were expoſed by the inſolence of the populace; ſome by the threats of the commons to annihilate their order; ſome were influenced by reſentment, and ſome by principle; ſo that upon the whole there was not a party ſufficient, in their houſe, to ſtem the dreadful torrent that was now ready to ruſh upon the conſtitution. The venerable earl of Briſtol, diſdaining the ignoble motives of reſentment for the uſuage he had met with from the king, in a very pathetic, but ineffectual ſpeech, expoſed the impending calamities of England, and exhorted them to conclude a peace with the king on honourable terms. But his advice, however prudent and ſalutary, produced not the deſired effect; the parliament were determined to puſh the advantage they enjoyed over the king to the utmoſt extremity. Hollis, by order of the houſe of commons, demanded at the bar of the lords, the names of thoſe peers who had refuſed to comply with the ordinance for the militia, and made an ungenerous uſe of the diſcovery. The names of thoſe as were known to be well affected to the king were publiſhed, by which means they were inſulted by the populace, and could not attend their duty in parliament without being expoſed to the utmoſt danger; while thoſe who had the courage to join his majeſty were branded with the opprobrious title of "betrayers of the liberties of their country." The commons likewiſe voted, that all horſes ſent to the north, without an order from the parliament, ſhould be ſeized and ſecured. At the ſame time they voted nine of the lords incapable of ever again ſitting in parliament.

The laſt reſolution produced a ſurprizing alacrity among the nobility now with the king. They ſigned a paper, "that they would obey no orders or commands whatever, but ſuch as were warranted by the known laws of the land; that they would defend the king's perſon, crown, and dignity, together with his majeſty's juſt and legal prerogative, againſt all perſons and power whatſoever; that they would defend the true proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, the lawful liberties of the ſubject of England, and the juſt privileges of his majeſty, and both houſes of parliament; and that they would obey no rule, order, or ordinance whatſoever, that had not the royal aſſent." Animated by theſe aſſurances of ſupport, Charles having collected a few forces, advanced to the ſouthward; and, on his arrival at Nottingham, he erected his royal ſtandard, the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war thoughout the nation.

Never perhaps was quarrel more unequal than that between the two contending parties; when Charles erected his ſtandard, almoſt every advantage lay againſt the royal cauſe. The parliament were maſters of the royal revenues, the fleet, the ſea-ports, and all the magazines of arms and amunition. The king was deſtitute of almoſt every advantage. He had neither arms nor amunition except what belonged to the trained bands in the counties favourable to his intereſt, and a ſmall ſupply ſent him by his queen from Holland. It is therefore no wonder that the parliament entertained the moſt ſovereign contempt for all the efforts they imagined the king was capable of making in ſupport of his prerogative; many imagined that he would not even attempt to make any reſiſtance, but muſt at laſt yeild to the pretenſions, however enormous, of the two houſes. To this perſuaſion Charles owed his ſafety. Even after his ſtandard was erected, the danger of a civil war was not, in general, apprehended; nor was it imagined he would have the imprudence to engage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition ſtill more deſperate, by oppoſing a force ſo greatly ſuperior to his own. Theſe hopes were confirmed by the low condition of his army, if indeed his few forces deſerved that name, when he appeared at Nottingham. His train of artillery, though far from being large, he had been obliged to leave behind him at York, for want of horſes to draw it. The troops of the parliament, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand men, well armed and well appointed, lay at Northampton, under the command of the earl of Eſſex, within a few days march of him, and ſeemed to threaten him with inevitable deſtruction.

Charles himſelf was alarmed at his melancholy ſituation, and determined to make one more effort for concluding a peace with his parliament. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to the two houſes, by the earls of Southampton and Dorſet, Sir John Culpepper, and Sir William Uvedale. He propoſed to open a negotiation immediately, in order to conclude a treaty of peace. He aſſured them, that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to advance the true proteſtant religion, oppoſe popery and ſuperſtition, ſecure the laws of the kingdom, confirm all the juſt power and privileges of parliament, and render both king and people happy. “ Bring with you (added he)
“ as firm reſolutions to do your duty, and let all our
“ people join with us in our prayers to Almighty
“ God, for his bleſſing upon this work.”

Charles then, in a very pathetic manner, diſclaimed all intention of injuring the liberties of his people; and laid the guilt at the door of the parliament, if they refuſed his offers. But the commons, inſtead of joining with the king in his propoſals for reſtoring the public tranquillity, reproached him with having erected his royal ſtandard; and refuſed to open any negotiation, unleſs he would recall all his proclamations publiſhed againſt them. Even this anſwer did not exaſperate Charles to make uſe of any indecent expreſſions; he offered to take down his ſtandard, and recall his proclamations, provided they would recall the papers they had publiſhed againſt him and his friends. This was abſolutely refuſed; they would agree to no terms, unleſs he would immediately take down his ſtandard, and recall his proclamations, without their acting a reciprocal part. But this negotiation, unſucceſsful as it was, did Charles the greateſt ſervice. The parliament had treated the king's meſſengers with the utmoſt indignity; they had not even paid the common civility to their perſons. At the ſame time, they ordered all their officers to repair to their reſpective poſts immediately, and publiſhed the following declaration to vindicate their conduct.

“ Whereas his majeſty, in his meſſage, requires,
“ that the parliament ſhould revoke their declara-
“ tions againſt ſuch perſons as had aſſiſted his ma-
“ jeſty in this unnatural war againſt his kingdom;
“ it is this day ordered and declared by the lords and
“ commons, that the arms which they have been
“ forced to take up, for the preſervation of the par-
“ liament, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of
“ the kingdom, ſhall not be laid down till his majeſty
“ ſhall withdraw his protection from ſuch perſons as
“ have been voted by both houſes to be delinquents,
“ and ſhall leave them to the juſtice of the parlia-
“ ment, to be proceeded with according to their de-
“ merits; to the end, that both this and ſucceeding
“ generations may take warning, how they incur the
“ like heinous crimes; and alſo to the end that thoſe
“ great charges and damages, wherewith all the com-
“ monwealth have been burthened ſince his majeſty's
“ departure from the parliament, may be borne by
“ the delinquents and other malignant and diſaffected
“ perſons; and that all his majeſty's good and well-
“ affected ſubjects, who by loan of monies, or other-
“ wiſe at their charge, have aſſiſted the common-
“ wealth, or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the
“ commonwealth in time of extreme danger, may be
“ repaid all ſums of money lent by them for thoſe
“ purpoſes, out of the eſtates of the ſaid delinquents,
“ and of the malignant and diſaffected party in the
“ kingdom.”

This declaration, together with ſeveral other papers that paſſed between the king and his parliament, turned the tide of popular affection ſtrongly in favour of the king. This was perceived by the parliament, and rendered them cautious of offering violence to their ſovereign; and, perhaps, to this ſingle conſideration the king owed his preſent ſafety, which was now conſidered as ſo precarious, that Sir Jacob Aſtley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his army, told him, that he could not give him aſſurance but he might be taken out of his bed, ſhould the rebels make a briſk attempt for that purpoſe. It was therefore determined to leave Nottingham; and the king accordingly began his march for Shrewſbury, the moſt convenient town in England for the rendezvous of his army. Every hour during his march added conſiderable acceſſions to his ſtrength, the people flocking from all parts to join the royal ſtandard. On his arrival at Wellington, Charles ordered his army to be drawn up, ranged in ſeveral diviſions under proper officers, and his military orders to be publiſhed at the head of each regiment. This being finiſhed, Charles addreſſed his army in the following terms:

“ Gentlemen,

“ You have heard thoſe orders read; it is your
“ part, in your ſeveral places, to obſerve them exactly.
“ The time cannot be long before we come to action,
“ therefore you have the more reaſon to be careful;
“ and I muſt tell you, I ſhall be very ſevere in the
“ puniſhing of thoſe, of what condition ſoever, who
“ ſhall tranſgreſs theſe inſtructions. I cannot ſuſpect
“ your courage and reſolution; your conſcience and
“ your loyalty have brought you hither, to fight for
“ your religion, your king, and the laws of the land.
“ You ſhall meet with no enemies but traitors, moſt
“ of them browniſts, anabaptiſts, and atheiſts; ſuch
“ who deſire to deſtroy both church and ſtate, and
“ who have already condemned you to ruin for being
“ loyal to us. That you may ſee what uſe I mean to
“ make of your valour, if it pleaſe God to bleſs us
“ with ſucceſs, I have thought fit to publiſh my re-
“ ſolution to you, in a proteſtation, which, when you
“ have heard me make, you will believe you cannot
“ fight in a better quarrel; in which I promiſe to
“ live and die with you.

“ I do promiſe, in the preſence of Almighty God,
“ and as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that
“ I will, to the utmoſt of my power, defend and
“ maintain the true reformed proteſtant religion,
“ eſtabliſhed in the church of England; and by the
“ grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

“ I deſire to govern by all the known laws of the
“ land; and that the liberty and property of the
“ ſubject may be preſerved by them with the ſame
“ care as my own juſt rights. And if it pleaſe God,
“ by his bleſſing upon this army, raiſed for my ne-
“ ceſſary defence, to preſerve me from the preſent
“ rebellion; I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe,
“ in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt privileges

“ and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the utmoſt of my power by the known laws of the kingdom; and particularly to obſerve inviolably the laws to which I have given my conſent in this parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great neceſſity to which I am now driven to, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have ſo earneſtly laboured for the preſervation of the peace of the kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I ſhall expect no aid or relief from man, nor protection from above. But in this reſolution, I hope for the chearful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confident of the bleſſing of heaven.”

This ſpeech and proteſtation produced amazing effects. The whole army was animated with freſh ſpirits; they promiſed to live and die with their ſovereign; they now conſidered him not only as the father, but the guardian of his country. His cauſe became ſo popular, that the town of Shrewſbury declared in his favour, by which he acquired a communication with all North Wales, and other places beyond the Severn. The king had now learned in the ſchool of adverſity, the uſeful leſſons of complaiſance, affability, and other popular arts, which he practiſed with infinite ſucceſs. He erected a mint at Shrewſbury, and the nobility and gentry of his party poured in money and plate with as much zeal, tho' not in ſuch large quantities, as the Londoners had done to the parliament. He had ſtooped to many other meaſures, which nothing but his neceſſities could juſtify, for raiſing money, and his troops were as regularly paid, as thoſe of the parliament, and as little burthenſome to the country. The people were charmed to ſee the alteration made in the king, with regard to his addreſs and behaviour. In all his excurſions and marches, he repeated to his people his tenderneſs for their laws and liberties, and his reſolution rather to die than infringe them. This behaviour gained the hearts of the populace; they flocked to his ſtandard, and his army now amounted to ten thouſand men.

At the firſt appearance of the commotions in England, the two princes Rupert and Maurice, ſons to the unfortunate Palatine, offered their ſervice to the king, and the former now commanded a body of horſe, which had been detached to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was then on his march towards that city. Rupert had hardly reached Worceſter, before he ſaw a body of the enemy's cavalry approaching the gates. He immediately attacked them with the utmoſt fury. The diſpute was very obſtinate, till colonel Sandys, who commanded the parliament's detachment, being mortally wounded, they gave way, and were totally routed by the royal party. This action, though inconſiderable in itſelf, tended greatly to raiſe the ſpirits of the king's forces, and acquired prince Rupert a conſiderable ſhare of reputation.

It was now determined to march to meet the parliament's army, and if poſſible decide the quarrel by a general battle. The royal forces were commanded by the earl of Lindeſey, who had ſerved many years in the Low Countries with great applauſe: prince Rupert commanded the horſe; Sir Jacob Aſtley the foot: Sir Arthur Aſton the dragoons: Sir John Heydon the artillery: and lord Bernard Stuart a troop of guards. Lord Clarendon tells that the eſtate and revenues of this ſingle troop, was at leaſt equal to that of all the lords and commons, who remained in the parliament at Weſtminſter. Nor will this appear improbable when it is conſidered, that both houſes were now remarkably thin; the commons often voting matters of the greateſt moment, when not more than forty-five or fifty members ſat in the houſe.

The king left Shrewſbury on the twelfth of October, and in order to bring on a battle with the army of Eſſex, purſued his march towards the capital with great expedition. This alarmed the parliament ſo much, that they ſent repeated expreſſes to their general, to ſtop the progreſs of the royal army. Eſſex obeyed with reluctance. He was very unwilling to begin a war, which threatened the deſtruction of his country; but at laſt determined to obey the orders of his maſters. Though the two armies were not above twenty miles diſtant when the king left Shrewſbury, yet neither had intelligence of their approach, till they were within ſix miles of one another.

The king's army lay in the neighbourhood of Banbury, and that of the parliament at Keinton, in Warwickſhire. In the night of the twenty-ſecond of October, Charles received intelligence from prince Rupert, that the enemy was approaching, and early the next morning the king repaired to the top of Edge-hill, fully reſolved to give them battle, and ſhewed himſelf as ready to expoſe his perſon as any private officer in the whole army. As both parties ſeemed equally forward for an engagement, the forenoon was ſpent in drawing up both armies, in which the king was the leſs expeditious, as ſome of his foot were not yet come up, and his ſituation was ſuch, that he could not be attacked without great diſadvantage.

The right wing of the parliament's army was compoſed of a conſiderable body of troops, which lined ſome hedges, and two bodies of horſe, drawn up near the town of Keinton. The left wing was compoſed of a ſtrong body of foot and a thouſand horſe, commanded by Ramſay, a Scotch officer; and the center, which was deſigned as a body of reſerve, by Sir William Balfour, under the earl of Bedford, general of the horſe. Eſſex himſelf reſolved to charge in perſon at the head of a regiment of foot.

The right wing of the royal army was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by general Wilmot, and the center by Sir John Biron. The king intended to have ſcattered ſome proclamations among the parliament army, offering his pardon to ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhould join his forces; but this prudent meaſure was neglected; and the old earl of Lindeſey was ſo affected at the heat and animoſity of the young officers, that he declared, “ he did not look upon himſelf as a general, but would die as a private colonel, with a pike in his hand, at the head of his own regiment.”

Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a body of horſe to ſerve againſt the rebels in Ireland, had been obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, and was now poſted in the left wing; but he no ſooner perceived prince Rupert advancing, than ordering his troop to diſcharge their piſtols in the ground, he joined the royal detachment. This incident, together with the furious charge of the prince, ſtruck the whole left wing with conſternation; they gave a very diſorderly fire, and were broken, routed, and driven off the field by prince Rupert, who purſued them above two miles, forgetting that he carried with him the flower of the royal army, and thereby expoſed the king and the remaining part of his forces to the moſt imminent danger. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better ſucceſs. Chaſed from their ground by lord Wilmot and Sir Robert Aſton, they alſo took to flight. The action had hitherto been chiefly among the horſe, the foot on both ſides were pretty entire, and fought with great courage. The forces of Eſſex made their chief efforts againſt the king's ſtandard, which was carried by Sir Edward Verney, and bravely defended by the royaliſts; but their principal attack was againſt the diviſion commanded by Sir William Stapleton. It was here the error committed in drawing up the king's forces was perceived. For though the body of reſerve under Sir John Biron had now advanced and joined in the attack againſt the artillery of Eſſex, and were on the point of taking it; yet Balfour's reſerve was ſtill entire, and advanced to the relief of the artillery juſt at the time when Stapleton was going to abandon it.

Had prince Rupert, or general Wilmot, returned at this critical moment, the victory had been complete, and perhaps a final period put to the civil war; but both theſe commanders were at a great diſtance, and the diſpute was now very unfavourable to the king. For Balfour's diviſion charged him in flank and rear with ſo much fury, that the earl of Lindeſey, fighting on foot at the head of his regiment, was mortally wounded, the royal ſtandard was taken, and ſome of the king's cannon nailed up.

Charles, attended by his two ſons, was, during this furious engagement, in the center of his own foot, but a little removed from the hotteſt part of the ſervice; but upon Balfour's breaking in, his perſon was in the moſt imminent danger, and he ſent the two princes back to the hill, which they reached with ſome difficulty. The duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorſet, and ſeveral other noblemen, kept by his perſon; and it was here that Charles had the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his perſonal courage. For drawing his ſword, and advancing to attack the enemy, his ſoldiers were ſo animated by the example of their king, that they returned to the charge with more fury than ever; the royal ſtandard was retaken, and the enemy in their turn obliged to give ground. Rupert at the head of his horſe, now returned from the unſeaſonable purſuit, and the battle aſſumed all the appearances of beginning afreſh. The prince ſaw with aſtoniſhment, that every thihg bore the appearance of a defeat inſtead of a victory; but his troops were ſatisfied with carnage, and could not be prevailed upon to renew the attack. The two armies faced each other for ſome time, but neither of them ſhewed courage ſufficient for a new battle. All night they lay upon their arms; and the next morning perceived themſelves in ſight of each other; but neither general nor ſoldier ſhewed any diſpoſition to renew the fight. Eſſex firſt drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. The loſs was greateſt on the ſide of the parliament; and near five thouſand men were found dead on the field of battle. On the king's ſide the earl of Lindeſey, lord Aubigny, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king's ſtandard-bearer, were ſlain in the action; and the lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir William Vavaſor, and Sir Edward Stradling taken priſoners. Among the parliamentarians, the lord St. John, and colonel Eſſex, one of their beſt officers, were killed, and Sir William Eſſex, father to the colonel of the ſame name, was taken priſoner. The coach of the earl of Eſſex, with ſome of his papers and his wagggons, fell into the hands of the royaliſts.

Such was the iſſue of the battle of Keinton or Edge-hill, the firſt action of conſequence that happened between the contending parties; and though neither could boaſt of any remarkable advantage, it occaſioned a general conſternation in the kingdom. A civil war was known in England only by reading or tradition; the inhabitants were not yet habituated to conſider one another as enemies in the field, nor to think it their duty to plunge their ſwords in the breaſts of their friends, their neighbours, their relations, their brothers, and their parents; for ſuch are the horrors entailed upon civil war. Both parties therefore ſhuddered at dipping their hands in the blood of their countrymen; but when the firſt dreadful eſſay was over, all ties of nature and duty were forgotten; all relations, however tender, diſappeared; they wantoned in floods of cruelty, and ſported upon the wrecks of their country. The diſpoſitions of both parties were ſo violent, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to remain neuter, without expoſing himſelf and his family to inevitable ruin. Many had joined the parliament merely from a received opinion, that the king was utterly incapable of making even a ſhew of reſiſtance, and muſt be obliged, without effuſion of blood, to comply with their demands. But when they ſaw him joined by thoſe, who had lately appeared at the head of the moſt forward oppoſers of whatever was uſurped, or even doubtful in the prerogative; when they ſaw him ſurrounded by a ſplendid court, and retain all the forms of laws and juſtice; when they ſaw the nobleſt blood in England offered to be ſhed in his defence, and his own perſon expoſed at the head of the army with as much appearance of reſolution, as that of a common ſoldier of fortune, they began to imagine they had been too haſty in their choice, and to repent of their precipitate engagements: but they had gone too far to retract, and were obliged to ſtand or fall by the party they had embraced; thinking that the king, whatever profeſſions he might make, never could pardon the provocations he had received.

When prince Rupert firſt attacked the left wing of the parliamentary army, and put the whole diviſion to flight, ſome of fugitives flying to a great diſtance from the field of battle, carried the news of a total defeat, and ſtruck the whole city and parliament with terror and diſmay. Even Lenthall, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, adviſed the members to be early in their application to the king for a general peace. A few days after this panic was diſſipated by the arrival of a more juſt account: and then the parliament pretended to have gained a complete victory. But this was flying from one extreme to the other; for though the principal advantage the king could boaſt was that of the ſurrender of Banbury, yet he was undoubtedly the victor, becauſe the earl of Eſſex firſt drew off his army, and left him maſter of the field of battle.

Charles, after refreſhing his troops, and placing a garriſon in Banbury, continued his march to Oxford, the only place in his dominions at his devotion. But as the weather ſtill continued favourable, the royal army was not ſuffered to remain idle. One Martin had been appointed governor of Reading by the parliament, who had conſiderably augmented the fortifications of the town. A party of horſe was therefore detached to make an attempt upon the place, which was thought of great importance. At their approach both the governor and garriſon were ſeized with a panic, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to London, ſo that the royal detachment entered the town without oppoſition. This remarkable ſucceſs induced Charles to march his whole army to Reading; and to form the deſign of approaching the capital itſelf.

Alarmed at the king's progreſs, and the conſequences that might enſue if his army ſhould reach the city, the commons ſent an expreſs to the earl of Eſſex, ordering him to march with the utmoſt expedition to London. He obeyed the order, and was received by both houſes as a conqueror; preſented by the parliament with five thouſand pounds, the houſe declaring, "that they were infinitely obliged to the ſaid earl, for the great and acceptable ſervice he had done the commonwealth, and that they ſhould be ready on all occaſions to expreſs the due ſenſe they have of his merit, by aſſiſting and protecting him, and all others under his command, with their lives and fortunes, to the utmoſt of their power; that this ſhould remain upon record in both houſes of parliament for a mark of honour to his perſon, name and family, and for a monument of his ſingular virtue to all poſterity."

But notwithſtanding this compliment to Eſſex, ſeveral of the moſt powerful perſons in the parliament were diſſatisfied with the great powers with which he was inveſted; and were very deſirous of preventing any farther effuſion of human blood, if an equitable accommodation could be obtained. They were perſuaded that the king would have no objection to enter into a treaty with the parliament, if he could procure the ſafety of his friends, who had in a manner been proſcribed by both houſes. But in this perhaps they were miſtaken. All the priſons, ſeveral of the halls, and other large houſes in London, were filled with thoſe the parliament termed delinquents, among whom were ſome of the aldermen both above and below the chair, and many of the richeſt citizens. Theſe commitments had been made with all the inſolence of power; and the goods, money, and houſes of the delinquents, had been ſeized, in as arbitrary a manner as any act of authority ever committed by the king. The delinquents were not only puniſhed before conviction, but upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions. Theſe arbitrary proceedings could not fail of alarming every perſon of ſenſe and reflection; and peace now appeared to be a very deſirable object. The parliament had diſcharged many ſuſpected officers and ſoldiers, who not having an opportunity of joining the royal army, continued in the neighbourhood of London, and were perpetually forming cabals againſt the parliament. As it was impoſſible to prevent their correſpondence with the king's friends, Charles conceived great hopes of their aſſiſtance, and this motive induced him to continue his march towards the capital. Previous to his leaving Reading, he ſent a proclamation of pardon to the cities of London and Weſtminſter; but this the parliament ordered the ſheriffs to repreſs; the moſt effectual method they could have taken to render it univerſally known. At the ſame time, Sir Peter Killigrew was ſent with a petition to his majeſty, for fixing ſome place near London, where he might reſide, while the negotiations for a peace were carrying on. Charles ſhewed great readineſs to embrace the offer, named Windſor as the place for carrying on the conferences, and deſired that the parliament's garriſon might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that caſtle.

In the mean time, Eſſex ordered ſix thouſand of his army to march to Kingſton, that they might be in readineſs to advance to Hounſlow, to ſtop the progreſs of the royal army, provided they continued their march towards London; and ſent ſeveral of his beſt regiments to Brentford, where they threw up ſome works, while another ſtrong detachment filed off towards Acton.

Killigrew having received his majeſty's anſwer, immediately ſet out for London; but on their reaching Brentford, and finding it full of ſoldiers, he ſtrongly repreſented to Eſſex, that he feared his advancing ſo far from the city might prove an obſtacle to the peace; but Eſſex took no notice of it. He, however, on his arrival at Weſtminſter, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating their deſire that a ceſſation of arms ſhould take place between the two armies. The active prince Rupert was perpetually ſcouring the country at the head of his cavaliers. He well knew that the ſecret intention of Charles was, if poſſible, to march to London; and foreſaw it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to effect it, if Eſſex had time ſufficient to complete his diſpoſitions. It is ſufficiently evident, that the commons themſelves never meant, that their petition for peace ſhould imply a ceſſation of arms; becauſe they thought it neceſſary to make the ceſſation a ſeparate act, which they had diſpatched to Charles by Sir Peter Killigrew. While that gentleman was poſting with it to the king's head quarters, then at Colebrook, prince Rupert attacked the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford with the utmoſt fury; and notwithſtanding they made a noble reſiſtance, they were all cut off, wounded, or taken priſoners, and the prince remained maſter of the town. In the heat of this action, Killigrew arrived, with the letter for a ceſſation of arms in his pocket, and immediately informed Eſſex of the purport of his meſſage. Eſſex would not ſuffer him to proceed any farther, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for acting on the defenſive, till he could receive reinforcements from London.

Charles now moved with his whole army to Brentford; while the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, to join the earl of Eſſex, who now determined to fight the royal army. The parliamentary forces amounted to twenty-four thouſand fighting men, beſides detachments conſiſting of eight thouſand more, which might have been recalled in a few hours. Eſſex was likewiſe poſſeſſed of a complete train of artillery, which he drew up in a lane between Turnham Green and Hammerſmith. His van conſiſted of Stapleton's and Goodwyn's regiments of horſe. His main body and reſerve were compoſed of his infantry, intermixed with the city trained bands. His cavalry formed the wings, the left extending towards the Thames, and the right towards Acton. A council of war being held, it was propoſed by ſome of the officers, that the party lying at Kingſton ſhould advance towards Hounſlow; that two of the beſt regiments of horſe ſhould defile off towards Acton; and that, upon a ſignal given, Eſſex, at the head of the main body, ſhould advance in front; by which means the king's army would be attacked at one and the ſame time in front, flank, and rear. But none of the principal officers were for putting the ſucceſs of the war upon the iſſue of a ſingle battle; becauſe if they gained the victory, the conſtitution muſt be deſtroyed; if they were defeated, both themſelves, their friends, the city of London, and the cauſe of liberty itſelf, muſt be left to the mercy of an incenſed ſovereign, and a furious army. Eſſex, however, thought that ſome art was neceſſary in order to ſupport his deſign of not coming to a general engagement. It was urged, that the intended detachments would ſo greatly weaken the center of the army, that the king might eaſily force his paſſage, and get between them and London, before either the flank or rear of his army could be attacked, eſpecially as it was known with what irreſiſtible fury prince Rupert charged at the head of his cavaliers. It was therefore reſolved not to venture a battle; that the three thouſand men lying at Kingſton ſhould immediately march to London, where their appearance was highly neceſſary to allay a ſtrong ferment that now appeared in favour of his majeſty; and that the detachment at Acton ſhould rejoin the main body. Both armies continued to face each other for ſome time, and ſeveral ſmall ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties, but nothing material occurred. At laſt they both retired, the king to Colebrook, and Eſſex to London.

Soon after, the parliament ſent the following meſſage to the king; for the principal men in the city, weary of ſupporting the enormous expence of the army, were very deſirous of an accommodation.

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"It is humbly deſired by both houſes of parliament, that your majeſty will be pleaſed to return to your parliament, with your royal, not your martial attendants; to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be ſettled and ſecured by their advice; finding, by a late and ſad accident, that your majeſty is environed by ſome ſuch counſellors, as rather perſuade a deſperate diviſion, than a joining and good agreement with your parliament and people: and we ſhall be ready to give your majeſty aſſurances of ſuch ſecurity as may be for your honour, and the ſafety of your royal perſon."

Beſides this meſſage, petitions were now drawing up by the cities of London and Weſtminſter for a peace, which ſo greatly alarmed the violent party in the houſe of commons, that they were ordered to be diſcontinued. Theſe diſorders, and the difficulties to which the commons were now reduced for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, encouraged Charles, in anſwer to their late addreſs, to tell them, "That he hoped all his good ſubjects would look upon that meſſage with indignation, as intended, by the contrivers of it, to treat him with contempt; and deſigned, by that malignant party, of whom he had ſo often complained, as a wall of ſeparation between his majeſty and his people: that he had often told them the reaſons that induced him to leave his capital, from which indeed he was driven; and had often complained, that the greater part of his peers, and of the members of the houſe of commons, could not, with

with ſafety to their perſons, ſit and vote freely among them; but were debarred, by violent and artful practices, of thoſe privileges which their birthrights, and the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents, juſtly gave them: that the whole kingdom knew an army was raiſed, under pretence of orders of both houſes, (an uſurpation never before heard of in any age) which army had purſued his majeſty in his own kingdom; given him battle at Kienton; and now theſe rebels being recruited, and poſſeſſed of London, he was courteouſly invited to return to his parliament, that is, into the power of that army.

"That ſince the traiterous endeavours of theſe deſperate men could not ſnatch the crown from his head, it being defended by the providence of God, and the affections and loyalty of his good ſubjects, they had requeſted him to deliver it up, and put his own life, together with the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good ſubjects, into their mercileſs hands: that he thought proper to give no other anſwer to that part of their petition; but as he imputed not that affront to both his houſes of parliament, nor to the major part of thoſe who were then preſent there, but to that dangerous party which his majeſty and the kingdom muſt deteſt, ſo he would not take advantage of it: that if they would really purſue the courſe their petition delivered at Colebrook pointed out, he would perform all he then promiſed; whereby the hearts of his diſtreſſed ſubjects might be raiſed by the hopes of peace, without which neither religion, the laws, nor the liberties of the kingdom, could be ſettled and ſecured."

A negotiation was, however, opened at Oxford; and the earl of Northumberland, with four members of the lower houſe, repaired thither as commiſſioners. In this treaty the king ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the re-eſtabliſhment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the reſtoration of his conſtitutional prerogative. The parliament ſtill required new conceſſions, and a farther abridgment of legal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealouſies. Finding the king ſupported by more forces, and a greater party than they had ever imagined, they ſeemingly abated ſomewhat of the exorbitant conditions they had formerly claimed; but their demands were ſtill too great for an equal treaty. Beſides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king, in expreſs terms, to aboliſh epiſcopacy; a demand which they had only inſinuated before; and deſired that all other eccleſiaſtical controverſies ſhould be determined by their aſſembly of divines. They alſo deſired the king to acquieſce in their ſettlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire authority of the ſword. And in anſwer to the king's propoſal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips, ſhould be reſtored to him; the parliament required, that they ſhould be put into ſuch hands as they could confide in. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treaſon in levying war againſt their ſovereign, their fears and jealouſies muſt, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their perſonal ſafety ſtill more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. The conferences therefore proceeded no farther than the firſt demand, and the parliament's commiſſioners returned ſuddenly to London.

Beſides the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the heart of England, each county, each town, and almoſt each family, was divided within itſelf; and the moſt violent convulſions ſhook the whole kingdom. The two noblemen in the north, on whom Charles principally relied, were the earls of Newcaſtle and Cumberland. The latter ſoon reſigned his command, but the former aſſociated with the northern counties, where the inhabitants were well diſpoſed to join the royal party; and on account of their being ſituated near the borders of Scotland, were much better provided with arms than the other parts of the kingdom. Newcaſtle therefore ſoon raiſed an army of eight thouſand men, but ſo pompouſly divided, and ſubdivided into regiments, ſquadrons, and companies, that it appeared to conſiſt of thrice the number. The chief adherents to the parliament, among whom were the lord Fairfax, and his ſon Sir Thomas Fairfax, were proclaimed traitors. Lord Fairfax had received a commiſſion to command the parliament's forces in Yorkſhire; but perceiving the people in general were prepoſſeſſed in favour of the king, he was obliged to act only on the defenſive. He attempted to prevent the earl of Newcaſtle from paſſing the river Tees, but his detachment was overpowered, and Newcaſtle marched directly to York, where he was received in triumph by Sir Thomas Glemham, the deputy governor. During theſe tranſactions, the queen and Goring landed at Burlington-bay, with a conſiderable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ſome money. The king's affairs in the north were now in a proſperous condition. He had a ſtrong garriſon in Newcaſtle. The regiments that were raiſed againſt him in Richmondſhire and Cleveland had diſbanded of themſelves. The earl of Newcaſtle had garriſoned Newark, in Nottinghamſhire. A detachment from his army, under the command of Mr. Cavendiſh, had made themſelves maſters of Grantham, in Lincolnſhire, and taken three hundred priſoners, with all their arms and ammunition.

A family difference had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted between the houſes of Huntingdon and Stamford; and colonel Haſtings, a younger brother of the former, had oppoſed with ſucceſs, in Leiceſterſhire, the lord Grey, ſon to the earl of Stamford. The city of Litchfield itſelf was without fortifications; but the cloſe, built by one of its biſhops, was capable of making a good defence, and had been ſeized for the king by a party of loyaliſts. Lord Broke, one of the moſt zealous parliamentarians in England, was ordered to attack this ſtrong retreat. He accordingly advanced to Litchfield, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, and entered the city without oppoſition the king's party retiring into the cloſe. While Broke was concerting the proper diſpoſitions for beſieging the place, he was killed by a muſket-ball, and by his death the parliament loſt one of the moſt inveterate enemies Charles had in the nation. This event inſpired his ſoldiers with a deſire to revenge the death of their leader. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place, and took the whole party priſoners. The earl of Northampton, who commanded the garriſon of Banbury, was advancing to the relief of Litchfield; but in his march threw himſelf into Stafford, in order to prevent the town from being fortified by Sir John Gell, one of the parliament's generals. Gell abandoned the place at his approach; but being joined by Sir William Brereton, he advanced againſt Stafford. Northampton, who knew nothing of the junction, marched immediately out of the town, in order to fight Gell. The conteſt was very ſharp; and though the royaliſts were far inferior in number, Gell's cavalry were totally routed, but the brave earl of Northampton loſt his life in the action. This misfortune ſo greatly intimidated his forces, though they had greatly the advantage, that they retreated to Stafford. The parliamentarians loſt a conſiderable number of men, and eight pieces of cannon.

But the moſt memorable actions of valour, during the winter ſeaſon, were performed in the weſt. Sir Ralph Hopton, at the head of a ſmall troop, being obliged to retire into Cornwall, before the earl of Bedford, who commanded a ſuperior army in Devonſhire, he was joined by the militia, and the whole country reduced to peace and obedience under the king. But the loyaliſts were not contented with the advantages they had gained in Cornwall; they were deſirous of carrying the war into Devonſhire, and reducing that county alſo to ſubjection. Purſuant to this reſolution, Sir Bevil Granville, the moſt popular man in that county, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel and Trevannion, undertook, at their own expence, to raiſe an army for the king; and their great intereſt in Cornwall ſoon enabled them to effect their purpoſe. Hopton had been as forward as any man in the parliament for oppoſing the king's meaſures; but being perſuaded of his majeſty's good intentions, and ſeeing no end of oppoſition but in rebellion, he joined the royal party, and received a commiſſion from the marquis of Hertford, to act for Charles in the weſtern counties. Hopton had ſerved many years abroad with great applauſe, and was therefore complimented with the principal command of the army. Their ſucceſs was ſo rapid, that the parliament was alarmed, and ſent orders to Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, and reduce the whole county of Cornwall to obedience. He obeyed the order, and was ſoon after followed by the earl of Stamford, with a conſiderable reinforcement. Ruthven having entered Cornwall by means of ſome bridges thrown over the Tamar, he marched with the utmoſt expedition, in order to bring on an action with the royaliſts before he was joined by Stamford's forces, and obtain alone the honour of that victory which he looked for with aſſurance. The royaliſts were equally impatient to bring the affair to a deciſion, before Ruthven's army received ſo conſiderable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Braddock down, and victory declared for the royaliſts, though greatly inferior in numbers. Hopton had made a very artful diſpoſition for the engagement. He concealed two field-pieces behind his ranks, which opened at every diſcharge. Theſe pieces did great execution among the enemy, and ſoon put them into diſorder. The advantage was immediately perceived by Hopton, who led his forces to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The rebels loſt above two thouſand five hundred men, together with all their artillery and baggage. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, the poor remains of his army, fled to Saltaſh; but that town being taken by Hopton, he eſcaped with ſome difficulty, and almoſt alone, into Plymouth. The earl of Stamford, informed of Ruthven's defeat, retired to Taviſtock with great precipitation. But he was ſoon after obliged to abandon that town by Sir John Berkley, who took poſſeſſion of Taviſtock for the king.

A.D. 1643. But notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the loyaliſts were greatly diſtreſſed for want both of money and ammunition; and this obliged them to conclude a neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonſhire. But as ſoon as the ſpring advanced, the commons diſapproved of the treaty, and the war recommenced, with the appearance of every diſadvantage to the royal party. Stamford, who commanded the parliament's army, was at the head of a body of near ſeven thouſand men, well ſupplied with money, proviſions and ammunition. Deſirous of retrieving the honour he had loſt when driven from Taviſtock, he advanced againſt the royaliſts, who were not half his number, and oppreſſed by every kind of neceſſity. Deſpair, blended with their natural valour, now determined them to make one noble effort againſt the enemy. Stamford was encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton; and it was determined to attack him, in four diviſions, by five in the morning, on the ſixteenth of May. One of the diviſions was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley; a third by Stanning and Trevannion; a fourth by Baſſet and Godolphin. The royal forces preſſed, with the utmoſt valour, four ways up the hill, and were as obſtinately oppoſed by their enemies. For ſome time the battle continued doubtful, till word was brought to the chief officers of the royal forces, that all their ammunition was ſpent, except four barrels of powder. This defect they determined to ſupply with valour, but at the ſame time to conceal it from the ſoldiers. Orders were therefore given to advance, without firing, to the top of the hill, where they would be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was ſo well ſeconded by the ſoldiers, that the royaliſts continually gained ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliament's forces, for Stamford kept at a diſtance, did every thing becoming a good officer; and when he ſaw his men recoil before the royaliſts, he advanced in perſon at the head of a ſtrong detachment of pikes, and piercing into the thickeſt of the enemy, was overpowered, and taken priſoner. This incident determined the fate of the battle. His men began to give ground apace; ſo that the four parties of royaliſts approaching nearer and nearer, as they aſcended the hill, they at laſt met together on the plain at the top, where they ſignalized their victory with mutual ſhouts and congratulations.

The parliament were now ſufficiently alarmed by this ſeries of ſucceſs in the weſt; and the king ordered the marquis of Hertford, who had raiſed about three thouſand forces in Wales, to join the Corniſh loyaliſts, and puſh their conqueſts ſtill farther in the weſtern counties. In his march he attempted to ſurprize Cirenceſter, but failed in the attempt, through ſome unavoidable accidents of the roads and weather. But as that town was of the utmoſt advantage to the king, prince Rupert undertook that ſervice; and marching with the utmoſt expedition, took the place by ſtorm, cutting to pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred priſoners, about four thouſand ſtands of arms, the enemy's whole magazine, and a very valuable booty.

But the advantages gained by the royal party in the weſt were in ſome meaſure balanced by the ſucceſs of the parliamentary army commanded by the earl of Eſſex, who had now taken the field, and laid ſiege to Reading. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men. The town was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a garriſon of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, commanded by Sir Richard Aſton and colonel Fielding. The largeneſs of the place, the weakneſs of the fortifications, and particularly the great conſumption of powder neceſſary for making a vigorous defence, and with which Charles was very ill provided, had occaſioned a motion in the royal council for abandoning the place, and removing the magazines to Oxford: but before this could be effected, the town was inveſted by the enemy. The approaches, however, were carried on with ſo little judgment, that it was plain the place would not have been taken, had the fortifications been properly conſtructed. The enemy, however, enjoyed great advantages from the ſituation of the place, their cannon playing directly into the town, by which means ſeveral of the garriſon were killed, and Sir Richard Aſton dangerouſly wounded. The diſabling of this able commander was of the utmoſt importance, as the king was now advancing, at the head of his army, to relieve the town. For while he was on his march, the garriſon, under Fielding, who had now ſucceeded to the command, after killing a great number of the enemy in their ſallies, thought proper to capitulate, by which the town was delivered up to the parliament's army. By the articles of the capitulation, the whole garriſon were to march out with the honours of war, and be at full liberty to join the royal army; but all deſerters were to be given up to the enemy. The laſt condition was thought ſo ignominious and prejudicial to the king's affairs, that Fielding was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to loſe his head for granting it. Charles, however, afterwards remitted his ſentence.

But though Eſſex had ſucceeded in his enterprize, and though his army, during the ſiege, had been fully ſupplied with every neceſſary from London; yet the hardſhips which the ſoldiers ſuffered from the inclemency of the weather, had weakened them to ſuch a degree, that they were no longer capable of undertaking any new enterprize: ſo that no action happened, for ſome time, between the two armies, though encamped in the neighbourhood of each other. Eſſex at laſt made a motion towards Oxford, and fixed his head-quarters at Thame, on the borders of Buckinghamſhire,

hamſhire, in order to over-awe that county, which now began to arm in favour of the king. Colonel Urrey, a Scots officer, had been preferred to the command he held under Eſſex, on the preſſing inſtances of the commons; but now thinking the poſt he enjoyed adequate to his merit, he threw up his commiſſion; and preſenting himſelf in his regimentals before prince Rupert, offered to conduct a detachment of the royal army to a place where they might, with great eaſe, beat up the enemy's quarters. Rupert readily embraced the propoſal, and Urrey performed the ſervice with great courage and ſucceſs, killing and taking priſoners a whole regiment of the parliament's horſe, beſides diſperſing other detached parties, and returned to Oxford with a large body, and a conſiderable number of priſoners. Animated by this ſucceſs, he propoſed a ſtill more daring attempt to prince Rupert, that of ſurpriſing the enemy's head-quarters; offering, at the ſame time, that the prince ſhould enjoy all the honour of the enterprize, while he himſelf ſerved as a volunteer. Nothing could be more agreeable to the daring ſpirit of prince Rupert than expeditions of this kind. He embraced the offer with great avidity; and putting himſelf at the head of a ſmall detachment of horſe, marched with ſo much expedition, that he ſurpriſed and cut in pieces two of the enemy's regiments, one of horſe and the other of foot, quartered at Wickham, together with another very conſiderable party lying at ſome diſtance. The ſtrength of the prince's detachment rendered it highly imprudent to make any farther attempt, as the enemy was, by this time, ſufficiently alarmed; and he accordingly began his march back to the royal army. But Eſſex, who was now informed of the ſucceſs that had attended Rupert, and exaſperated at ſo daring an inſult, ſent a party of his horſe to intercept his retreat, at a bridge which the royaliſts were obliged to paſs. The troops deſigned for this expedition were ſeen by Rupert, as he was marching over a plain called Chalgravefield, towards a lane which led to the bridge. He immediately perceived the diſadvantage of being attacked in the defile, gave immediate orders for his forces to halt, and drew up his party on the plain. Aſhamed of having been diſcovered, the parliament's forces advanced againſt the prince with great intrepidity; but being unable to ſupport the furious charge of Rupert, they were all cut off, or taken priſoners, before the earl of Eſſex could bring up the infantry to their aſſiſtance, and Rupert returned with his priſoners to Oxford. The famous Hambden, who commanded a regiment of foot in the neighbourhood, had joined the party ſent to intercept Rupert, as a volunteer, and ruſhed into the thickeſt of the battle. One of the priſoners, after the action was over, informed Rupert, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was wounded; for he ſaw him, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, ride off the field before the battle was over; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning on his horſe's neck. The ſoldier was not miſtaken: news arrived the next day, that he had received a brace of piſtol bullets in his ſhoulder, and that the bone was ſhattered. He languiſhed eight days, and then paid the debt of nature, ſincerely lamented even by his enemies. He was, doubtleſs, one of the greateſt men that age produced. His prodigious abilities, his unſullied virtues, his unſhaken integrity, have been juſtly celebrated by writers of all parties. But he had unhappily imbibed the moſt violent prejudices againſt Charles, and eſteemed him as a prince wholly unworthy of any truſt or confidence from his people. But ſurely an attempt to annihilate monarchy, to ſubvert the ancient conſtitution of his country, and to ſpread the horrors of a civil war over every part of the kingdom, was carrying oppoſition to a very blameable extreme; eſpecially when there was the greateſt reaſon to believe, that his antipathy to the king was not founded upon truth; and that the arbitrary proceedings of that prince proceeded rather from neceſſity, and a natural deſire of ſupporting the prerogative which had been tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, than from any ambitious deſigns of eradicating the liberties of the people. Perhaps Hambden himſelf never intended to carry oppoſition to this dreadful height. It is more than probable, that he, as well as many others in the oppoſition, never imagined that the king could have found ſo many reſources; and that he muſt have been obliged, even before the ſword of civil diſcord had made any progreſs in depopulating the kingdom, to ſubmit to the conditions offered by the parliament. Perceiving himſelf deceived in the reſiſtance he imagined Charles could make, he endeavoured to repair the dreadful conſequences of his miſtake, by puſhing on the war with more vigour and ſpirit than ever. He well knew that a deciſive victory only could now protect his party from the indignation of an enraged ſovereign; and was therefore deſirous of purſuing, with the utmoſt intrepidity, the only meaſures that could reſtore peace to his country. When the king was informed of Hambden's misfortune, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with the fate of that great man, though one of his capital enemies, that he made an offer of his own ſurgeons to attend him; but it was too late. Before the meſſenger arrived, Hambden had been ſeized with a violent fever, and was paſt all hopes of recovery.

While the two principal armies continued in their quarters near the city of Oxford, Sir William Waller was ſent, at the head of a large body of forces, into the weſt, with orders to incorporate among his troops the poor remains of the parliament's army that had eſcaped from the battle of Stratton. Waller was a man of great ſpirit and fortune: he had already diſplayed his great abilities as a commander, by reducing Portſmouth, and defeating lord Herbert. His great reputation brought in vaſt numbers of volunteers, and he advanced into the weſt with the utmoſt celerity. But before he reached the place of action, prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, had joined Hopton with a conſiderable reinforcement, ſo that the army of the royaliſts now amounted to near ſeven thouſand men. They were well provided with artillery, and other neceſſaries, and greatly elated with their late ſucceſs. But the diſpoſition of the weſtern forces, which had chiefly been diſciplined by Hopton, were very different from the troops under prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford. They were very regular and tractable in their quarters; they paid punctually for every thing, as far as their money would extend, and treated thoſe who did not join them with great humanity and tenderneſs. They never levied money upon the inhabitants but with apparent reluctance, and with promiſes to repay it as ſoon as the circumſtances of the times would permit. This abſtinence was blended with the utmoſt courage, and a conſciouſneſs of their being the chief ſupports of the royal cauſe in that part of the kingdom. Maurice ridiculed this behaviour; and his troops having been accuſtomed to live at free-quarters, looked upon the ſobriety and regular conduct of the others as a reproach to themſelves. It was fortunate for Charles, that notwithſtanding this difference in the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, all of them were united in the common principle of ſupporting the crown; and their reputation was very great, even with the parliamentary party.

It is therefore no wonder that they made a very rapid progreſs, Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſtarcaſtle made no reſiſtance, and gentlemen of known fidelity to the king were appointed governors. Sir William Waller had now reached Bath, where he continued ſome time, recruiting his army; and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the two parties, which generally terminated in favour of the royaliſts. At laſt the two armies met at Lanſdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loſs on both ſides, but without any deciſive event. The gallant Sir Bevil Granville fell in the action, and Hopton was greatly hurt by the blowing up of ſome powder. After this engagement the royaliſts marched to the eaſtward, in order to join the king at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and greatly infeſted their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced with additional troops which flocked to him from all quarters, he ſoon ſo greatly ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in number, that they durſt no longer continue their march, or expoſe themſelves to the hazard of an action. It was therefore reſolved, that prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, ſhould proceed with the cavalry, and, after procuring a reinforcement from the king, haſten back to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. Waller was confident of taking this whole body of infantry, now abandoned by their principal ſupport, that in a letter he wrote to the parliament, he informed them that the work was done, and that he would inform them, by the next poſt, of the number and quality of the priſoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which the weſtern army was reduced, had prepared a ſtrong body of horſe, and immediately diſpatched them under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller, inſtead of endeavouring to prevent the junction of this reinforcement with the foot in the Devizes, which he might eaſily have done by continuing the blockade of the place, drew off his troops, thinking himſelf ſure of the victory, and that a deciſive action would totally ruin the king's affairs. He was miſtaken. The infantry, relieved from deſpair, advanced with the greateſt alacrity to join Wilmot, and a general action ſucceeded on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes. After a ſhort but ſharp conflict, Waller's army was totally defeated, few of them eſcaping either death or captivity. Waller himſelf, with the poor remains of his numerous army, fled to Briſtol, and carried thither the firſt news of his own defeat. The royaliſts became maſters of the whole train of artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the parliament's army, with ſo inconſiderable a loſs on their ſide, that it hardly deſerves to be mentioned.

This event together with the late ſucceſs of prince Rupert, and the death of Hambden, ſo diſcouraged Eſſex, that quitting Thame and Ayleſbury, where he had hitherto lain, he retreated to London, at the head of a broken and diſheartened army, which, but a few months before, he had led into the field in ſo flouriſhing a condition. In the mean time the forces that had defeated Waller, reduced Bath, and then marched to form the ſiege of Briſtol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. Briſtol was conſidered as one of the principal places poſſeſſed by the parliament: it was very rich, and garriſoned by two thouſand five hundred foot, a regiment of horſe, and another of dragoons. Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to lord Say, commanded the forces, and many of the citizens took up arms, and joined the garriſon. The fortifications were, however, incomplete and irregular, which induced prince Rupert to reſolve to ſtorm the city. Accordingly the aſſault was begun in four different places, and after a deſperate engagement, the ſuburbs were taken. But ſtill the garriſon were maſters of the town, and the entrance was rendered more difficult by the ruins of the houſes that were demoliſhed in the late attempt; as well as by the loſs ſuſtained by the royaliſts. It was even propoſed not to make any farther attempt, when, to the great joy of the whole army, the beſieged beat a parley. The articles of the capitulation were ſoon ſettled, by which the garriſon were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. The moſt wealthy inhabitants of Briſtol, fearing the city would fall into the hands of the loyaliſts, embarked the greateſt part of their wealth on board their ſhips, in order to ſend it to London; but prince Rupert, informed of their deſign, ſeized the ſhips, and by that means became maſter of a very rich booty.

The taking of Briſtol was of great importance to Charles, though his loſs was very conſiderable. Near five hundred excellent ſoldiers periſhed in the aſſault, among whom were ſeveral officers of note. The king, however, to ſhew that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he renewed his proteſtation lately made with ſuch ſolemnity at the head of his army, and declared his earneſt deſire of concluding a peace, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; offering to grant a general pardon, and bury all that was paſt in eternal oblivion. But the factious inhabitants of London were ſo far from thinking, that the king's late ſucceſſes gave him a title to talk of peace, that they ran into greater violences than ever. Sir William Waller was now returned to the capital, and by his ſpirited harangues kept alive that enthuſiaſm, which a turn of fortune ſeemed to have depreſſed. The leaders of the houſe of commons ſecretly promoted theſe furious diſpoſitions of the people, though they pretended they were very deſirous of peace. The lords made no ſecret that they were determined to ſend propoſitions to the king, and his majeſty's late manifeſto, occaſioned by his ſucceſſes in the weſt, was repreſented even by ſome conſiderable members among the commons, as a mark of royal clemency, and a proper baſis for a treaty. On the fifth of Auguſt the lords ſent down to the commons the following propoſitions to be tranſmitted to the king.

1. "That both armies be immediately diſbanded, and his majeſty be intreated to return to his parliament, upon ſuch ſecurity as ſhould be thought ſatisfactory.

2. "That religion might be ſettled by the advice of a general ſynod of divines, in ſuch a manner as his majeſty, with the conſent of both houſes of parliament, ſhould appoint.

3. "That the militia both by ſea and land, ſhould be ſettled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ſhips of the kingdom, put into ſuch hands as the king ſhould appoint with the approbation of both houſes of parliament; his majeſty's revenue be abſolutely and totally reſtored to him: only deducting ſuch part as had been expended for the maintenance of his children.

4. "That all the members of both houſes, who had been expelled only for abſenting themſelves, ſhould be reſtored to their ſeats.

5. "That all delinquents before the year 1641, ſhould be delivered up to the juſtice of parliament, and a general pardon for all others, on both ſides, granted.

6. "That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſt for all former acts of hoſtility."

The commons took immediately theſe propoſitions into conſideration, and the article relative to the king's revenue, was agreed to; but it being late on Saturday night when this reſolution paſſed, the houſe was adjourned till Monday morning, when all the members in and about London attended, and, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that had the parliament been left to themſelves, they would have laid a ſure foundation for the ſalutary work of peace. But this was prevented by the leaders of the faction, who had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt for putting a period to the miſeries of civil diſcord. The two houſes were ſurrounded by the populace, who in a very clamorous and threatening manner, demanded that no terms of accommodation ſhould be accepted. In the midſt of this confuſion, Mr. Hollis produced a letter from Eſſex, informing the houſe, that the king's forces had taken Doncaſter and Weymouth. But this was far from diſcouraging the faction; the tumults continued to increaſe, till the lords, in a conference with the commons, plainly told them, that unleſs care was taken to ſuppreſs the violent proceedings of the populace, they muſt and will adjourn their houſe, till they could meet and deliberate with freedom, and without danger to their perſons. An order was accordingly ſent to Pennington, the factious lord-mayor, ordering him to ſuppreſs theſe tumults.

mults. But many of the members, thinking their lives in danger, had retired from the houſe, and the propoſitions for a peace were rejected by a majority of ſeven. They now liſtened to no propoſal from the lords that tended to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, and appointed committees to ſit in every hall of the city, to receive ſubſcriptions for raiſing men and horſes for the defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties. The lords were highly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, eſpecially as they ſaw, that, notwithſtanding the late order, no care was taken to ſuppreſs the tumults, and that a party of the trained bands were ſuffered to attack and murder ſeveral women who had loudly clamoured for peace. The earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Clare, Holland and Portland, with the lords Conway and Lovelace, left the houſe and retired to the king, who received them with favour.

During theſe tranſactions in the parliament, it was propoſed in council, that the royal army ſhould march directly to London, where every thing was in confuſion, and where it was hoped, either by an inſurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a ſpeedy end might be put to the civil diſorders, which now threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. Had this motion been carried, in all probability, the conſternation of the party at the approach of the royal army would have been fatal to their cauſe; but it was thought by the majority of the council, that the great number and force of the London militia would render the attempt too dangerous. Glouceſter, lying within twenty miles of the army, offered an eaſier, and, at the ſame time, a very important conqueſt. It was the only garriſon now poſſeſſed by the parliament in thoſe parts. Should the undertaking be ſucceſsful, the advantages would be very great; the whole courſe of the Severn would be under his majeſty's command; the rich malecontent counties in the weſt, being deprived of all aſſiſtance, might be obliged to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their diſaffection; an open communication would be preſerved between Wales and theſe new conqueſts; and one half of the kingdom being entirely free from the influence of the parliament, might be united into a compact body, give the king a great ſuperiority, and be employed with ſucceſs in reducing the reſt of England to obedience. Theſe reaſons induced the king to embrace a reſolution that proved fatal to the royal party.

The garriſon of Glouceſter, conſiſting of about fifteen hundred regular troops, beſides the citizens who took up arms on this occaſion, was commanded by one Maſſey, an intrepid ſoldier of fortune; but his not being infected with the enthuſiaſm of the age, induced Charles to think that he would ſoon liſten to terms of accommodation. He was deceived; Maſſey was reſolute to preſerve an entire fidelity to his maſters; and though no enthuſiaſt himſelf, he well knew how to employ, to great advantage, that fanatical ſpirit, with which his whole garriſon, and the greater part of the inhabitants, were infected. The king ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender, giving him two hours to return an anſwer; but before half the time was expired, two citizens appeared at the head quarters, dreſſed in the moſt uncouth manner, while their countenances diſplayed all the marks of that enthuſiaſtic ardour which had been ſo fatal to the peace of the three kingdoms. Without being aſked the purport of their meſſage, without exhibiting the leaſt appearance of duty or good manners, they ſaid, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, that they brought an anſwer from the godly city of Glouceſter; and, after making ſeveral inſolent and ſeditious replies to ſome queſtions that were aſked them, they delivered the following anſwer in writing: “We the inhabi-“tants, magiſtrates, officers, and ſoldiers, within “the garriſon of Glouceſter, unto his majeſty's gra-“cious meſſage, return this humble anſwer: That “we do keep this city, according to our oaths and “allegiance, to and for the uſe of his majeſty and “his royal poſterity: and do accordingly conceive “ourſelves wholly bound to obey the commands of “his majeſty ſignified by both houſes of parliament; “and are reſolved, by God's help, to keep this city “accordingly.” All negotiations were now at an end, and the ſiege was puſhed with great intrepidity. Sir William Vavaſour lay, with his Welſh forces, on the weſt and north-weſt ſides of the town; Ruthven, earl of Brentford, was poſted on the ſouth; and Sir Jacob Aſhley on the eaſt, where the king himſelf had his head quarters.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation that ſeized the inhabitants of London, when the news arrived that Glouceſter was inveſted. The whole city was in confuſion, and the people thought they ſaw the royal army already thundering at their gates. Had even a party of the king's forces appeared in this moment of diſtraction, the conſequences might have been fatal to the whole party. But the ſiege of Glouceſter demanded the king's whole attention, and in a few days the citizens recovered from their conſternation. But the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament exaſperated many who had before joined them; and a combination was formed in London, which required all the abilities of the leaders to ſuppreſs.

Edmond Waller, ſo well known for his poetical writings, was a perſon of very conſiderable fortune, and equally remarkable for his talents and elegance of manners. He was a member of the lower houſe, and had heartily joined in the meaſures that had been purſued for reducing the prerogative of the crown within proper bounds; but ſeeing no end of the encroachments of the commons, he exerted all his powers to ſtop the career of faction, and uſed the utmoſt boldneſs in his ſpeeches in blaming the violent counſels by which the members were governed. But finding all his eloquence in the houſe was exerted in vain, he determined, if poſſible, to form a party in the city, that might oblige the parliament to accept of reaſonable conditions, and reſtore peace to the nation. All the eminent perſons in and about London had formed the ſame deſign, and highly approved the ſentiments of Waller, the charms of whoſe converſation, joined to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him many friends. Theſe all joined in wiſhing that ſome expedient could be found for ſtopping the impetuous career of the parliament, and bringing about a peace on equal terms. Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had for ſome time entertained the ſame ſentiments; and informed Waller, that the ſame deſire of peace among all men of ſenſe and moderation prevailed in the city. It was therefore thought very eaſy to form a ſtrong combination, for refuſing, by mutual concert, the illegal taxes impoſed upon the people by the parliament, without the royal aſſent. Pleaſed with the idea of reſtoring peace to their country, by obliging the parliament to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation, they applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to form liſts of perſons whom they conceived would join them in their deſign; and ſoon had the pleaſure of ſeeing them contain a very conſiderable and very reſpectable number. But, unfortunately for them, a ſervant belonging to Tomkins, who had imbibed the fanatical ſpirit of the times, overheard their converſation, and informed Pym of their deſign. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately ſeized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all found guilty, and Tomkins and Chaloner ſuffered death on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the ſentence of Waller was reſpited, and he afterwards obtained a pardon, on paying a fine of ten thouſand pounds. The following vow and covenant were alſo taken as a teſt by the lords and commons, and likewiſe impoſed on their army, and upon all perſons who lived within their quarters.

“I, A. B. in humility and reverence of the divine Majeſty, declare my hearty ſorrow for my own ſins, and the ſins of this nation, which have deſerved the calamities and judgments which now lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own ways: and I do farther, in the preſence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in order to the ſecurity and preſervation of the true reformed proteſtant religion, and liberty of the ſubject, I will not conſent to the laying down of arms, ſo long as the papiſts, now in open war againſt the parliament, ſhall, by force of arms, be protected from the juſtice thereof; and that I do abhor and deteſt the ſaid wicked and traiterous deſign lately diſcovered; and that I never gave, or will give, my aſſent to the execution thereof; but will, according to my power and vocation, oppoſe and reſiſt the ſame, and all other of the like nature: and in caſe any other ſimilar deſign ſhall come to my knowledge, I will make ſuch timely diſcovery, as I ſhall conceive will be moſt conducive to the prevention thereof: and whereas I do, in my conſcience, believe, that the forces raiſed by the two houſes of parliament, are raiſed and continued for their juſt defence, and for the defence of the true proteſtant religion, and liberty of the ſubject, againſt the forces raiſed by the king; I will, according to my power and vocation, aſſiſt the forces raiſed and continued by both houſes of parliament, againſt the forces raiſed by the king without their conſent; and will likewiſe aſſiſt all other perſons, that ſhall take this oath, in what they ſhall do in purſuance thereof; and will not, directly or indirectly, adhere to, or willingly aſſiſt, the forces raiſed by the king, without the conſent of both houſes of parliament: and this vow and covenant I make, in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the ſame, as I ſhall anſwer at the great day, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed.”

The framing of this ſolemn vow and covenant was one of the laſt ſervices which Pym did for his party. He died ſoon after, and lived not to ſee the dreadful ſcenes that ſoon ſucceeded, together with the deſtruction of that very faction he had ſo long and ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported. Thoſe oaths and covenants were the laſt, and indeed the moſt ſucceſsful efforts of the commons. Nor were they contented with taking the oath themſelves; they ſent the following inſtructions for adminiſtering it to the people in every part of the kingdom.

1. “That a ſufficient number of copies of the vow and covenant be ſent down to the deputy-lieutenants and committees of parliament in the different counties, and that a certificate be required from them of the day on which they were received.

2. “That the ſaid deputy-lieutenants do, in ſix days at fartheſt, diſperſe the ſaid copies to every pariſh church and chapel in their reſpective counties, to the miniſters, church-wardens, or other perſons, as the deputy-lieutenants ſhall appoint to receive the ſame.

3. “That the miniſters of the ſeveral churches or chapels ſhall give public notice upon the firſt Lord's day after their receipt of ſuch copies, what day the ſaid vow and covenant ſhall be taken, in their ſeveral pariſhes; the time not to exceed the ſeventh day after ſuch notice.

4. “That before the day ſo appointed, the conſtables of every place, within the ſaid pariſhes, ſhall deliver to the miniſters the names, fairly written, of all men, above the age of fifteen, reſiding in their ſeveral towns or villages; and the church-wardens of every pariſh ſhall, before the day ſo appointed, provide a regiſter-book, in the beginning of which the vow and covenant ſhall be fairly written; wherein every man, after he hath taken that vow and covenant, ſhall write his name, or ſet his mark to his name written by ſome other perſon.

5. “That this vow and covenant ſhall be taken by all men in the church, within the ſeveral pariſhes where they reſide, in preſence of the miniſters, church-wardens, ſideſmen, and conſtables of the ſaid pariſh, or two of them at leaſt, jointly with the miniſter: the parties ſtanding up, and either audibly pronouncing all the words of the ſame; or elſe after ſome perſon hath ſolemnly read over the whole, and taken it in their ſight and hearing, they ſhall declare their aſſent to the ſame.

6. “That if any reſiding in the pariſh do not come and take the ſaid vow and covenant on the day firſt appointed, then the miniſters ſhall appoint another day, at no great diſtance: and the church-wardens are to go to the houſes where they reſide, and give them perſonal notice; and if they be not at home, to leave notice with ſome perſon in the houſe of the day appointed for their taking it: if they refuſe it, they may be returned as obſtinate.

7. “The miniſters of the ſeveral pariſhes ſhall, within twenty days after their receipt of the vow and covenant, make a true certificate of the names of all ſuch as, in their pariſhes, do not take it, to ſuch perſon as ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe; who ſhall ſpeedily return them to the deputy-lieutenants, or committees of parliament in that county, or any three of them; together with the names of all ſuch miniſters as do not ſend in their certificates within the twenty days; and of theſe the deputy-lieutenants, or committees, are to make duplicates, keeping one part with them, and ſending the other ſealed to the clerk of the houſe of commons.

8. “That the deputy-lieutenants and committees of parliament do immediately diſarm, or cauſe to be diſarmed, all ſuch as ſhall refuſe to take the ſaid vow and covenant; and if it can be proved, that they had then in their cuſtody any arms which they did not deliver up, they ſhall be immediately committed to priſon.

9. “That no ſoldiers inliſted ſhall receive any part from the ſtate, till they have, in the preſence of their commander, and ſome miniſter, taken the vow and covenant.”

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, the ſiege of Glouceſter was carried on with great fury; and Maſſey, ambitious of ſaving the place, and having under his command a garriſon ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſupport of their religion, had hitherto maintained his poſt with ſuch courage and capacity, that he had greatly retarded all the advances of the royaliſts. By ſudden and frequent ſallies, he infeſted them in their trenches, and often gained conſiderable advantages. He diſputed every inch of ground; and elated with former ſucceſſes, refreſhed the vigour and alacrity of their courage. But notwithſtanding all his intrepidity, he ſaw his garriſon reduced to the laſt extremity; and failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that unleſs he was ſpeedily relieved, he muſt, from extreme want of proviſions and ammunition, be obliged to ſurrender.

It was now neceſſary for the commons to exert their whole power and authority, in order to repair their loſſes, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They well knew, that if Glouceſter fell into the king's hands, it would be very difficult to ſupport themſelves againſt a victorious army; eſpecially as they had very lately found, that very great diſſentions prevailed among the people, even in the capital itſelf. They applied themſelves particularly to recruit the army of Eſſex, and render it capable of facing the royaliſts. They excited their preachers to renew their declamations againſt the cauſe ſupported by his majeſty; and even had recourſe to the expedient of impreſſing men into their ſervice, though they had ſo loudly exclaimed againſt that practice when exerciſed by the king, and even very lately aboliſhed it by a bill for which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended. They alſo prevailed upon the city to ſend four regiments of its militia to the relief of Glouceſter; an event expected with the utmoſt anxiety.

An army of fourteen thouſand men being at laſt raiſed and properly equipped, Eſſex put himſelf at their head, and marched with the utmoſt expedition through Bedford and Leiceſter. He was greatly inferior to the royaliſts in cavalry; and prince Rupert had been detached, at the head of a flying party to haraſs him in his march; but Eſſex, by the mere force of conduct and diſcipline eluded all the efforts of Rupert, and paſſed over thoſe open champaign counties, without any material loſs. On his approaching the city, the king was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, ſo that Eſſex entered Glouceſter without oppoſition. He found on his arrival, that the garriſon was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and that had his march been deferred one day longer, and the royaliſts made another attack, the garriſon muſt have ſubmitted, for they had only one barrel of powder remaining, and their proviſions were wholly conſumed. The country people ſupplied both the army and garriſon with plenty of neceſſaries, which they had carefully concealed from the royaliſts, pretending that their ſtock was entirely exhauſted.

There is great reaſon to believe that Charles intended to give Eſſex battle if he returned by the ſame rout, and for that purpoſe continued for ſome time at Sudley-caſtle, and thence removed to Eviſham. But Eſſex wiſely declined an engagement in an open country were the king's cavalry under ſo intrepid a leader muſt have a deciſive advantage. He lay five days at Tewkeſbury, which was his firſt ſtage after leaving Glouceſter; and ſeemed, by ſome preparations, to continue his rout to Worceſter. But by a forced march during the night he reached Cirenceſter, and obtained the double advantage of paſſing unmoleſted through an open country, and of ſurprizing a convoy of proviſions, eſcorted by three hundred royaliſts. Eſſex now directed his march towards London, through the northern parts of Wiltſhire, where he thought the king's horſe could act only with the leaſt advantage. But by the indefatigable activity of prince Rupert, his rear was attacked at Awborn-chaſe, with ſo much ſucceſs, that great numbers of his ſoldiers fell in the action. At laſt he reached Newbury; but was ſurprized to find, that the king, by forced marches had arrived before him, and was already in poſſeſſion of the place. An action was now unavoidable, and the neceſſary preparations were made for the approaching conflict by the leaders of both armies.

The battle was fought with deſperate valour and a ſteady bravery on both ſides. Eſſex's horſe were ſeveral times broke by the king's, but his infantry ſtood firm; and beſides keeping up a continued fire, preſented an invincible barrier of pikes againſt the furious attacks of prince Rupert, and thoſe gallant troops of gentry who chiefly compoſed the royal cavalry. The London militia on this occaſion behaved with remarkable valour; and tho' taken ſo lately from their ordinary occcupations, equalled the moſt veteran ſodiers. They had been trained by Skippon, and the enthuſiaſm with which they were inſpired, rendered them ſtrangers to fear. The engagement continued in all its fury till night put an end to the ſlaughter, and left the event undecided. Eſſex, who had done more than he intended, renewed not the action, but purſued his march towards London, which he reached in ſafety. His rear indeed was once put into confuſion by the king's cavalry, but no material conſequences enſued; Rupert with all his intrepidity could not ſtop the army of Eſſex, ſo as to bring on a ſecond engagement. The king followed the parliamentary army, and took poſſeſſion of Reading, where he eſtabliſhed a garriſon.

The loſs ſuſtained on both ſides in the battle of Newbury was not ſo great as might have been expected from the length of the action, which began at ſix in the morning and continued till night: not more than two thouſand men being ſlain in the field of battle. Among thoſe who fell on the part of the royaliſts were the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon; two noblemen of great worth and abilities. But what rendered the loſs irreparable, was the death of Lucius Cary, lord viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate. He was one of the moſt learned perſons of his age, and ſtood foremoſt in the liſt of patriots, while he was perſuaded that the prerogatives of the crown incroached on the liberties of the ſubject. But when the royal power was confined within bounds; when the liberty of a ſubject had nothing to fear from the hand of authority, he embraced the defence of thoſe limited powers which were ſtill left to monarchy, and without which he was perſuaded the Engliſh conſtitution could not ſubſiſt. He was, however, penetrated with the miſeries of his country, and dreaded the ſucceſs of his own party almoſt as much as that of the parliament. Perſuaded that an advantageous peace could only be attained when the forces of both parties were nearly balanced, he was very deſirous of opening a negotiation and ſettling the articles of a laſting peace on the ſolid baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had taken ſome care in dreſſing himſelf, and told his acquaintance that his motives for doing it were, his being unwilling the enemy ſhould find his body in a ſlovenly indecent ſituation. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foreſee much miſery to my country; but "believe I ſhall be out of it ere night." He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Tho' the royal forces in the north were greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the parliament, yet they did not make that progreſs which might have been expected. The popularity of the earl, now erected marquis of Newcaſtle, was very great in the north; but he was oppoſed by two men, who about this time began to render themſelves remarkable for their valour and military conduct. Theſe were Sir Thomas Fairfax, ſon to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former had obtained ſome advantages over the royaliſts, eſpecially at Wakefield; and the latter obtained a victory at Gainſborough, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendiſh, who periſhed in the action. Cromwell by a painful obſervance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cauſe, was daily riſing in preferment. He had never ſeen any foreign ſervice, and if we believe his cotemporaries, his courage was not natural, but acquired by experience and reaſon. As he was a conſummate judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite ſcheme, that of inſpiring all whom he commanded, with an enthuſiaſm, that might more than balance all the ſentiments of honour, loyalty and duty in the other party. He ſucceeded, and the regiment he commanded became famous for a ferocious courage, founded on fanaticiſm, that nothing could withſtand. But notwithſtanding the great abilities of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell, the advantages were on the ſide of the royal party in the north. They gained a complete victory over Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and diſperſed his whole army. But the fortreſs of Hull greatly prevented the progreſs of the royaliſts, and it was determined to beſiege the town. Newcaſtle accordingly ſat down before it with an army of fifteen thouſand men. Hotham was no longer governor; both he and his ſon had entered into a coreſpondence with the royaliſts, and had fallen victims to the ſeverity of the parliament. Sir Thomas Fairfax now commanded in that town, and by his military conduct and valour rendered all the attempts of Newcaſtle abortive, and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

The ſucceſſes of both armies being thus nearly equal, no proſpect of peace appeared unleſs the Scots could be engaged to join in the war, it being concluded that their weight muſt turn the ſcale of the party they favoured. The commons had been early in their applications to the Scottiſh leaders; they had ſent Pickering as their agent in Scotland, to carry on the negotiations. He repreſented the great danger that muſt attend the form of religion eſtabliſhed in their country, if the royal party prevailed; and conjured them to ſuccour their diſtreſſed brethren in England. The marquis, now duke of Hamilton, and the earl of Montroſe had waited upon the queen at York, and laid before her the danger that threatened the kingdom from the negotiation of Pickering. Hamilton was for temporizing, but Montroſe was of very different ſentiments, and urged the neceſſity of having recourſe to more violent methods, in order effectually to prevent the Scottiſh parliament from joining with the commons of England. But prepoſſeſſed in favour of Hamilton, Charles intruſted him and his friends with the affairs of Scotland; and at the ſame time earneſtly requeſted that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the Scottiſh court from engaging in any negotiation with the committees which he underſtood the Engliſh parliament intended to ſend into that kingdom. If the duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanerk were ſincere in their attachment they undertook more than they were able to perform. A parliament or convention of the ſtates was called, tho' expreſsly againſt the kings conſent. This meaſure was indeed chiefly effected by the Scots commiſſioners, who after concluding the late treaty in England, had entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the leaders of the parliament at London. The negotiation had indeed been carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, that when it was firſt mentioned in the houſe of commons, it created a general conſternation. There is ſomething extremely ſhocking in the idea of calling in a foreign enemy; but the deſperate ſtate of their affairs rendered it neceſſary. The earl of Rutland and the lord Grey of Warke, were named as commiſſioners for the houſe of lords; but the former had intereſt ſufficient to get himſelf excuſed, and the latter, tho' conſidered as an unſhaken friend to the cauſe of the parliament, ſo reſolutely declined the ſervice, that he was ſent to the tower for his diſobedience. Sir William Armyn, and Sir Henry Vane the Yonger, at laſt undertook the ſervice, and were aſſiſted by the ſame fanatical divines, who promiſed to bring over to their intereſt the Scotiſh clergy, on whoſe aſſiſtance the ſucceſs of the negotiation in a great meaſure depended. Montroſe ſent timely information to the king, of the intrigues of the Engliſh parliament, and offered, on receiving a commiſſion for that purpoſe, to declare the convention of the ſtates, traitors to their country. Had this been done immediately, the attempts of the commons would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive; but the king liſtened ſo much to the counſels of Hamilton, that Montroſe and his friends were neglected till affairs became deſperate, and it was then too late. Hamilton indeed pretended, that he had done every thiug in his power to prevent the Scots from agreeing with the Engliſh commiſſioners; but that all his endeavours were in vain. The truth is, a large arrear was ſtill owing by the Engliſh parliament to the Scottiſh covenanters, and this muſt have been loſt if the former had been ruined. The Scotch forces in Ireland had done nothing to anſwer the great expectations conceived of them; and tho' their general, the earl of Leven, had engaged they ſhould never join the king, yet as the parliament was unable to ſupply Leven with money, it is hard to ſay what courſes the ſoldiers might follow, when pinched by neceſſity. Leven and his forces were therefore recalled from Ireland in order to prevent their inliſting in that kingdom, and paſſing over into England. Add to this, that the great ſpirit of Montroſe, his virtuous popularity, his numerous dependents, and the inflexibility of his principles, rendered him now ſo formidable, not only to the covenanters, who were directed by Argyle, but alſo to the moderate party headed by the duke of Hamilton, that a coalition took place between theſe two parties againſt Montroſe and the royaliſts. It hapened to the Scots, as to a people wanton with liberty, who having nothing to wiſh for, had a thouſand things to fear. Hamilton, with all his moderation, made no ſecret of his diſliking the revival of what he called hierarchical tyranny in Scotland, and conſequently he was united with the covenanters in the main principle of oppoſition to Charles. For tho' the true motives of it were ambition, and an inordinate deſire of poſſeſſing the revenues of the church, yet religion was the avowed pretence. the Engliſh commiſſioners improved all the jealouſies the Scots entertained with regard to the king's intentions. They laid before the convention the ſteps they had already taken for an entire uniformity of eccleſiaſtical government between the two kingdoms; they invited him to ſend members to the aſſembly of divines, then ſitting at Weſtminſter, for introducing a farther reformation of religion, and offered to proceed as far as the low condition of their affairs would admit, in diſcharging the arrears due to the Scottiſh army. But at the ſame time, they mentioned the neceſſity of ſecuring all thoſe invaluable bleſſings by the Scots preventing the ruin of the Engliſh parliament, which could only be effected by imimmediately raiſing an army for their aſſiſtance.

The proſperous condition of the royal affairs in England, added to the inviolable fidelity uſed by Charles in his conceſſions to the Scots, muſt have rendered abortive this rebellious propoſition, had not ſome of the king's beſt friends been intimidated by a charge ſent down againſt them by the Engliſh parliament, for holding a correſpondecne with the queen. Their letters had been intercepted by Fairfax, who forwarded them to London, whence they were ſent to Scotland by the parliament. At the ſame time the king's friends were diſunited among themſelves. The duke of Hamilton and his brother, the earl of Lanerk finding they had been deceived by the covenanters, would willingly have joined Montroſe and the declared royaliſts; but that nobleman now conſidered them as the worſt of traitors. He imputed all the aſcendency the king's enemies had obtained in Scotland, to their counſels, and rejected, with indignation, all advances towards an accommodation. It is certain the Scots in general were at this time well affected to his majeſty's perſon; nor did Montroſe over-rate his own abilities, when he made an offer to the queen of taking the field againſt thoſe noblemen who had voted for calling a convention of the ſtates without the king's permiſſion. His enemies were ſo ſenſible of this, that they offered to give him the ſecond command in their armies; a propoſal which he artfully eluded; and notwithſtanding all the provocations he had received preſerved an unſhaken loyalty. Recourſe was had to the ſame principles which had been before ſucceſsful, that of undermining the civil authority by means of religion. They perceived unſurmountable difficulties ſhould they make their firſt attack upon the ſtate; but they knew that treaſon would find a ready admiſſion thro' the doors of the church.

The aſſembly of divines in Scotland was ſitting when the Engliſh commiſſioners arrived; and perhaps never were there ſeen together ſuch a number of men ſo groſsly ignorant, and ſo impiouſly arrogant, tho' dignified with a ſacred function, and concealed under the diſguiſe of public zeal. The epiſcopal clergy, who had a principal ſhare in the government when the alteration in religion took place, had either been ſequeſtered, or enjoyed very little credit with the covenanters, and every vacancy that happened had been filled with the weakeſt and moſt violent men their country produced. Henderſon, their moderator, in any other company of clergymen would have made but a contemptible figure, while Rutherford, Gilleſpie, and the other leading members of the aſſembly, by their writings and deportment, rendered it juſtly a queſtion whether they were more fit for the diſcipline of a ſchool, or that of a mad-houſe. Tho' Argyle, Loudon and other great men, who had done ſo much for public liberty, had induſtriouſly encouraged this ignorance and frenzy in their teachers, they now began to feel the inconveniencies of both. The weakeſt minds are ſuſceptible of ambition; the luſt of power is common to the wiſe and the fooliſh. The enthuſiaſtic teachers were ſoon ſenſible of their own importance; and the torrent of zeal they poured out againſt popery, prelacy, and the like unmeaning words, grew more ungovernable, and ſwept before it all conſiderations of duty, loyalty, national independence, and public ſafety. When the Engliſh commiſſioners preſented their letters and credentials from the Weſtminſter divines, they were received as angels ſpeaking from heaven; and without conſulting any thing but their own frantic zeal, they propoſed that a new league and covenant ſhould be taken by the ſubjects of both kingdoms. Not contented with the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline in their own country, they indulged an ardent paſſion for propagating, by every method, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Perſuaded, in the fervency of their zeal, that, by ſupernatural aſſiſtance, they ſhould be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itſelf, their joy was unbounded when a proſpect opened of rendering it prevalent in England.

Vane, who in eloquence, addreſs, capacity, as well as in art and diſſimulation, was not ſurpaſſed by any perſon, even of that age ſo famous in active talents, framed this ſolemn league and covenant, which effaced all the former proteſtations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. By this inſtrument they ſolemnly engaged themſelves to purſue the univerſal extirpation of popery and prelacy in England, "as well as in Scotland, leſt they ſhould be partakers of other men's ſins;" and undertook to purſue to extremity all incendiaries and malignants; terms which they extended as far, and to whom they pleaſed: and vowed an eternal adherence to a firm peace and union between the two kingdoms. They alſo vowed to preſerve the reformed religion eſtabliſhed in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed, according to the word of God, and the examples of the pureſt churches. The Scots zealots, indeed, deemed this expreſſion entirely free from ambiguity; they regarded their own model as the only one which correſponded, in any degree, to ſuch a deſcription. Guthrie, afterwards biſhop of Dunkeld, was the only member in the aſſembly of divines that perceived the ambiguity, or, at leaſt, that had the courage to hint at what afterwards happened, namely, the danger that an independent party might afterwards root out preſbytery, as well as prelacy, unleſs the aſſembly declared, in expreſs terms, what plan of church-government they intended both nations ſhould follow. His ſpeech, however reaſonable in itſelf, ſerved only to draw upon him an enormous load of public reproach; and the work of the zealots was hurried on ſo faſt, that the new ſolemn league and covenant was voted unanimouſly.

The convention of the ſtates applauded the piety of the aſſembly; and, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to ſwear to this covenant, under the penalties of being puniſhed as enemies to religion, his majeſty's honour, and the peace of his kingdoms; of having their goods and eſtates confiſcated; of being rendered incapable of enjoying any benefit or office within the kingdom; of being cited before the next parliament, as enemies to religion, the king, and the ſtate; and of receiving what farther puniſhment his majeſty and the parliament ſhould inflict upon them.

The natural reſult of this covenant was a treaty with the Engliſh parliament; by which the Scots engaged to raiſe an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Deſirous that the ſword ſhould carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themſelves, with great alacrity, to their military enterprizes. Their levies were ſoon completed. The hopes of good pay and warm quarters, added to a favourable diſpoſition for the cauſe, induced numbers to enliſt; ſo that their army was ready, by the end of the year, to enter England, under their old general the earl of Leven.

Perceiving the tempeſt that was gathering in the north, Charles endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by every expedient in his power. Ireland ſeemed to promiſe aſſiſtance. He accordingly concluded a ceſſation of arms with the papiſts: and the duke of Ormond ſent over conſiderable bodies of his forces to England, by which means the royal army was greatly augmented. The ſucceſs of prince Maurice in the weſt alſo tended to raiſe the ſpirits of the king's party. He had formed the ſiege of Exeter, which was defended by the earl of Stamford, who was ſoon obliged to ſurrender the city. This was an important acquiſition; but Maurice was ſo pleaſed with his new conqueſt, and the daily additions he received of men and money from the neighbouring counties, that he ſtayed too long at Exeter, without ſending any aſſiſtance to colonel Digby, who had beſieged Plymouth, a place of great importance. The royaliſts were, indeed, for ſome time, perſuaded, that the town would be delivered up to him, by Sir Alexander Carew, the governor; but the deſign was diſcovered, and Carew ſent priſoner to London. Digby, however, made himſelf maſter of mount Stamford, and had certainly taken Plymouth, had prince Maurice come in time to his aſſiſtance. But the prince, deceived by the negotiation with Carew, inſtead of marching to Plymouth, led his forces to Dartmouth, and, after a tedious ſiege, reduced the town. He then marched to Plymouth, and joined Digby; but it was now too late. The garriſon, before his arrival, had received a reinforcement of ſix hundred men from Portſmouth, under the command of an intrepid and experienced officer, who made ſo noble a defence, that prince Maurice, after ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

It is impoſſible, in a general hiſtory, to enumerate all the warlike operations of this buſy year. A war extended over the whole kingdom, left hardly room for any man to continue neuter, however agreeable to his wiſhes. Every county became a ſcene of horror and of blood. Not only forts and caſtles, but alſo the ſeats of the nobility and gentry, ſuſtained long ſieges. Each action, each ſiege, and almoſt each ſkirmiſh, did honour to ſome particular family; though, in ſuch a multitude, many particulars that well deſerved to be tranſmitted to poſterity, are forgotten, and ſwept away among the refuſe of things. But upon the whole, notwithſtanding the exploits of Eſſex, Cromwell and Fairfax, the affairs of the king were in a much better ſituation than they were at the cloſe of the preceding campaign. Lord Clarendon tells us, that he had now five armies in the field. The principality of Wales, an inconſiderable part of it excepted, was at his devotion. Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme, were the only places of ſtrength in the weſtern counties poſſeſſed by the parliament. Hull was the only conſiderable place they held in Yorkſhire; and Nantwich, in Cheſhire. But, on the other hand, the parliament had received infinite encouragement. The earl of Eſſex had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his military talents, above either his rivals or his enemies. He was entirely poſſeſſed of the affections of his own ſoldiers, and therefore capable of executing the moſt dangerous ſervice. The earl of Mancheſter was the idol of the aſſociated counties, and even many of the royaliſts held him in great eſteem. Though almoſt a ſtranger himſelf to the military ſcience, yet Cromwell, perhaps the beſt ſoldier of the age, ſerved under him with ſo much ſucceſs, that the ſcale of war where he fought was greatly turned in favour of the parliament. The conduct, courage, and reputation of the elder and the younger Fairfax, did honour to the cauſe they had embraced. They loſt no credit when vanquiſhed, nor committed any acts of cruelty when victorious. This moderation prevented many in the north, who favoured the royal cauſe, from exerting themſelves with that vigour they would otherwiſe have done. Sir William Waller continued ſtill the idol of the London populace, though his actions, ſince the battle of Lanſdown, deſerved very little applauſe. Many other officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupporting the ſame cauſe, and the parliament prudently rewarded even their miſcarriages, when they were aſſured of their good intentions, and that they had done every thing in their power to deſerve ſucceſs.

But the eyes of all parties were now principally turned towards Scotland, it being chiefly from that kingdom they expected deliverance or feared deſtruction. It is almoſt incredible with what ſeverity the divines in that kingdom proceeded againſt all who refuſed their covenant. Thoſe preachers and profeſſors of the goſpel of peace, iſſued the moſt peremptory orders for ſeizing the goods, collecting the rents, and apprehending the perſons of the royaliſts. Nor were they contented even with this unjuſt ſeverity, dictated by their fanatical ſtrain of devotion, they gave a commiſſion to the ſoldiers in general, to put to death all who refuſed to take the covenant, and made any reſiſtance to their being ſent to priſon. So ſhamefully were the precepts of the moſt benevolent religion wreſted to ſerve the purpoſes of fanaticiſm and ambition!

There ſtill remained in the Engliſh parliament ſome members, who, though they had been induced either by private ambition or by their zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, ſtill retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the ancient modes of worſhip. But in the preſent danger, which threatened their cauſe, all ſcruples were laid aſide; and the covenant, by whoſe means alone they could expect to obtain ſo conſiderable a reinforcement as an acceſſion of the whole Scottiſh nation, was received without oppoſition. The parliament therefore having firſt ſubſcribed it themſelves, ordered it to be received by all who acknowledged their authority. This cauſed great rejoicings among the Scots. They highly applauded themſelves in being the happy inſtruments of extending their mode of worſhip, and diſſipating that profound darkneſs in which, they fancied, all the neighbouring nations were involved. Happy people, ſaid the zealots, you will no longer ſuffer thoſe badges of popery, the ſurplice, the tippet, and the corner-cap, to defile your characters.

The French ambaſſador had offered the mediation of his maſter to put an end to the horrors of civil diſcord, by concluding a laſting peace. Before the parliament had acquired the aſſiſtance of the Scots, they appeared to liſten to his propoſals; but he was now given to underſtand that his offers were rejected. They were, however, ſtill diſtreſſed for money: they had ſent a large ſum to Scotland to put that army in motion, and the city ſeemed not forward to ſupply their wants. Eſſex relapſed into his former indifference, and ſeemed very deſirous of putting an end to the war. He was far from being pleaſed with the ſteps taken by the parliament for introducing a foreign army, which muſt greatly increaſe the diſtreſſes of his country, already much too great; eſpecially as his own troops were in great want of neceſſaries. He therefore ſent a meſſage to both houſes, acquainting them, that if his army, which lay at St. Alban's, was not ſpeedily ſupplied, he muſt throw up his commiſſion. Fairfax and lord Gray made ſimilar complaints, and diſplayed, in pathetic language, the diſtreſſes of their troops. Anſwers were immediately diſpatched, promiſing them relief, as ſoon as the neceſſary ſupplies could be raiſed: but they rejected every offer for putting an end to the war; and as a finiſhing blow to all terms of accommodation, formal preparations were made for the trial of Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1644. The unfortunate primate ſtill continued in priſon, and had been for ſome time deprived of his eſtate and goods by the violence of the commons. Though it is certain that no ſubject had more largely contributed to the errors of government, yet his enemies, however keen and artful in their reſentments, found inſurmountable difficulties in forming a charge which could amount to high treaſon. His firmneſs had not forſaken him in his confinement; he ſtill continued his oppoſition to the parliament, and obſtinately refuſed to collate a perſon to a living, when recommended to him by the faction. But ſtill his caſe was very different from that of the judges, becauſe it was next to impoſſible to convict him legally of what he had ſaid and recommended at the council-board, in which his chief crimes conſiſted. This did not, however, prevent the faction from treating him with the utmoſt ſeverity. His books and papers were ſeized by an order from both houſes; and his famous diary printed and publiſhed. But notwithſtanding all the violence of his proſecutors, the articles againſt Laud were very defective, and they were obliged to have recourſe to the ſame method uſed before in the caſe of Strafford, that of accumulated treaſon; though it was confeſſed, that no article, ſingly conſidered, amounted to treaſon. The charge againſt him, when properly reduced, conſiſted of three general heads. 1. "A traiterous endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government. 2. A traiterous endeavour to ſubvert God's true religion as by law eſtabliſhed, and to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry in its ſtead. 3. An attempt to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient courſe of parliamentary proceedings." The moſt trifling allegations were brought to ſupport this general charge. The moſt bitter ſpeeches were made againſt him, and ſome of them delivered in the coarſeſt expreſſions. But notwithſtanding all the ſpirit exerted againſt the primate, the lords proceeded very ſlowly in his trial; while he defended himſelf with ſo much vigour, reaſon and eloquence, that the proſecution was for ſome time at a ſtand. His ruin was, however, determined, and every expedient was to be tried to complete it. The populace were no ſooner informed, that it was doubtful whether the lords would find him guilty, than petitions were ſigned by a great number of citizens, for bringing him and the biſhop of Ely to juſtice. This produced ſo great a ferment, that the earl of Pembroke, a violent enemy to Laud, intimated to them, that if they delayed any longer to give the ſatisfaction expected by the commons, the citizens would aſſemble and demand juſtice, as they did in the caſe of Strafford. Mr. Strode, one of the managers of the proſecution againſt the archbiſhop, threw out a menace of the ſame kind, at the bar of the houſe of lords; but upon their reſenting it, he declared he had not done it in conſequence of any commiſſion from the commons, and that he meant not any affront to the peers. The lords were ſatisfied with this apology, and he was diſmiſſed without cenſure. The lords were, however, greatly intimidated, and the greater number attended not the ſervice of the houſe. The primate's enemies took advantage of this ceſſion, and when no more than fourteen peers were in the houſe, Laud was voted guilty of endeavouring to ſubvert the laws, overthrow the proteſtant religion, and lay aſide the uſe of parliaments. But none of theſe articles, nor even all of them conjoined, were found by the judges to amount to high treaſon by any known eſtabliſhed law of the land; and the lords declared themſelves of the ſame opinion in a conference with the commons. Diſappointed in their expectations of capitally convicting Laud, his enemies appointed a faſt to be held, in order to rouſe the ſpirit of the populace. A petition againſt delinquents was preſented to the lower houſe, and every ſymptom of a dangerous convulſion appeared. The commons were, however, obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. But notwithſtanding the low condition into which the houſe of peers had fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance, and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty poſſeſſed by the upper houſe. Apprehenſive of the dangerous conſequences that might follow their attending their duty, and determined not to vote againſt the dictates of their conſciences, only ſeven peers were in the houſe when the important queſtion was decided.

The primate, who had long expected the fatal ſentence, ſunk not under its terrors. His fears diſſipated in proportion as the fatal hour, that was to put a period to his mortal exiſtence, approached. "No man (ſaid he) can be more willing to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go." He behaved upon the ſcaffold with great firmneſs and decency, laid his head on the block with calmneſs and reſignation, and it was ſevered from his body by one blow of the executioner.

Laud had enjoyed many ſad hours of leiſure during his impriſonment, to reflect, that the meaſure he had dealt to others was meted out to himſelf. He was an eminent inſtance that a great ſcholar may be a weak man, and a favourite miniſter a poor politician; that miſtaken zeal is ſometimes as fatal to the cauſe it would ſupport, as premeditated treachery; and that nothing can more irritate the people of England, than to ſee religion affecting to hold the reins of government, and government actuated by the caprices of eccleſiaſtical authority. However miſtaken, he was doubtleſs ſincere, and actuated by religious motives in all his purſuits. It was this that ſupported him in the dreadful hour of trial, and rendered his laſt moments remarkably tranquil and compoſed. He ſuffered in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age.

While preparations were making for opening the campaign, the king ſummoned the members of both houſes who adhered to his intereſt to meet at Oxford. He hoped, by this meaſure, to avail himſelf of the name of a parliament, ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by the Engliſh nation. The houſe of peers was ſo full, that though many lords were employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained more than double the number of members that voted at Weſtminſter. But the houſe of commons did not amount to above one hundred and fifty, not more than half the other houſe of commons. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the king; and the aſſembly, in order to enable him to recruit his army with more ſucceſs, granted him the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The king accordingly circulated privy-ſeals, counterſigned by the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of particular ſums from ſuch perſons as lived within the places ſubject to his authority.

As the king, in all his offers for peace, required nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws and conſtitution, and the ſame rights which had even been enjoyed by his predeceſſors, every diſcourſe of peace, and every diſcuſſion of the terms on which that bleſſing could be obtained, tended greatly to promote his intereſt; eſpecially as he offered, in order to facilitate ſo valuable an end, to paſs an univerſal act of oblivion, and to grant a toleration or indulgence to tender conſciences. On the other hand, the parliament ſtudiouſly avoided, as much as poſſible, all advances towards negotiation; becauſe the terms on which they were willing to conclude a peace, were of too exorbitant a nature for a general diſcuſſion. They were unwilling to expoſe to the eyes of the public their pretenſions, though they well knew their partizans were blinded with the thickeſt veil of religious prejudices. Senſible of their advantages, the parliament at Oxford wrote the following letter to the earl of Eſſex, the only channel by which it could be conveyed to the commons at Weſtminſter; Charles having declared that they were no longer a free parliament, and conſequently entitled to no authority.

"My lord,

"His majeſty having, by his proclamation, ſummoned all the members of both houſes of parliament to attend him at Oxford; we whoſe names are underwritten, are here met and aſſembled, in obedience to his majeſty's commands. His majeſty was pleaſed to invite us, in the ſame proclamation, by theſe gracious expreſſions, that his ſubjects ſhould ſee how willing he was to receive advice, for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and ſafety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to reſtore it to its former peace and ſecurity (his chief and only end) from thoſe whom they had truſted, though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This moſt gracious invitation hath not only been made unto us, but ſeconded and heightened by ſuch unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the deep and princely ſenſe which poſſeſſes his royal heart of the miſeries and calamities of his poor ſubjects, in this unnatural war, and of his moſt entire and paſſionate affections to redeem them from that ſad and deplorable condition, by all ways poſſible, conſiſtent either with his honour, or with the future ſafety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to queſtion the ſincerity of them, ſo were it great want of duty and faithfulneſs in us (his majeſty having declared, that he called us to be witneſſes of his actions, and privy to his intentions) ſhould we not teſtify, and witneſs to all the world the aſſurance we have of the piety and ſincerity of both. We being entirely ſatisfied of this truth, cannot but confeſs, that, amidſt our higheſt affections, in the deep and piercing ſenſe of the preſent miſeries and deſolations of our country, and thoſe further dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected into ſome chearful and comfortable thoughts, that poſſibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his juſtice have not determined this nation, for its ſins, to total ruin and deſolation) hope to be the happy inſtruments of our country's redemption from the miſeries of war, and reſtitution to the bleſſings of peace.

"And we being deſirous to believe your lordſhip, however engaged, a perſon likely to be ſenſibly touched with theſe conſiderations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this bleſſed work, which is only capable to repair all our miſfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you, by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conſcience, or public piety; that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing deſtruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its preſervation, by truly repreſenting to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly promoting with thoſe by whom you are truſted, this following moſt ſincere, and moſt earneſt deſire of ours; that, they joining with us in a right ſenſe of the paſt, preſent, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, ſome perſons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed upon, to treat of ſuch a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of deſolation.

"This addreſs we ſhould not have made, but that his majeſty's ſummons, by which we are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can tranſcend all former provocations; and that he had not only made us witneſſes of his princely intentions, but honoured us alſo with the name of being ſecurity for them. God Almighty direct your lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt real deſires, in ſuch a courſe as may produce that happy peace, and ſettlement of the preſent diſtractions, which is ſo heartily deſired and prayed for by us, and which may make us,

Yours, &c."

This letter was ſubſcribed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen, and ſent by a trumpeter to the earl of Eſſex. But that nobleman, however diſguſted with the furious meaſures of the parliament, and however deſirous of a reaſonable peace, was ſtill more reſolute to preſerve an honourable fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him. He therefore, in his anſwer to the earl of Forth, the king's general, obſerved, that as the paper ſent him neither contained any addreſs to the two houſes of parliament, nor any acknowledgment of their authority, he could not communicate it to them.

Deſirous, however, of making another attempt for bringing about a peace, Charles determined to have recourſe to the parliament at Weſtminſter. A ſafe conduct was accordingly demanded from Eſſex for two perſons to treat upon an accommodation. Eſſex readily complied, and the king accordingly ſent the following meſſage for concluding a treaty of peace.

“Out of our moſt tender and pious ſenſe of the ſad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied deſires to apply remedies, which, by the bleſſing of God, may recover it from utter ruin; by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament, aſſembled at Oxford, we do propoſe and deſire, that a convenient number of fit perſons may be appointed and authoriſed by you, to meet, with all convenient ſpeed, at ſuch place as you ſhall nominate, with an equal number of fit perſons, whom we ſhall appoint and authoriſe, to treat of the ways and means to ſettle the preſent diſtractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a happy peace; and particularly how all the members of both houſes may ſecurely meet in a free and full convention of parliament, there to treat, conſult, and agree upon ſuch things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed proteſtant religion, with due conſideration to all juſt and reaſonable eaſe of tender conſciences; to the ſettling and maintaining our juſt rights and prerogatives; of the rights and privileges of parliament; the laws of the land; the liberty and property of the ſubject; and all other expedients that may conduce to the bleſſed end of a firm and laſting peace, both in church and ſtate, and a perfect underſtanding between us and our people; wherein no endeavours of ours ſhall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the ways of peace.

“To the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter.”

The commons were very unwilling to open any negotiation for a peace; and, at the ſame time, thought it would be imprudent to lay aſide the propoſal, leſt the people ſhould imagine they were determined to reject every offer for an accommodation. After long debates in the upper houſe, the peers ſent the following paper to the commons: “That the lords have obſerved in this letter from his majeſty, among other things, that what is propoſed in it is by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Oxford, the very ſame title given to this parliament; which puts them at Oxford on an equality with us, though they are perſons who have, contrary to their duty, deſerted the parliament, and have contributed to the maintenance of the war againſt it, and therefore are, and may be juſtly excluded.

“Their lordſhips further obſerve, that though there are in the letter ſome general words, for religion, eaſe of tender conſciences, his majeſty's juſt prerogatives, rights and privileges of parliament, laws of the land, and liberty and property of the ſubjects; yet the only expedient offered for theſe ends is to treat, how the members of both houſes may ſecurely meet in a full and free convocation of parliament; whereof no other concluſion can be made, than that this is not a full and free convention of parliament; and that to make a full and free convention, the preſence of thoſe at Oxford is neceſſary.

“Their lordſhips therefore offer it to the houſe of commons, to deſire their concurrence herein, that a letter may be written, in very plain and humble language, to his majeſty; repreſenting to him, among other things, that the continuance of this parliament here is eſtabliſhed by a law paſſed by himſelf; in which (as in all other laws of the kingdom) he is ſworn to maintain, as we are ſworn to our allegiance; that we muſt in duty, and are bound and reſolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preſerve the juſt rights and full powers of this parliament; that as we have uſed all means for a juſt and ſafe peace, ſo we will never be wanting to do our utmoſt for the procuring of it; and as the only means by which we can hope to effect ſo deſirable an end, we do humbly and earneſtly deſire his majeſty to come to his parliament by ſuch a day as ſhall be named; and that if he will not, we muſt uſe ſuch means, and make ſuch proviſion for the preſent and future preſervation of religion and of the kingdom, as, in the wiſdom of the two houſes, ſhall be thought fit and neceſſary.

“Their lordſhips deſire, that this letter may be ſpeedily diſpatched; and alſo, that a declaration to the kingdom upon this, and the former letter from Oxford, be drawn up and publiſhed, to undeceive the people of the artifices they contain, under the pretence of peace, to ſet up another parliament; and that if the houſe of commons approve thereof, it may be referred to the committee of the two kingdoms, to prepare both for the two houſes.”

The commons were of the ſame opinion with the lords; and a letter was accordingly diſpatched to the king at Oxford, refuſing to open any negotiation, unleſs he would acknowledge them to be the only parliament: and the king, who knew what ſmall hopes there appeared of any accommodation, refuſed to abandon the pretenſions he had aſſumed, nor acknowledge the two houſes at Weſtminſter more openly for a free parliament.

The great ſums of money that had been ſent from England to Scotland, and the flattering aſſurances the Scots had received, that they ſhould now be entitled to all the privileges of Engliſhmen, had the deſired effect; and the Scottiſh army marched for England with great alacrity. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the rebellion in that country was far from being general. Some of their greateſt men were ſo thoroughly convinced of the good intentions of Charles, that they refuſed to accept of any command raiſed againſt the royal party in England. But the clergy and populace were of a very different opinion; they made no ſcruple of ruſhing into the field without provocation, and in a quarrel in which they had no concern. Had they known their true intereſts, they ought rather to have joined the oppoſite party, as the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing the liberties and privileges they enjoyed on a ſolid foundation. The Scottiſh army was in excellent order, and conſiſted of eighteen thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred dragoons, all of them commanded by their own countrymen. A committee of the Engliſh, as well as their own parliament, attended them as field deputies, and they entered England on the nineteenth of January. They paſſed the Tyne on a bridge of boats, and ſummoned the town of Newcaſtle, which had been fortified by the care and vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, to ſurrender. They did not, however, make any attempt upon the place, becauſe the marquis of Newcaſtle lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thouſand men. Nor did they continue idle; they made themſelves maſters of the caſtles of Wark and Morpeth; and fortified a ſmall ſea-port town called Blyfnock, for the conveniency of receiving proviſions. They were, however, ſoon reduced, by a great want of forage and other neceſſaries; and the expedition would probably have been rendered abortive, had not the marquis been obliged to march back to the defence of York.

Colonel Bellaſis, whom he had left with a conſiderable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax. This misfortune obliged Newcaſtle to abandon Durham. Afraid of being incloſed between two armies, he retreated to York; and the Scottiſh general having joined Fairfax, they blocked up that city. But as the combined forces were not numerous enough to inveſt ſo large a place divided by a river, they contented themſelves with preventing any reinforcement of troops from joining the marquis. Some time before Newcaſtle's retreat, another party of the parliament's forces, under the command of Meldrum, had beſieged Newark, a place of the utmoſt importance to the royaliſts, as it kept open a communication between the king's ſouthern and northern quarters. Prince Rupert was, therefore, ordered to attempt the relief of that fortreſs. Rupert was at Cheſter when he received the order, but aſſembling immediately his troops, which amounted to about ſeven thouſand men, he advanced with ſuch expedition to Newark, that he ſurprized Meldrum's army, and after killing about five hundred men, he diſarmed the reſt, and ſeized all their cannon, carriages, and baggage. This defeat ſtruck terror into the garriſons of the neighbouring towns, and Gainſborough, Lincoln, Slyford, and ſeveral other places were abandoned by the parliament's forces. The prince alſo relieved Latham-houſe, which had been beſieged by a body of two thouſand men, and gallantly defended for eighteen weeks, by the counteſs of Derby. He took Bolton by ſtorm, put the garriſon to the ſword, and marched to Liverpool, which made no reſiſtance. His army was now increaſed to ten thouſand men, full of ſpirits, and fluſhed with victory.

While the prince continued at Liverpool, the earl of Mancheſter made himſelf maſter of Lincoln, and joined the Scots and the army of Fairfax before York. That city, though vigorouſly defended by Newcaſtle at the head of his army, was ſoon reduced to extremities; and the parliament's generals after enduring the hardſhips of a winter's campaign, and ſuffering great loſſes from ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, flattered themſelves that all their labours would now be crowned with ſucceſs. But they were ſoon alarmed with the news that prince Rupert was approaching. That intrepid general, having joined Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcaſtle's cavalry, haſtened to the relief of York, at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men. The combined army immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to Marſton-moor, in order to give battle to the royaliſts. Prince Rupert, informed of their intention, approached the city by another quarter, and interpoſing the river Ouſe between him and the enemy, ſafely joined his forces with thoſe of Newcaſtle. The marquis endeavoured to perſuade him, that, having ſo ſucceſsfully effected his purpoſe, he ought to be contented with the preſent advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes, and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs, to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſentions, which had taken place among them. Had Rupert liſtened to this advice, he had, in all probability, triumphed over the enemy without ſtriking a blow. The Scots had found themſelves greatly diſappointed during their march, in which they thought to have met with little or no reſiſtance. They had expected the plunder of the richeſt counties in England, and their generals thought of nothing leſs than of making the Engliſh officers ſerve under them. In all theſe particulars they were deceived, and their rough, vexatious manners, rendered them exceſſively odious to the Engliſh commanders. Their avarice was inſatiable, and all their words and conduct ſhewed that good pay and the hopes of plunder, were the chief motives that excited them to undertake the expedition. When theſe failed, and when they found that the money granted by the parliament was not ſo punctually paid as it had been liberally voted, they began to talk of returning to their own country to defend it againſt the attempts of Montroſe, who was then in arms, and acting under the king's commiſſion. They would infallibly have carried this deſign into execution, had it not been for the hopes of an engagement, when they flattered themſelves of acquiring riches by plundering the baggage of the enemy. But when prince Rupert reached York, by taking a different rout, they became more ſullen than ever. Mancheſter, Fairfax and Cromwell, were, by no means, fond of their company, while this moroſe, diſcontented humour prevailed; they would have thought it leſs diſhonourable to have ſubmitted to a generous enemy, than to be inſulted by their own needy mercenaries. Newcaſtle was no ſtranger to theſe diviſions among them, and urged the propriety of continuing quiet in their quarters and ſuffer their enemies to periſh by their own diſſentions. But theſe arguments were urged in vain; fighting was the element of prince Rupert. He entertained the moſt invincible contempt of the Scots; and he had a few days before received a letter from the king, containing little leſs than a poſitive command to fight them upon almoſt any terms, even after he had relieved York. But the greateſt misfortune was a miſunderſtanding between the prince and the marquis of Newcaſtle, whoſe characters agreed only in perſonal courage, and a ſtrong attachment to the king's ſervice. The marquis loved fighting; but hated the fatigues of war; the prince loved both. The marquis had ſerved the king with his perſon and fortune, the prince with his perſon only. The marquis truſted greatly to King, his lieutenant-general; the prince ſurveyed and directed every thing in his own perſon. The marquis was fond of ſtate and ceremony; the prince deſpiſed both; and each was jealous of the great merits of the other, with regard to the favour of the ſovereign, who equally loved and honoured them both.

When Rupert entered York, he took upon himſelf the command of the whole army, and told the marquis, that he intended the next day, the ſecond of July, to draw out the garriſon and give battle to the enemy. The officers who could uſe the greateſt freedom with the prince, uſed every argument in their power to diſſuade him from this reſolution; but all their attempts were in vain; the prince continued fixed to his purpoſe; and the marquis, that he might not incur the leaſt imputation of fear, ſubmitted to the order; but at the ſame time reſolved to ſerve under the prince in no other capacity, than that of captain of his own troop of horſe.

The enemy, not imagining the prince would hazard a battle in his ſituation, were filing off towards Tadcaſter, Cawood, and Selby, in order to cover the eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire, and render it more difficult for the royaliſts to obtain ſupplies, when they were agreeably ſurprized to perceive, that the prince, by the diſpoſitions he was making, intended to fight them. They immediately recalled all their advanced parties, and formed the line of battle. While theſe diſpoſitions were making in the parliamentary army, the garriſon of York were ſo diſcontented at the behaviour of the prince towards their favourite general, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the marquis and general King perſuaded them to march out of the city and join the royal army. This junction being compleated, the prince formed his line of battle. He himſelf commanded the right wing, which conſiſted of five thouſand horſe. The generals Goving and Potter, commanded the main body; and Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Henry, the left wing: the whole army conſiſted of ſeventeen thouſand foot, nine thouſand horſe, and a train of twenty-five pieces of cannon. The parliamentary army were, at leaſt, equal to that of the prince in number. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, commanded the right wing, in which the Scottiſh cavalry was poſted. His father, the lord Fairfax, and general Leven, commanded the main body; and the earl of Mancheſter, aſſiſted by Cromwell, the left wing. Before the battle began the marquis of Newcaſtle and his friends again deſired the prince to ſuſpend the action; aſſuring

ing him, that they hourly expected a reinforcement of three thouſand men from the north, and that Montroſe was actually on his march, at the head of an army, to join them from Scotland. But the prince was deaf to every argument; he would liſten to nothing but that of fighting the enemy immediately. The battle was begun by prince Rupert, who charged, with his uſual fury, the left wing of the parliament army, where Cromwell conducted the choiceſt troops, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. This body ſtood firm, and charged in their turn with ſo much impetuoſity, that the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and the infantry that ſtood next to them, was alſo borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the ſame order in which they had firſt been ranged. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, alſo broke through the royaliſts; and tranſported by the fury of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, who were alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But this indiſcreet impetuoſity had nearly proved fatal to the parliamentary army. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded in the right wing, perceiving that the tempeſt was paſt, reſtored order to his broken troops, and made ſo furious an attack on the parliamentary cavalry, that they were thrown into diſorder, puſhed upon their own infantry, and the whole wing put to flight. Animated with this ſucceſs, the royaliſts flattered themſelves that the difficulty was over, and were on the point of ſeizing the carriages and baggage of the enemy, when Cromwell appeared in his return from purſuing the broken forces of the other wing. Both parties ſeemed aſtoniſhed when they perceived that another battle muſt be fought before the victory, which each thought their own, could be obtained. The charge was again renewed with its former fury, and the balance of victory for ſome time ſuſpended: but after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both armies, the parliamentary forces prevailed. Rupert's whole army was puſhed off the field of battle, and his train of artillery taken by the enemy. About four thouſand of the royaliſts were ſlain, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and ſeveral other perſons of note. Not above three hundred ſoldiers fell on the parliament's ſide, among whom were a Scotch lord, and a lieutenant-colonel.

Enraged to find all his ſucceſsful labours rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, the marquis of Newcaſtle determined to paſs over to the continent, and abandon a party where he met with ſuch unworthy treatment. Munificent and generous in his expences; polite and elegant in his taſte; courteous and humane in his behaviour; the marquis had brought a great acceſſion of friends and of credit to the cauſe he embraced: but he was now loſt to the royal party. He repaired immediately to Scarborough with a few friends, where he found a veſſel ready to ſail, and which landed him ſafely in France. He continued abroad till the reſtoration; and, tho' reduced to neceſſity, he ſcorned to acknowledge the uſurped authority of thoſe who aſſumed the government of England, and enjoyed his opulent fortune.

The reſolution of Rupert was equally precipitate. For though the cavalry of the royaliſts was, in a manner, ſtill entire, and though the greater part of the infantry had eſcaped into York, he determined to abandon that city, and march his army towards Oxford, which was ſtill in the king's poſſeſſion. Rupert had no ſooner left the city of York, than it was beſieged by the parliament's army. Glenham, who commanded the garriſon, made a brave defence, but was at laſt obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. Lord Fairfax was made governor, and a thouſand horſe were ſent into Lancaſhire to join the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and watch the motions of prince Rupert.

The king's forces in the ſouthern quarters wore alſo a melancholy aſpect in the beginning of the year; but they were conducted with greater abilities and greater ſucceſs. Apprehenſive that the parliamentary forces would attempt the ſiege of Oxford, Charles ſent the queen to Exeter, where he hoped ſhe might be delivered unmoleſted, of the child of which ſhe was now pregnant, and alſo eſcape eaſily into France if preſſed by the forces of the enemy. Eſſex and Waller, who commanded the two armies of the parliament, received orders to join their forces and march towards Oxford; and if they found the king continue in that city to beſiege it, and by one deciſive blow put an end to the war. Charles ordered a rendezvous of his forces at Marlborough, and after proroguing his parliament at Oxford, came in perſon to the camp, and reviewed his army, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. As ſoon as the armies under Eſſex and Waller began their march towards Oxford, Charles drew his garriſon out of Reading, and demoliſhed the fortifications; the place being in no condition to ſtand a ſiege, if attacked by ſo powerful a force. It is not eaſy to ſay what might have been the conſequence had the junction between the forces of Eſſex and Waller been effected, as they amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand men; but theſe two generals hated each other ſo heartily, that they always found means to evade the orders of the parliament. Eſſex took poſſeſſion of Abingdon, the place being unaccountably abandoned by the king's forces. Waller, at the ſame time, marched his forces to Farnham; ſo that nothing hindered the two armies from joining: for the royaliſts having abandoned Reading and Abingdon, the parliamentary army became maſters of Berkſhire, and the king was obliged to retreat to the northward of Oxford. It was now thought, that the condition of Charles was deſperate; for Eſſex having gained the paſs of Anſlow-bridge, and Waller that of Newbridge, their armies were between him and Oxford, the only place of ſtrength he was poſſeſſed of in the ſouthern quarters. Charles retreated to Worceſter, and it was expected at London, that the king muſt either deliver himſelf up to Eſſex, or throw himſelf into the hands of the parliament. Poſſibly this might have been the caſe, had a good underſtanding prevailed between the parliament's generals; but their diſſentions gave Charles an opportunity of gaining two days march of Eſſex, who now ordered Waller to purſue him, and took upon himſelf to proſecute the weſtern expedition, originally aſſigned to the other. Waller complained loudly of Eſſex for uſurping his command, and produced his orders from the parliament; but Eſſex was abſolute, and threatened to try Waller by a court martial, if he refuſed to obey.

Charles had now refreſhed his army at Worceſter; but fearing to be ſhut up in that city by Waller, who had now reached Eviſham, retired with his army to Bewdley, and directed his courſe towards Shrewſbury. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, marched forwards, extending his quarters by degrees along the eaſt ſide of the Severn, till he placed himſelf between the king's army and Shrewſbury. This was the very thing the king deſired; for returning upon his own foot-ſteps he reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garriſon, marched, in his turn, in queſt of Waller.

After ſeveral marches and counter-marches, the two armies faced each other at Cropedy-bridge, near Banbury, but the Cherwell ran between them. On the twenty-ninth of June, Waller, who had now received conſiderable reinforcements, drew up his army in order of battle, but in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that Charles made a feint of marching towards Daventry, leaving a party of cavalry to guard Cropedy-bridge. This motion drew Waller from his advantageous poſt; and perceiving that the king's van was at a conſiderable diſtance from their rear, he attacked the party at Cropedy-bridge, at the head of fifteen hundred horſe, a thouſand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon. The poſt was ſoon abandoned by the royaliſts; but his detachment had no ſooner paſſed the bridge, with an intention to fall upon the rear of the king's army, than they were attacked, repulſed, and purſued with conſiderable loſs. Stunned and diſpirited by this blow, the army of Waller melted away by deſertion; and the king thought he might ſafely leave it, and march to the weſtward againſt Eſſex, who had obliged prince Maurice to raiſe the ſiege of Lyme, and made himſelf maſter of Weymouth and Taunton.

Charles received ſo many reinforcements during his march, that he now appeared in the field with an army ſuperior to that of the enemy. Prince Maurice hovered round the camp of Eſſex, with a flying army of four thouſand horſe and foot, cut off his convoys, and perpetually haraſſed his rear during his march. Eſſex was now greatly diſtreſſed, and knew not what courſe to purſue: he was incapable of fighting the royal army, and had no place of ſtrength whither he might retreat till he received reinforcements. A council of war was called, when lord Robarts propoſed their marching into Cornwall. He obſerved, that the greater part of the inhabitants of that county was well affected to the parliament, and would join their army as ſoon as the troops appeared among them; that there was the greateſt reaſon to think the king would not attempt to follow them into Cornwall, becauſe he muſt by that means be expoſed to the danger of putting himſelf between two fires, as it was more than probable Sir William Waller would ſoon be in a condition to follow him, and haraſs his rear. Theſe reaſons had the deſired effect, and a reſolution was taken of marching directly into Cornwall.

The king followed the parliament's army, and it was propoſed, in a council of war, to attack Eſſex in his camp; but Sir Richard Granville being daily expected from the weſtern parts of Cornwall with a conſiderable body of forces, it was thought more expedient to cut off his proviſions, and force him to ſurrender at diſcretion. Eſſex informed the parliament of his danger, and deſired that a body of troops might be ſent to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton received a commiſſion to execute that ſervice, but he came too late. The army of Eſſex, cooped up in a narrow corner at Leſtithiel, deprived of all forage and proviſions, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs, was reduced to the laſt extremity. The king preſſed upon them on one ſide; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third; and Sir Jacob Aſhley on a fourth. Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, eſcaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour, with his horſe, paſſed the king's guards in a thick fog, and got ſafe to the garriſons of his own party. Skippon, who commanded the foot, had no method of eſcaping; he was therefore obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that they ſhould deliver up their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition. This was accordingly performed; and the ſoldiers being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were diſmiſſed.

Charles acquired great reputation, even among his enemies, for his conduct in this campaign; and indeed it muſt be owned, that it fell little ſhort of the beſt generals of that age. After his affairs were, in all appearance, deſperate, he had reduced two ſtrong armies of his enemies, commanded by their beſt officers, to the very ſituation which he himſelf had dreaded but a few weeks before. He triumphed over thoſe very perſons whom it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to eſcape. Middleton attempted to intercept the king's proviſions, and was, in ſome attempts, ſucceſsful; but Sir Francis Doddington watched him ſo narrowly, that, after many bloody ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire to Sherborne.

But notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes in the weſt, the king's affairs were in great diſorder, both in the midland counties and the north. He therefore ſtaid no longer than was neceſſary to recruit and refreſh his army, after their long and tedious marches. When he reached Chard, in Somerſetſhire, he publiſhed a proclamation, wherein he declared, that he was ſo deſirous of reſtoring the public tranquillity, that he was determined to march to the neighbourhood of London, in order to open a negotiation with the parliament, and invited all his loyal ſubjects to aſſiſt him in procuring ſo deſireable an end. On the ninth of October, he received a petition from the gentlemen and freeholders of Somerſetſhire, for liberty to wait upon his majeſty nearer London, to become petitioners to the parliament, and requeſt them to embrace his majeſty's offers of peace; adding, that if their petition was refuſed, they would ſpend their lives and fortunes in his majeſty's defence.

During the king's ſtay in the weſt, colonel Gage, one of the royal officers in Oxford, undertook the difficult ſervice of relieving Baſing-houſe, belonging to the marquis of Wincheſter, which colonel Norton, at the head of a large detachment of the parliament's forces, had beſieged upwards of three months. Gage had above forty miles to march from Oxford, and his route lay near the garriſons of Abingdon and Reading. He, however, performed the taſk with great applauſe; for though his party was not ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege, yet he found means to throw into the houſe a large convoy of ammunition and proviſions. He afterwards returned to Oxford without ſuffering any loſs. The town of Banbury, and the caſtle of Dennington, were both relieved; and the king's army, after driving Waller out of Andover, marched unmoleſted to Newbury.

The parliament were alarmed; and it was determined to oppoſe the king with very numerous forces. They had now armed anew the ſubdued forces of Eſſex, and ordered Mancheſter and Cromwell to march with their recruited troops from the eaſtern aſſociation. All theſe forces, joining with thoſe of Waller and Middleton, formed an army far ſuperior to that of the king, and advanced to give him battle. Newbury was a ſecond time the ſcene of the bloody animoſities between the Engliſh. In this battle both parties were guilty of overſights. The king quitted his advantageous ſituation, and drew his army out into Speen-field, ſituated between Newbury and Dennington-caſtle, thinking that he could there be attacked only in front. But in a council of war held at Cheveley, it was reſolved, that Waller, aſſiſted by the London brigade, and the forces of Eſſex, ſhould take poſſeſſion of Speen-hill; that the earl of Mancheſter ſhould advance to Shaw; that the former ſhould begin the attack, and the latter, on a ſignal given, force the paſs at Shaw, by which the king's diſpoſitions muſt be broken. This was, however, a very dangerous ſervice, as Charles was in poſſeſſion not only of Dennington, near which Skippon, who commanded Waller's infantry, muſt paſs, but alſo of Doleman-houſe, which was fortified, and flanked Mancheſter's forces. Waller, however, with the officers under him, acted with great intrepidity and ſucceſs. They made a large circuit to avoid the fire of Dennington-caſtle, but their rear ſuffered very conſiderably by a ſally made from the garriſon. After eſcaping this danger, they attacked the king's troops about three in the afternoon on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and not only drove them from their works, but alſo took nine pieces of cannon. In this attack the ſoldiers of Eſſex, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the diſgrace at Leſtithiel, charged with the utmoſt fury, and ſome of the cannon they recovered, being the ſame they had loſt in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. But the earl of Mancheſter had not the ſame ſucceſs in attacking the paſſage at Shaw: for though he paſſed the Kennet on the left, and ſeemed at firſt to have the advantage; yet Goring, putting himſelf at the head of Cleveland's brigade, drove him back with great ſlaughter; and another perſon attempting to take Doleman-houſe, was obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs; and night coming on before the action on that ſide could be renewed, put an end to the battle.

This was one of the moſt obſtinate engagements that happened during the whole courſe of the civil war. Both ſides had committed overſights, and both endeavoured to repair them by performing wonders; and the field muſt have been more bloody, had not darkneſs intervened, and ſtopped the ſlaughter. Charles, however, feared that a ſecond engagement would be fatal to his army, and determined to avoid it. He therefore left his baggage and cannon in Dennington-caſtle, and immediately retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by prince Rupert, at the head of a conſiderable body of cavalry, and a good train of artillery. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed in the ſiege of Dennington-caſtle. Eſſex, detained by ſickneſs, had not joined the army ſince his misfortune in Cornwall. Mancheſter, who commanded in his abſence, though his forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the king, declined an engagement, notwithſtanding the preſſing ſollicitations of Cromwell, who conjured him not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of putting an end to the war. The king, therefore, carried off his artillery from Dennington-caſtle, in the face of the enemy, and by that means ſufficiently repaired the honour that had been loſt by his retreat from the battle of Newbury. But this was not all the advantage Charles gained by this action; it excited animoſities between Mancheſter and Cromwell, equal, at leaſt, to thoſe that before ſubſiſted between Eſſex and Waller, and which had proved ſo favourable to his majeſty. The battle of Newbury put an end to the campaign, and both armies were ſoon after diſtributed into winter quarters.

But though the military operations were over for a ſeaſon, the conteſts between the different generals increaſed when they repaired to London: the whole city and parliament were agitated by their mutual reproaches and accuſations. Theſe, indeed, owed their riſe to a party, which had been ſome time formed in the parliament, but which the dread of the royal power had hitherto ſuppreſſed. The great ſucceſs of the parliament's armies now called them into action. This party were called independents, a ſect hitherto blended with the preſbyterians, and acquired diſtinction only from the deſtruction of monarchy. Enthuſiaſts by ſyſtem, infatuated with the idea of religious perfection, and believing that they were all ſupernaturally inſpired, they would admit of neither rites, nor biſhops, nor miniſters. They pretended that the holy ſpirit, by its inward communications, placed both poor and rich upon a level, and made the ignorant equal to the learned. They hated royalty no leſs than hierarchy. The object of the puritans was to reſtrain, theirs to annihilate the prerogative; and adding a profound policy to their abſurd reveries, they executed what others thought impoſſible. Cromwell, who was at the head of the independents, had a capacity adapted to the greateſt enterprizes, the ardour of an enthuſiaſt, the daring ſpirit of the leader of a party, the diſſimulation of a hypocrite, the talents of a general, and the genius and addreſs of a ſtateſman. He declaimed, with great violence, in the houſe of commons, againſt the conduct of Mancheſter, whom he accuſed of not puſhing the war with the neceſſary vigour; eſpecially of neglecting, at Dennington-caſtle, the opportunity of totally defeating the royal army. "I ſhewed " him evidently (ſaid Cromwell) how this ſucceſs " might be obtained; and only deſired leave, with " my own brigade of horſe, to charge the king's " army in their retreat, leaving it in the earl's " choice, if he thought proper, to remain neuter, " with the reſt of the forces: but notwithſtanding " all my importunity, he poſitively and obſtinately " refuſed his conſent; and gave no other reaſon but " that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of " our pretenſions; we ſhould all be rebels, and trai- " tors, and be executed and forfeited by the law."

Theſe harſh cenſures provoked Mancheſter, who, in his turn, accuſed Cromwell with ſeditious ſpeeches, which tended to ruin the parliament. He told the houſe, that a ſcheme having been propoſed, which it ſeemed improbable the parliament would agree to, Cromwell inſiſted upon it, and ſaid, "My lord, if " you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you ſhall find " yourſelf at the head of an army, which will give " law both to king and parliament. This diſcourſe " (continued Mancheſter) made the greater im- " preſſion upon me, becauſe I knew the lieutenant- " general to be a man of very deep deſigns; and he " has even ventured to tell me, that it never would " be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, " and there was not a lord or peer in the kingdom." The ſharpneſs of theſe diſputes alarmed the independents; they perceived that they muſt now carry their ſcheme into execution, or abandon all thoughts of effecting it; and accordingly they formed the reſolution of new-modelling the army. Their maxim was, that he who draws his ſword againſt the king ſhould throw away the ſcabbard. They were for deciſive actions, and officers that would heſitate at no enterprize. They were, indeed, far inferior in number, both in the parliament and in the kingdom, to the preſbyterian party, but they had addreſs ſufficient, in the end, to carry their deſign into execution.

A ſolemn faſt, by their influence, was voted, in order to implore the aſſiſtance of heaven. Some of the moſt furious preachers lamented the diſſentions in parliament, and charged the members with intereſted views. They complained of the perfidious remiſſneſs of the leaders, who, inſtead of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, ſought only, by prolonging it, to enrich themſelves with the ſubſtance of the people. They intreated the Lord to raiſe up men more worthy to be the inſtruments of his providence. The day following, theſe diſcourſes were repreſented by the independent party in parliament, as the manifeſt inſpiration of the Holy Spirit. The neceſſity of finding ſome remedy for theſe diſorders was inſiſted on. The members were conjured to diveſt themſelves of all perſonal intereſt and lucrative employments. Cromwell remarked, that ſince the commencement of the war, a number of able officers had been formed, who were capable of conducting the moſt dangerous expeditions; that the troops wanted a reform on a new plan, and the ſucceſs would depend on the extirpation of abuſes. Theſe repreſentations produced the deſired effect. A committee was appointed to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houſes were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few officers who were ſpecified. This ordinance gave occaſion to the moſt furious debates, and, for ſome time, rent both the parliament and city into factions. It was obſerved by the independent party, that the diſcipline of the army did not correſpond to the merit of the officers, nor were there any hopes, till the preſent vices and diſorders, which prevailed among the ſoldiers, were repreſſed by a new model, that the forces of the parliament would ever be attended with ſignal ſucceſs in any undertaking. The preſbyterians, on the contrary, repreſented, that beſides the ingratitude of diſcarding, by fraud and ſubtlety, ſo many noble perſons, by whom the parliament had been hitherto chiefly ſupported, they would find it extremely difficult to ſupply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: that the rank alone, poſſeſſed by ſuch as were members of either houſe, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: that greater confidence might ſafely be repoſed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain ſeparate views from thoſe embraced by the perſons who employed them. But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, which were urged with great force and eloquence, the bill paſſed both houſes of parliament. Eſſex, Warwick, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, reſigned their commiſſions, and received the thanks of parliament for their ſervices. But at the time when the other officers reſigned, care was taken to ſend Cromwell, at the head of a body of horſe, to the relief of Taunton, beſieged by the royaliſts, ſo that he kept both his commiſſion and his ſeat in parliament, notwithſtanding he had himſelf been one of the principal promoters of the Self-denying Ordinance.

A.D. 1645. Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed general, and it was voted to increaſe the army to twenty-two thouſand men. Fairfax was equally eminent for courage and for humanity; but he was entirely governed by Cromwell, who was in fact the commander of the army. The new model was introduced with all the diſpatch the importance of the cauſe required. Such officers only were appointed as the independents could confide in. A rigid diſcipline increaſed the religious fervor of the ſoldiers. Excited by the example, and the exhortations of their officers, who ſerved them for miniſters, they paſſed in prayer, in conference, and in ſpiritual lectures, all the time they could ſpare for amuſement or repoſe. Their inflamed imagination raiſed them above the character of humanity. Dangers and death were nothing to men in a ſtate of ſpiritual extacy; they ſeemed the avenues to heaven. In the royal army, on the contrary, there was nothing but licentiouſneſs and diſorder. The ſoldier inſtead of pay, ſubſiſted by committing every ſpecies of robbery. The officer ridiculed the enthuſiaſm of the parliamentarians, without reflecting on the effects it would produce. This contraſt indicated the moſt fatal events; nor were theſe at a conſiderable diſtance.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were employed in new modelling the army, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on between the king and parliament, but with very little hopes of ſucceſs. The conferences were opened at Uxbridge; Charles having retracted his former declaration, that the two houſes at Weſtminſter were not a free parliament. But it ſoon appeared that peace was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance; the demands of the parliament amounting to nothing leſs than a total abolition of monarchy. The ceſſation of arms with the Iriſh was to be declared null and void; and after the catholics in that kingdom ſhould be ſubdued, the parliament was to nominate the governor and magiſtrates of that kingdom. It was required that the whole military power ſhould be given up to the parliament for ſeven years; and that afterwards, inſtead of returning to the king, it ſhould be regulated by a bill. The parliament were not contented with a toleration in religion; they demanded a total abolition of epiſcopacy, and a ſubſcription to the covenant throughout the kingdom. Even the principal officers of the crown, and the judges, were to be nominated by the parliament, and the power of making war and peace was wholly to depend upon their determinations. Charles offered that the militia ſhould be intruſted, during three years, to twenty commiſſioners nominated either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or the one half by him and the other by the parliament. And after the expiration of that term, he inſiſted, that he ſhould be again reinſtated in his conſtitutional authority over the militia. With regard to religion Charles agreed, that indulgence ſhould be granted to tender conſciences, in reſpect to ceremonies; that the biſhops ſhould exerciſe no act of juriſdiction or ordination, without the conſent and council of ſuch preſbyters as ſhould be choſen by the clergy of each dioceſe; that they ſhould reſide conſtantly in their dioceſe, and be obliged to preach every ſunday; that pluralities ſhould be aboliſhed; that abuſes of every kind in the eccleſiaſtical courts ſhould be redreſſed; and that a hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be levied from the biſhops eſtates and the chapter lands, for payment of the debts contracted by the parliament.

With regard to the affairs in Ireland Charles was willing to make any conceſſions, that did not tend to the prejudice of his proteſtant ſubjects. And it muſt be owned, that notwithſtanding the unpopular conduct of the king with regard to his granting the ceſſation to the Iriſh rebels, he was more defenſible than the parliament. The charge againſt him conſiſted "in his having encouraged the two houſes, to undertake the war, and his ſubjects to contribute money for carrying it on, and even putting it out of his power to treat with or pardon the rebels, without the conſent of the parliament; by which means the rebels had been reduced to the laſt extremity, when the king granted them a ceſſation, and had ſent for ſome of the beſt regiments employed againſt them in Ireland to make war againſt his parliament." But it was well known that the war in that kingdom had been ſhamefully neglected by the parliament, and that the army had been ſo ill paid, that the ſoldiers were ready to diſband; that the face of the country lay uncultivated; that the officers of the army through mere want were ready to join the enemy, or to return to England; that no more than one hundred and ſeventy barrels of powder remained in the magazine of Dublin for the ſupply of the army, and that the forces in general were reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions; that all the repreſentations of the king's ſubjects had been diſregarded and unanſwered by the parliament; that the money raiſed for the ſupport of Ireland, had been employed in England againſt the king; and, that the houſe of commons had plainly told the proteſtant governors of Ireland, that they muſt expect no farther ſupply from England, unleſs they would exchange the native commodities of Ireland for the ſtores that ſhould be ſent them; a thing impoſſible to be done, all the commodities of that kingdom being in the hands of the rebels. Add to this, that the Engliſh parliament were themſelves reduced to ſuch neceſſities for money, that the agents of the proteſtant army in Ireland, were told, by one of the principal members of the Iriſh committee, that if five hundred pounds would ſave Ireland, it could not be advanced. Of four hundred thouſand pounds raiſed for the ſupport of the army, near one half had been employed in maintaining the civil war in England; and of all the troops raiſed for that ſervice not more than ſix regiments of foot, and a thouſand horſe had actually landed in Ireland from England, all the reſt having been employed againſt the king; great part of the Scottiſh forces had alſo been recalled and ſent into England on the ſame ſervice. Though theſe were undeniable facts, and tho' Sir Philip Percival, who had ſuffered greatly in the king's ſervice, juſtified the ceſſation, by the ſtrongeſt arguments of neceſſity; yet the king's commiſſioners found the prejudices of the public extremely ſtrong both againſt the ceſſation, and the peace which was then negotiating at Oxford. The king's commiſſioners were not, however, intimidated; they ſpoke with ſuch force upon the ſubject, that the parliamentary commiſſioners were greatly diſappointed in their hopes of expoſing the king: they were even apprehenſive of having the odium of not ſupporting the Iriſh war, thrown upon themſelves; it being certain that Charles had in his hands the moſt convincing evidences of the facts advanced by his commiſſioners. The votes of the parliament had, indeed, been very pathetic with regard to the cruelty of the Iriſh rebels, and the miſeries ſuffered by the proteſtants in that kingdom; but hardly any thing had been done conformable to theſe reſolutions. It is not ſufficient to weep over the miſeries of a diſtreſſed people, without affording them the neceſſary aſſiſtance. But what rendered it impoſſible to conclude the treaty was a farther demand made by the parliament, by which the king was to except from the general pardon, forty of the moſt conſiderable of his Engliſh ſubjects, and nineteen of his Scots, together with all popiſh recuſants in both kingdoms, who had carried arms in his defence. It was alſo demanded that forty-eight more, with all the members who had ſat in either houſe at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, ſhould be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exerciſe of their profeſſion, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their eſtates to the parliament.

The negotiation at Uxbridge being broken off, each party prepared to decide the important conteſt by the ſword. On the third of April, Fairfax repaired to the rendezvous of his troops at Windſor, where, by the great care and aſſiduity of Skippon, his ſerjeant-major, he found the army in excellent condition. Cromwell, having joined him from Saliſbury, was diſpatched with a party of horſe into Oxfordſhire, to prevent the junction of a large body of cavalry, detached from prince Rupert's army in Worceſterſhire, with the king's forces, quartered in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He was fortunate enough to meet, at Iſlip-bridge, five of the beſt regiments in the royal army, commanded by the earl of Northampton, and gained a complete victory, took two hundred men priſoners, and four hundred horſes. He then ſummoned and took Blechington-houſe, commanded by colonel Windebank, who was afterwards ſhot at Oxford, for delivering up the place. His next attempt was againſt another party of the royaliſts poſted at Brampton-buſh, under the command of Sir William Vaughan, whom he defeated and took priſoner, with two hundred of his men and ſeveral officers.

Taunton was ſtill beſieged by the royaliſts, and the garriſon was now reduced to ſuch extremity, that they had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted on the moſt nauſeous food. It was defended by colonel Blake, and attacked by Goring and Sir Richard Granville: but the latter being wounded, his command was given to Sir John Berkeley, whom the troops refuſed to obey; and a difference happening between general Goring and the council in the weſt, the ſiege was raiſed at the approach of the parliamentary army.

Cromwell, after his ſucceſsful encounters with the royaliſts, ſummoned Farringdon-houſe to ſurrender. But colonel Bruges, who commanded the garriſon, inſtead of complying with the demand, ſallied out at the head of his troops, and Cromwell was defeated, though he had been joined by a ſtrong party of foot from Abingdon, under the command of major-general Brown. In the mean time prince Rupert defeated Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter, and joined the king at Oxford. Soon after Goring defeated a body of Cromwell's horſe, and brought his forces to the royal camp. The king's army now conſiſted of above ſix thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, and it was expected that the latter would, in a few days, be double their number.

Fairfax had, by orders of the parliament, advanced to the relief of Taunton, and it was now imagined that his forces were ſo fatigued by long marches, that it would be eaſy for the king, whoſe army conſiſted chiefly of horſe, to overtake him before he could join Cromwell, and force him to a battle. Had this advice been followed, it is more than probable Fairfax had been defeated, which would have proved deciſive in the king's favour; but unfortunately for Charles it was neglected, and Goring was detached with a ſquadron of horſe to watch his motions. He was met by Cromwell at Redcot-bridge, but had the good fortune to defeat that able general.

By this time the king had taken the field at the head of his army, and directed his march towards Warwickſhire, in order to relieve Cheſter, which had been for ſome time beſieged by Brereton; but on the approach of the royal army, he drew off his forces, and retired toward Lancaſhire. Charles therefore changed his rout, and determined to attack the town of Leiceſter, which was very ſtrong and defended by a good garriſon: but by the remarkable bravery of his troops, the place was carried by ſtorm, and the governor, with all his garriſon, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, were made priſoners of war. Could the king have reſtrained the exceſſes of his ſoldiers, this acquiſition would have proved of the utmoſt importance; but the diſorders they committed after they were maſters of the town, did more prejudice to his affairs, than all the plunder they acquired, tho' it was very rich, did him ſervice. Beſides the priſoners, he took about a thouſand horſes, fourteen pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition and military ſtores.

The parliament was greatly alarmed at the loſs of Leiceſter. They preſſed the Scots to quicken their march to the ſouthward, and Fairfax, being now joined by Cromwell and Brown, was ordered to block up Oxford. But thoſe meaſures were greatly embarraſſed by the backwardneſs of the Scots, who had retreated into Weſtmoreland, and by the bad condition of Fairfax's army, after its fatiguing march into the weſt. Fairfax, however, obeyed his orders, and ſat down before Oxford on the twenty-third of May; though he was apprehenſive the king would ſoon return, and ſhut him up between his army and the town, which was ſtrong and well garriſoned. On receiving advice that the king was marching to relieve Oxford, Fairfax was ordered to leave the command of the blockade to general Brown, and watch the motions of the royal army; it being ſtrongly ſuſpected, that inſtead of marching to Oxford, the king intended to fall upon the aſſociated counties. It ſoon appeared that this opinion was well founded; and orders were immediately diſpatched for raiſing the blockade of Oxford, and giving the king battle, if he continued to advance. Colonel Vermuyden, who had been ſent to join the Scots, finding they were retreated into Weſtmoreland, returned to the ſouthward, and put himſelf between the royal army and the aſſociated counties. Borſtal-houſe had been, for ſome time, beſieged by Skippon, but made ſo brave a defence, that he was obliged to draw off his forces. He joined Fairfax on the ſixth of June, and the next day the whole army reached Sherington, in order to defend the aſſociated counties; certain advices having been received that the king had directed his march towards Northampton. The parliament at Weſtminſter were very uneaſy, not from the ſucceſs of Charles, but from the reproaches of the expelled members, who beheld the progreſs of the king with infinite pleaſure. For Goring had now cooped up Welden, who had been detached by Fairfax to Taunton, between his army and the walls of that place, and advice was every hour expected that both Welden and the town had ſurrendered. Charles had, however, ſeen his error, and repented his having ſent Goring into the weſt; but he ſtill had it in his power to rejoin him, or to retire either to Leiceſter or Worceſter, where he might have recruited and refreſhed his army, while that of the parliament was haraſſed with fatiguing marches.

But inſtead of purſuing any of theſe prudent meaſures, a fatal reſolution was taken to fight Fairfax. This was principally owing to the ungovernable ardor of prince Rupert, who excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full, by urging the many difficulties under which the royaliſts laboured, and from which they could be relieved by nothing but a victory. The king's forces lay about Daventry in Northamptonſhire, where he waited five days in expectation of engaging Fairfax, of whoſe marches he was totally ignorant. At laſt certain advice arrived, that the parliament's general, who had now been joined by all his parties, was advanced to Wooton, and that his head quarters was within ſix miles of that of the king. It was not even now too late for Charles to decline an engagement

ment without any injury to his reputation. He might have taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp upon Burough-hill, where the forces of Fairfax could not have attacked him, and where he might have waited till joined by a party of twelve hundred horſe, detached into Leiceſterſhire; or even till Goring returned from his expedition againſt Welden's army. But theſe advantages were neglected, and the royal army advanced againſt that of the parliament.

The forces, which on both ſides were nearly equal, were drawn up in Naſeby field, the ſpot on which the bloody conteſt between the king and his parliament was decided. The right wing of the royaliſts was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the main body by the king in perſon. In the parliament's army, Cromwell commanded the right wing, Ireton, his ſon-in-law, the left, and Fairfax, aſſiſted by Skippon, the main body. The parliament's army had the advantage of the ground and ſituation: their front extended ſomewhat farther than the king's; and a party of their dragoons poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome hedges, which flanked prince Rupert's horſe. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his uſual celerity and uſual ſucceſs. Ireton made a ſtout reſiſtance; and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, ſtill maintained the combat till he was taken priſoner; but all his courage was not ſufficient to ſupport the dreadful charge of the prince; his whole wing was broke, and purſued with the moſt precipitate fury, by that violent commander. He was even ſo inconſiderate, as to loſe time in ſummoning and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a ſtrong guard of infantry. The king led on his main body with great intrepidity, and with all the conduct of a prudent general. The conteſt was here very ſharp. Fairfax and Skippon nobly ſupporting the great reputation they had acquired. The latter being dangerouſly wounded, was deſired by Fairfax to leave the field; but he declared he would continue there as long as any ſoldier would ſtand his ground. But notwithſtanding all the intrepidity of theſe two generals, the infantry in the center was broke; and Fairfax's own regiment, commanded by Sir Charles Doyley, was the only body of foot that kept their ground. Fairfax, however, with great preſence of mind, brought up the reſerve, and renewed the combat. In the mean time, Cromwell attacked the left wing of the royal army with ſuch intrepidity, that they could not ſupport the charge; they were broken, and purſued about a quarter of a mile, when Cromwell, who improved by his prudence the advantage he had gained by his valour, detached a party to prevent their rallying, while he himſelf turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment only maintained its order unbroken, though twice deſperately aſſaulted by Fairfax. But the third attempt proved deciſive: Doyley charged them in front, while Fairfax attacked them in the rear. The gallant regiment was now broken, and partly diſperſed. Senſible, when it was too late, of his error, prince Rupert abandoned his fruitleſs attempt upon the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whoſe infantry was now totally defeated. Charles did all in his power to animate this body of cavalry to exert that valour they had already diſplayed; he called aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But they ſaw too evidently the diſadvantages under which they laboured, to obey even the command of their ſovereign. The king was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. He retreated firſt to Leiceſter, and then to Litchfield.

The number of the ſlain in the parliament's army was greater than that in the king's; they loſt a thouſand men, he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax took four hundred officers and five thouſand men priſoners. He alſo took twelve pieces of cannon, two mortars, eight thouſand arms, forty barrels of powder, and a hundred colours, together with the king's equipages and cabinet, in which were copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be publiſhed. In a word, this victory was at once the greateſt and moſt complete of any gained by the parliament during the whole courſe of the civil war.

But though this defeat was dreadful, it was the infatuation of Charles in following the worſt councils, that rendered it deciſive. He had ſtill a fine body of two thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, in Wales, under general Gerrard. Goring was at the head of an army before Taunton, little inferior to that the king had loſt at Naſeby, and the routed horſe were every day coming in to ſome of the royal garriſons. But a flood of misfortunes were now to be poured on the head of this unfortunate prince: his enemies conquered his towns, garriſons and armies, almoſt as faſt as a traveller could paſs from one to the other. The lord Loughborough ſurrendered Leiceſter to Fairfax, without ſtipulating any other condition, than that of obtaining quarter for himſelf and his garriſon. But Fairfax being no ſtranger to the wretched condition of Taunton, ſent a meſſenger to the parliament for inſtructions concerning his march into the weſt. In the mean time, he paſſed from Leiceſter to Lutterworth, and proceeded, without any interruption, to Dorcheſter. The miſeries of civil diſcord had, for ſome time, been ſo ſeverely felt by the inhabitants of the weſtern counties, eſpecially thoſe of Devon, Dorſet, and Wilts, that they had formed a ſcheme of neutrality, under the title of Club-men. Their declared intention was to reſiſt either party who ſhould attack them, and to mediate fair conditions between the king and his parliament. This aſſociation was now ſo ſtrong, as to be formidable to both parties, who equally complained of their ſufferings from the Club-men. Soon after Fairfax reached Dorcheſter, Mr. Hollis, a gentleman of Dorſetſhire, with ſeveral other leaders of the Club-men, waited upon him with the following articles and requeſts. "That the aſſociates provide arms, ſet watches, be quiet with thoſe that excite no diſturbance, ſeize all diſorderly ſoldiers, and ſend them to the neareſt garriſons: not to deny quarters and contributions proportioned to their abilities: till their petitions be delivered, not to favour either party, nor to protect any not aſſociated. To requeſt the renewal of a treaty, with a ceſſation of arms, and alſo that the garriſons in Dorſet, Devon, and Wilts, be put into their hands, till the king and parliament agree about their diſpoſal: that they be freed from all charges, except the maintenance of thoſe garriſons: that all laws, not repealed, be in force, and executed by the ordinary officers: that all perſons who deſire it, might be at liberty to lay down their arms; and that others who have abſented themſelves from their houſes may have free liberty to return." The general told them, that he greatly approved of their endeavours to bring about a peace; but not of the ceſſation of arms, or of diſbanding the ſoldiers; but promiſed to protect them from being plundered, and required them to diſcontinue their meetings. Perhaps he would not have diſmiſſed the leaders of the Club-men on ſuch eaſy terms, had he not been very deſirous of proſecuting his favourite ſcheme, the relief of Taunton, the parliament having conſented to his leading the army into thoſe parts, where the royaliſts were ſtill powerful, and capable of making a gallant reſiſtance.

But feuds and animoſities had, for ſome time, prevailed among the officers, and threatened inevitable ruin to the royal party. Goring was capable of performing all that could be required from the braveſt and vileſt of mankind: his abilities were equal to his ambition, which ſoared above all his maſter could beſtow. His abilities were ſufficient to clothe vice with every advantage; his eloquence to delude caution into ruin. His heart, inſenſible either to the happineſs or miſeries of others, laid not a check on his career of wickedneſs. His profligacy, his intemperance, his riots, his overſights and his negligence, rendered it problematical for what end nature had beſtowed her gifts on a perſon who diſgraced them; and why fortune courted a man ſo ungrateful to her favours. The hopes of victory could not reſtrain him from debauchery, nor the fear of infamy deter him from treachery. His ſerving the royal party was not in him the reſult of principle, but of accident; and when oppoſed by the king's council, it cauſed him more pains to diſappoint, than it would have done to have executed the excellent diſpoſitions laid down by himſelf for the ſervice of his maſter. This was the true reaſon for his ſtrange behaviour before Taunton. The ravages and barbarities of his ſoldiers had rendered him ſo diſagreeable to the royal party in the weſt, that he knew they had done him ill offices with his maſter, and was reſolved the ſervice ſhould ſuffer. He was accordingly ſo negligent in guarding the paſſages to Taunton, that the beſieged received frequent relief from the adjacent country, and even his chief officers were ſuffered to have interviews with thoſe of the enemy. This at once prolonged the ſiege, and diſcouraged the infantry ſo greatly, that they mouldered away; and when Fairfax advanced to relieve the place, Goring found himſelf under a neceſſity, wantonly occaſioned by his own negligence, of raiſing the ſiege. He retired to Lamport, an open town in Somerſetſhire, where he was defeated by Fairfax, who killed three hundred of his men, and took fourteen hundred priſoners.

Fairfax now ſat down before Bridgewater, a ſtrong and important town in that country. The place was defended by colonel Windham, at the head of a garriſon of two thouſand ſix hundred men. For ſome time, the beſieged made a ſtout reſiſtance; but the outer town being taken by ſtorm, Windham capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax; by which the whole garriſon were made priſoners of war. The taking of Bridgewater was a dreadful blow to the royaliſts, becauſe it was conſidered as impregnable; and the king's friends had laid up in it, as a ſure repoſitory, their treaſure and moſt valuable effects.

Charles was now retreated to Cardiff, in South Wales, where he had leiſure to reflect on his fallen condition; and, perhaps, ſaw it more clearly, and felt it more ſenſibly, than any man of his party. But when he was the ſport of fortune, he ſeemed regardleſs of her frowns. When his beſt friends, even thoſe who had been moſt forward in adviſing war, now preſſed him to accept of peace on almoſt any conditions, Charles declared himſelf of a different opinion. He admitted, indeed, that he had nothing but ruin to himſelf, his cauſe, and his family, before his eyes; but, at the ſame time, declared, that he would neither ſacrifice his conſcience, injure his ſucceſſor, nor forſake his friends. He told prince Rupert, who was one of the party for peace, that if his caſe was to be viewed by a politician, it would appear next to frenzy for him to decline any terms; but as a king, a chriſtian, and a gentleman, low as his fortunes were, he would grant no other terms than what he had offered at Uxbridge; and theſe he knew would not be accepted.

The Scots having taken Carliſle, which had, for eleven months, been bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham, marched to the ſouthward, and ſat down before Hereford; but they were ſo diſguſted by the treatment they had received in England, that the ſiege advanced very ſlowly. They complained loudly of the want of money, proviſions and artillery, which had been promiſed them by the parliament, but the promiſe had never been performed. Charles being therefore in no great pain with regard to the fate of Hereford, directed his courſe to the northward; and, after very fatiguing marches, reached Doncaſter, where he was joined by a body of three thouſand men; it being the peculiar fate of that prince to acquire more friends by his misfortunes than by proſperity. It required, indeed, all his fortitude to ſupport the ſhocks of ill fortune, by which he was every day aſſailed. The caſtles of Scarborough, Skipton, Sandal, and Pontefract, after making a noble oppoſition, were obliged to ſurrender to the parliament; but their garriſons joined the royal army.

The king was now very deſirous of puſhing forward into Scotland, to join Montroſe, who, at the head of a handful of naked, half-armed highlanders, had cut in pieces ſeveral armies of regular veterans, commanded by officers of experience, and ſupported by the whole ſtrength of the kingdom. The Scottiſh army before Hereford were alarmed at his ſucceſs; and general Leſley, at the head of all the cavalry and dragoons, marched directly towards Scotland. Immediately after his departure, the earls of Leven and Callender, who commanded at the ſiege of Hereford, drew up a kind of manifeſto, enumerating the difficulties and diſappointments they had met with, and urging the neceſſity of ſaving their own country from the deſtruction with which it was threatened by Montroſe. They accordingly raiſed the ſiege of Hereford, and began their march to the northward. Leſley, informed of the king's intention, marched with ſo much expedition, that he reached Rotherham, and ſecured the paſs at Ferrybridge, before the king was informed of the route he had taken; while Pointz, one of the parliament's generals, took poſt, with a ſtrong body of horſe, in the neighbourhood of Worceſter. It being now impoſſible for Charles to lead his army into Scotland, he directed his march towards the eaſtern aſſociated counties, with ſo much ſucceſs, that he took Huntingdon, defeated ſeveral parties of the enemy, and returned to Oxford with a conſiderable booty.

In the mean time, Fairfax made himſelf maſter of Bath and Sherborne-caſtle, and prepared for beſieging Briſtol; an enterprize, which, from the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the great reputation of prince Rupert the governor, was deemed of the laſt importance. But ſo ſtrangely precarious in moſt men is the quality of military courage! a weaker defence was not made by any town during the whole war. The general expectations were here totally diſappointed. The lines were no ſooner taken by ſtorm, than the prince capitulated, and delivered up the city to Fairfax. Charles, who, on receiving advice that Fairfax determined to beſiege Briſtol, had collected all his forces to relieve the city, was aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, which was hardly leſs fatal to his party than the battle of Naſeby. Exaſperated at the behaviour of Rupert, he inſtantly recalled all his commiſſions, and ſent him a ſafe conduct to paſs over to the continent.

Every thing now portended the ruin of the royal party. The king marched to the relief of Cheſter, which was beſieged by Jones, at the head of a ſtrong detachment of the parliament's forces. Pointz followed him cloſe; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Cheſter, attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. The action was very ſharp, and victory ſeemed to incline to the royaliſts, till Jones fell upon their troops on the other ſide, and put them to flight, with the loſs of ſix hundred ſlain, and a thouſand priſoners. The king fled, with the remains of his broken army, to Newark, and thence eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up during the winter.

Fairfax and Cromwell, having now no powerful army to oppoſe them, divided their forces. Cromwell, at the head of four regiments, marched to the Devizes, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate. Berkeley-caſtle was taken by colonel Rainſborough, but the garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, were ſuffered to march out without their arms. Cromwell's detachment being now ſtrengthened by three regiments of horſe, he marched to Wincheſter, and ſat down before the caſtle, which was defended by lord Ogle, at the head of a numerous garriſon;

but after a vigorous defence, he was obliged to capitulate on honourable conditions. Cromwell's next expedition was againſt Baſing-houſe, which, under the brave marquis of Wincheſter, had already repelled ſo many deſperate attacks of the enemy. But it could not reſiſt the impetuoſity of Cromwell; he took it ſword in hand, put the garriſon to the ſword, and ſent the marquis, with a few of the principal officers, priſoners to London. Langford-houſe alſo, four days after, ſhared the ſame fate.

The army of Fairfax was attended with the ſame rapid ſucceſs. Tiverton was taken, the general laid ſiege to Exeter, and forced the royaliſts, with the prince of Wales at their head, to retreat behind the Tamar. Fairfax therefore became maſter of the whole country to that river, and extended his line to Totneſs, which he now took poſſeſſion of. This ſucceſs ſo greatly alarmed the royaliſts, who had formed the blockade of Plymouth, that they retired behind the Tamar in great diſorder, leaving all their artillery and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

A. D. 1646. Fairfax was now at liberty to purſue the deſign he had formed againſt Dartmouth, which, with the aſſiſtance of a ſquadron of the parliament's ſhips, under the command of admiral Batten, he took by ſtorm on the eighteenth of January. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, a thouſand priſoners, a hundred horſes, with proportional arms and ammunition, with two ſmall ſhips of war belonging to the king, fell into the hands of Fairfax. Among the priſoners were the earl of Newport, colonel Seymour, and a great number of inferior officers. Poudram-caſtle next fell into the hands of the victorious Fairfax, who now laid cloſe ſiege to Exeter. Lord Hopton, who commanded the royal army, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, advanced to relieve the place. The two armies met at Torrington, where Hopton was defeated, all his foot diſperſed, and he himſelf, with his horſe, obliged to retire into Cornwall, Fairfax purſued his victory with ſo much vigour, that he incloſed the royaliſts at Truro, and forced the whole army, conſiſting of five thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender upon terms. The ſoldiers delivering up their horſes and arms, were permitted to diſband, and received twenty ſhillings each to carry them to their own houſes. Such of the officers as deſired it, were granted paſſes to retire beyond the ſeas: the others, having promiſed never more to bear arms againſt the parliament, received a free pardon, on paying compoſitions proportioned to their abilities. Fairfax now returned to the ſiege of Exeter, and, after making himſelf maſter of that city, which completed the conqueſt of the weſt, marched his victorious army to the middle of the kingdom, and fixed his quarters at Newbury. The prince of Wales had the good fortune to eſcape when the royal army was incloſed at Truro; and, purſuant to the repeated orders of his father, paſſed over into the iſles of Sicilly, thence to Jerſey, and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, when the earl of Eſſex commanded the parliament's forces in the weſt.

Nor was Charles more ſucceſsful in other parts of the kingdom. Hereford was taken by ſurprize; Cheſter ſurrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, at the head of twelve hundred horſe, to force his way into Scotland, and join Montroſe, was defeated at Sherburn in Yorkſhire, by colonel Copeley; his whole force was diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly, firſt into the Iſle of Man, and thence into Ireland. The town and caſtle of Chepſtow were delivered up to the parliament; the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen were reduced by Laughern: Shelford and Wyverton houſes were taken, and even the undaunted counteſs of Derby was obliged to ſurrender Latham-houſe. And, to put a final period to the hopes of the royaliſts, news arrived, that Montroſe himſelf, after the moſt aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly, with his broken forces into the mountains.

Such was in general the ſtate of affairs when the inclemency of the ſeaſon put an end to the rage of war. It would have been endleſs to have mentioned all the ſmaller actions and ſkirmiſhes, the ſieges of caſtles, and the taking of houſes, that happened during this whole campaign, ſo fatal to the royal party. The genius of Cromwell ſhone in its full luſtre; he was the ſupport of the independents, while his amazing ſucceſs awakened the jealouſy of the preſbyterians. He flew from poſt to poſt with amazing expedition; the news of one conqueſt hardly arrived before another was finiſhed; the ſhouts of victory in his troops were blended with the ſinging of pſalms, and the conſultations for battle and deſtruction were always preceded by the exerciſes of praying and preaching. That artful general always took care to keep the minds of his ſoldiers warm either by the heat of battle, or the force of enthuſiaſm: he was at once their martial and their ſpiritual leader. Every county was a bloody ſcene of action, and on almoſt every gentleman's eſtate, encounters happened, which exceeded in fury, thoſe of any foreign war. The numbers that fell in the more diſtinguiſhed battles were inconſiderable when compared with the total, that were ſlain in thoſe leſſer ſkirmiſhes. "To the work of the Lord diligently," was now become the watch-word of the independents, and implied, that no quarter ought to be given to the royaliſts, and that the war ſhould be carried on without regarding the few decencies which had hitherto been preſerved towards his majeſty and the chief nobility of the kingdom.

The eſcape of the king from Newark to Oxford was, however, a great diſappointment to the independents. Not that they had the leaſt apprehenſion of his recovering any power that could renew their alarms; but they feared, what afterwards happened, that he would make another attempt to conclude a peace with the parliament. As ſoon as the king knew that the prince of Wales had made his eſcape, he demanded, from the two houſes, a ſafe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, Mr. Aſhburnham and Mr. Palmer, to repair with his propoſitions, to Weſtminſter. The commons had for ſome time been employed in debating on the ſituation of public affairs. The preſbyterians thought that matters had now exceeded the criſis they propoſed, and perceived that both they and the parliament were on the point of receiving law from the independents and the army; and therefore, that it was more adviſeable for them to conclude a peace with his majeſty, than become the dupes of that violent party. And as they had hitherto maintained a conſiderable majority in the houſe, they now determined to make uſe of it for ſettling the peace of the kingdom; but at the ſame time, they well knew that the utmoſt caution would be neceſſary to enſure ſucceſs. They were aware that the independent party would derive great advantages from the London populace, if the commons gave any countenance to a treaty. It was therefore agreed to frame a ſet of articles which were to be ſent to his majeſty, and, after being approved by him, to have the ſanction of an act of parliament. Thoſe articles were founded on the demands before made at Uxbridge, but with an addition of the following particulars: "That their general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, ſhould be created a baron, and have five thouſand pounds a year ſettled on him for life: That lord Fairfax, his father, ſhould be made an earl: That lieutenant-general Cromwell ſhould be made a baron, and enjoy two thouſand five hundred pounds a year: That the earls of Northumberland, Eſſex, Warwick, and Pembroke, be created dukes: That Denzil Hollis be made a baron, Sir William Waller a baron, and enjoy an annuity of two thouſand five hundred pounds a year: That Sir Arthur Haſlerig be made a baron, with two thouſand pounds per annum: That Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Philip Stapleton, be created barons, and the latter enjoy two thouſand pounds a year: That Sir William

Brereton have one thouſand five hundred, and major general Skippon one thouſand pounds per annum."

It was imagined by the preſbyterian party, that their thus liberally providing for the friends of the independent party, as well as their own, would be a means of ſuppreſſing the violence of the faction, if it was poſſible to ſatiate the avarice and ambition of their leaders. They therefore gave no anſwer to the king's meſſage, which alarmed Charles, who ſent a very pathetic letter to the commons, but received no reply; the commons were buſy in forming their propoſitions. In the mean time, the differences which every day increaſed between the parliament and the Scots, gave his majeſty ſome hopes, that a rupture between them would be the conſequence, which could not fail of being advantageous to his affairs.

After the defeat of Montroſe in Scotland, all the foot, and part of the Scottiſh horſe, were ſtarving in England; nor did they receive one ſhilling but what they raiſed by contributions. It was, however, at laſt voted, that they ſhould be paid thirty-one thouſand pounds per month, provided they would return to the ſouthward, and lay ſiege to Newark, which was likely, at that time, to prove the hotteſt ſervice in England. But the anſwer of the Scots was ſo unſatisfactory, that they were required to give a poſitive and ſpeedy anſwer; and, in the mean time, ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions were made by the parliament, if they refuſed to undertake the ſiege.

The marquis of Argyle was now at the head of thoſe violent covenanters in Scotland, whoſe characters nearly reſembled thoſe of the independents in England. He had been defeated by Montroſe, who had ſuffered his forces to live at free quarters on his eſtates. At the ſame time, he was hated by the Hamilton party, ſo that he was under a kind of neceſſity of oppoſing all offers of accommodation with the king. The duke of Hamilton, on the other hand, ſaw himſelf without abilities to ſerve his ſovereign, unleſs he would grant all that was demanded of him with regard to religion. Beſides theſe two, there was a third party in Scotland, conſiſting of the earls of Callender, Traquair, Morton, Roxborough, and ſeveral others, who cheriſhed the genuine ſentiments of public liberty, and ſincerely wiſhed that ſome method might be found for reſtoring Charles to all his juſt rights, both in England and Scotland, under proper reſtrictions and ſecurity; but they were at once too weak and too wiſe to attempt any thing themſelves, unleſs properly aſſiſted. There was, however, one principle, in which all the three parties agreed, that the return of their army into Scotland, before the large arrears due to the troops from the Engliſh parliament, muſt be attended with the ruin of their country, and the deſtruction of their civil liberty. They perceived it would be impoſſible to find ſubſiſtence for a ſmall body of horſe under Leſley; and had therefore ſent the greater part of them back to England, reſerving one regiment only.

Charles made another effort for negotiating a peace with the parliament, and deſired to have a perſonal treaty with the two houſes. He offered to come to London, on receiving a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his attendants, and to commit the truſt of the militia to ſuch perſons againſt whom there could be no juſt exception. But they abſolutely refuſed him acceſs; and even iſſued orders for ſeizing his perſon, if he attempted to viſit them. At laſt they told the king, that they were preparing ſome bills, and his paſſing them would be the ſureſt indication of his deſire of reſtoring peace to this diſtracted country. About this time, an action, which happened in Ireland, ſerved to augment the calumnies that were propagated to the diſadvantage of the king, and which he had always conſidered as the greateſt miſfortunes he had yet experienced.

Deſirous of concluding a final peace with the Iriſh rebels, and of obtaining their aſſiſtance in England, he commiſſioned Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to promiſe them an abrogation of all the penal laws that had been enacted againſt the catholics. But as ſome agent was thought neceſſary to conduct the negotiation, lord Herbert, lately created earl of Glamorgan, was conſidered as a perſon proper for this undertaking, as he was a catholic, and allied to the beſt families in Ireland. Glamorgan was ſtrictly enjoined not to conclude any thing with the rebels without the approbation of Ormond, and to conſult him in every ſtep of his negotiations. Had theſe inſtructions been carefully obſerved, the king had received the reinforcement he ſo greatly wanted, without giving his enemies the opportunity of loading him with reproaches. But bigotted to his own religion, and paſſionately deſirous of ſerving his maſter effectually, he ſecretly, of himſelf, without communicating any part of the negotiation to Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, by which it was agreed, that the Iriſh ſhould enjoy all the churches they had ever poſſeſſed ſince the beginning of their inſurrection; on condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt the king of England with a body of ten thouſand men. Great ſecrecy was obſerved in concluding this treaty, and it was at laſt diſcovered by accident. The titular archbiſhop of Tuam being killed in a ſally made by the garriſon of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and ſeveral copies of them were ſent over to the Engliſh parliament. Perſuaded that this incident would excite the loudeſt clamour againſt the king, the lord-lieutenant and lord Digby committed Glamorgan to priſon, charged him with high-treaſon for his temerity, and maintained that he had acted entirely without authority from his majeſty. The king alſo diſavowed the treaty, and declared that he had no authority to conclude any thing without the privity and approbation of the lord-lieutenant. The parliament, however, loſt not ſo fair an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the king's deſire of favouring the abominations of popery, and accuſed him of delivering the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated ſect.

The parliament, when they aboliſhed epiſcopacy, did not immediately regulate the affairs of the church. At length that great work was finiſhed, and a preſbyterian government, with all its congregations and aſſemblies, was eſtabliſhed. The elders of each pariſh joined with the miniſters, were to preſide in all ſpiritual matters, in that congregation; and the general aſſembly over thoſe of the whole kingdom. That aſſembly of their clergy had already voted, that preſbytery was of divine right; but the parliament refuſed their aſſent to that opinion, becauſe they imagined it would be productive of a ſpiritual authority equal at leaſt, if not ſuperior, to that before enjoyed by the biſhops. The clergy of all ſects of chriſtians, under pretence of keeping the ſacraments from being profaned, had aſſumed the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunications. The parliament thought proper to ſet limits to this power, which they conſidered as dangerous to liberty. They paſſed an ordinance, by which all the caſes in excommunication ſhould be uſed; they admitted appeals to be made to the parliament from all eccleſiaſtical courts; and appointed commiſſioners to take cognizance of ſuch caſes as fell not within their ordinance. The zealots were highly offended at the parliament, for intermixing ſo much civil with eccleſiaſtical authority; they conſidered it as a profanation of religion.

But what gave them the higheſt offence, was the propenſity ſhewn by many of the members to allow a toleration to all religious ſectaries. This excited an univerſal clamour among the preſbyterians, who loudly exclaimed againſt what they termed a moſt ſcandalous meaſure. "What!" ſaid they, "ſhall we make a Noah's ark of the church? make it a receptacle for all unclean beaſts? We are obliged by the covenant to oppoſe hereſy and ſchiſm. No "political reaſons can counterbalance this duty." The diſpute grew very warm between the preſbyterians and independents, the former oppoſing, and the latter ſupporting the reaſonableneſs of admitting a toleration in religion; and the king might have profited by it, if their hatred to him had not united thoſe whom their religious opinions had divided.

The king was not diſpleaſed at theſe diſputes in the parliament; but he ſoon perceived, that if it were poſſible for him to derive any advantage from the miſunderſtandings of his parliament, it would come too late. Fairfax was approaching, at the head of a powerful and victorious army, to beſiege him in Oxford, whence it would be impoſſible for him, after the city was inveſted, to make his eſcape. He could not bear the thought of being made a captive, and led in triumph through the ſtreets of his capital, amidſt a prejudiced and inſolent populace, and a rude, enthuſiaſtic ſoldiery, who hated his perſon, and deſpiſed his dignity. The Scots army had now inveſted Newark, and ſeemed to open the only aſylum to majeſty in diſtreſs. He imagined that the Scots had not yet loſt all attachment to their ſovereign; and that, as zealous preſbyterians, they would not willingly ſubmit to the independents. Montreville, the French miniſter, deſirous of ſerving the king, had ſollicited the Scots generals and commiſſioners to give protection to their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and having received many general profeſſions and promiſes, he tranſmitted theſe, poſſibly with ſome exaggeration, to the king, who now determined to throw himſelf into the arms of his Scottiſh ſubjects.

The utmoſt ſecrecy was, however, obſerved in this tranſaction; and that no interruption, ſufficient to occaſion a diſcovery, might happen, orders were given at every gate in Oxford to admit three perſons to paſs without being examined. Theſe precautions being taken, Charles, attended only by Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, paſſed about midnight through that gate which leads to London. The king, in the dreſs of Aſhburnham's ſervant, with a portmanteau behind him, paſſed through Henley, and Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained ſome thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himſelf into the arms of the parliament; but this deſign appearing too dangerous, he purſued his firſt intention; and, after paſſing through many croſs roads, reached the Scottiſh camp before Newark. The ſurprize of their generals and commiſſioners was prodigious: they pretended to do him homage, and paid him every external mark of reſpect; but were determined to make him a captive. They allotted him a guard, under pretence of protection and eſteem, but in reality to ſecure his perſon.

Newark ſtill made a noble defence againſt the Scots, who now applied to the king for orders to the governor to ſurrender the place. He readily obeyed, and the gates were opened to the enemy. Soon after the king's arrival, the Scots had informed the parliament of their being in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon; but hearing that the commons intended to demand him, and that the army of Fairfax was already in motion towards their camp, they thought proper to retire towards the frontiers of their own kingdom, and encamped at Newcaſtle, a place of great ſtrength. This motion was not diſagreeable to Charles; he imagined it was taken merely for the protection of his perſon; and flattered himſelf, that by the junction of his friends with the Scots, he ſhould be once more in a condition of facing the enemy, and, poſſibly, of reſtoring peace to his exhauſted kingdoms.

But Charles well knew that the Scots would never heartily concur in promoting his intereſt, unleſs he could gain the favour of their miniſters: he was therefore very attentive to their long and enthuſiaſtic ſermons, and ſeemed very deſirous of their inſtructions. But he ſoon perceived that the covenanting zealots were by no means his friends. One of their preachers, after bitterly reproaching him, in the harſheſt terms, for his conduct, gave out that pſalm, which, in the Engliſh tranſlation, begins, "Why boaſteſt thou thyſelf, thou tyrant, that thou canſt do miſchief?" The king ſtood up, and called for that pſalm which begins, "Have pity upon me, O Lord, for men go about to devour me." The good-natured audience ſhewed that they were penetrated with the ſight of majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſung the pſalm called for by the king. Pity, for once, triumphed over enthuſiaſm.

Charles was now required to iſſue orders to the governors of all his garriſons, to ſurrender the places they defended to the parliament. The king made no oppoſition: he perceived he could hope for no effectual aſſiſtance from the Scots, and knew that any farther oppoſition would only tend to exaſperate ſtill more the party that was formed againſt him. Fairfax carried thoſe orders into execution, and granted the garriſons honourable terms: he even prevented, as far as in his power, any inſults from being offered to the unfortunate royaliſts. The capital, with all the other forts garriſoned by the king's party in Ireland, were alſo delivered up to the parliament's officers: and Montroſe, after experiencing a great variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired to the continent.

All oppoſition on the part of the royaliſts being now ceaſed, it was thought that no time ſhould be loſt in ſettling the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom. But this was not eaſy to be performed. The ſtrength of the independent party in parliament was greatly increaſed, and the army was at the devotion of Cromwell; but both began to entertain jealouſies of the Scots. It was therefore voted, "that there is no farther occaſion for the Scottiſh army to continue in England. And, that one hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed, and one moiety thereof paid to the Scots, on their delivering up all the towns they have garriſoned in England, except Berwick, and the other on their return to Scotland." At the ſame time, they ordered the Scots commiſſioners to deliver to the houſe an account of the arrears due to their army, that they might be diſcharged according to the treaty between the two kingdoms.

The propoſals for eſtabliſhing a peace were now laid before the king, and appeared to be ſuch as might be expected by a captive entirely at the mercy of an inexorable conqueror. The parliament demanded, before any treaty was ſigned, that the king ſhould give the royal aſſent to the following bills. "1. To recall all proclamations publiſhed againſt the parliament, and their actions. 2. To ſign the covenant, and paſs an act for its being taken by the whole kingdom. 3. An act to aboliſh the hierarchy. 4. To confirm the aſſembly. 5. An act for ſettling religion according to the plan eſtabliſhed by both houſes of parliament. 6. To confirm unity and uniformity in religion. 7. An act againſt jeſuits, papiſts, &c. 8. An act for educating the children of papiſts in the proteſtant religion. 9. An act for penalties againſt catholics. 10. An act againſt ſaying maſs in any place within the kingdom. 11. The ſame to be extended to Scotland, if the parliament of that kingdom think proper. 12. An act for the due obſervation of the Lord's day, againſt pluralities, nonreſidents, and for regulating the univerſities. 13. An act for veſting the militia in the parliament for twenty years; for empowering the commons to raiſe what money they thought neceſſary, and for confirming the privileges of London with regard to their own militia. 14. An act to render void all honours and titles conferred ſince the great ſeal was carried from the parliament, and that no peers be admitted but by conſent of both houſes. 15. An act to confirm the treaty between England and Scotland, and for appointing conſervators of the peace. 16. An act to eſtabliſh the declaration of both kingdoms, publiſhed on the thirtieth of June, 1643, with the qualifications of exception from pardon, with regard to ſeveral perſons, both Engliſh and Scots, and the name of thoſe rendered incapable of any office, and ſuch as have deſerted the parliament. 17. An act to render void the ceſſation concluded with the Iriſh rebels, for leaving the conduct of the war in that kingdom to the care of the parliament, and for ſettling religion there in the ſame manner as in England. 18. An act for veſting the government of the Tower and their own militia in the magiſtrates of London, and for confirming their charters. 19. A bill for confirming all grants and proceſſes iſſued under the parliament's great ſeal, and for rendering void all thoſe of any other."

Charles, though no ſtranger to the ſubſtance of theſe propoſals, told the meſſengers, that as they tended to introduce ſuch important innovations in the conſtitution, it was highly reaſonable he ſhould be allowed a proper time for deliberation. They replied, that he muſt give his anſwer in ten days. The king complained, that the terms made uſe of were not defined, and deſired to know their meaning. The meſſengers told him they had no power to debate, and that he muſt give a poſitive anſwer. Upon this the king delivered a paper, in which he complained of the limited powers of the commiſſioners, and demanded permiſſion to come to London and treat with his parliament in perſon. He added, that as he never could condeſcend to paſs bills abſolutely deſtructive of that juſt power with which he was entruſted by God and the laws of the kingdom, ſo he would chearfully give his aſſent to ſuch as were reaſonable, and really tended to promote the peace and happineſs of his ſubjects. He therefore conjured them as chriſtians, and as men who deſire to leave a good name behind them, that they would receive his anſwer in ſo favourable a manner, that the iſſues of blood may be ſtopped, and the dreadful diſtractions of this unhappy kingdom fully ſettled.

This paper was conſidered by the parliament's commiſſioners as no ſatisfactory anſwer, and they made ſome difficulty of receiving it. It, however, produced no effect; and the king was given to underſtand, that if he refuſed to comply with their demands, they would ſettle the kingdom by their own authority. But two difficulties ſtill continued to be removed; to prevail upon the Scots to deliver up the king, and to ſettle the payment of the arrears of their army.

Both theſe particulars cauſed very long debates in the parliament. The Scots pretended, that as Charles was king of both nations, they were equally intitled with the Engliſh to vote on the queſtion relative to the diſpoſal of his perſon; and that where the titles of both are equal, and the ſubject indiviſible, the preſent poſſeſſor was intitled to the preference. On the contrary, the Engliſh maintained, that as the king was in England, his perſon could not be diſpoſed of by any foreign nation. But though they differed ſo widely with regard to the diſpoſal of his majeſty's perſon, they agreed in impoſing on him ſuch rigorous conditions, that Charles, notwithſtanding his deplorable ſituation, refuſed to accept them. They did not, indeed, wiſh he ſhould recover his freedom; they never intended to blend lenity and tyranny together in ſo inconſiſtent a manner. The Scots, however, determined not to deliver up the king to the Engliſh parliament, but keep him as a pledge for their arrears, which, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the nation, they were unlikely to obtain by any other means. According to their own account, the ſum amounted to no leſs than two millions; for as the parliament had paid them very little money, the contributions they had levied, and the price of their living at free quarters, were all the deductions to be made out of the whole pay due to them, ever ſince they firſt entered England. This ſum was, however, conſidered as very exorbitant by the parliament; and the demand occaſioned very long and ſevere debates. At length the Scottiſh commiſſioners agreed to accept of four hundred thouſand pounds, in lieu of all demands; one half to be paid immediately, and the other in leſs than a year.

As the delivering up the king's perſon was conſidered as the principal condition of this infamous bargain, the money was raiſed with great alacrity. The Scottiſh parliament had indeed voted, that the king ſhould be protected, and his liberty be made one of the conditions of the treaty; but they were obliged to retract their reſolution on the interpoſition of the general aſſembly, who declared, "that as Charles had refuſed to take the covenant when tendered to him, it became not the godly to concern themſelves about his fortune." This reſolution, however, was not ſufficient to diſturb the tranquillity of the king's mind, ſo greatly had he profited in the ſchool of adverſity. He was playing at cheſs when he was informed of the final reſolution of the Scots to deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh parliament; but he continued his game without interruption; nor could any perſon in company perceive that the letter he peruſed brought any advice of conſequence.

The parliament had now ſurmounted every difficulty; the whole power of the nation was in their hands. Fairfax, the unhappy, the unwilling inſtrument of the miſeries of his country, was now in London, and complimented by the parliament in terms which can with propriety be uſed only to the divine Being. Lenthall, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, told him, that he was "the Almighty who came riding on the wings of the wind." Fairfax deſpiſed and deteſted ſuch groſs flattery; but he was not proof againſt the arts of Cromwell. The army was now modelled in ſuch a manner, that they no longer conſidered themſelves as the ſervants of the parliament, but rather as its maſters; and Cromwell pointed out to Fairfax, with great juſtice and candour, the diſtractions that every where prevailed, both in church and ſtate. Scarcely two divines could agree in a ſtandard of faith, or two ſtateſmen on the ſame ſcheme of meaſures neceſſary to be purſued. Hence he concluded, that the army was now the ſole principle of unity, the center to which all lines muſt point. The ſoldiers, he ſaid, were the choſen people of God, and had within them that unerring light of grace, which ſoared above all ſublunary inſtitutions, and corrected all human errors. He meant, however, only thoſe ſoldiers under the command of Fairfax and himſelf; for there were beſides two armies, one under Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter; and the other under Mitton, in Wales. Maſſey's ſoldiers felt the infirmities of human nature; they were diſtreſſed with cold, hunger, and the want of every neceſſary comfort of life. They therefore preſented ſeveral ſtrong petitions to the parliament, enumerated their ſervices, and aſked that relief to which as ſervants, as men, and as chriſtians, they were ſo juſtly entitled. But all their petitions and remonſtrances were in vain; they were threatened with being ſent to Ireland, and in the mean time ſuffered to live at free quarters, that the diſbanding of them, which was now determined, might appear the leſs unpopular, though they were paid but a ſmall part of their arrears.

The independents had ſtrongly oppoſed the treaty with the Scots, and were for demanding the perſon of his majeſty at the head of the army, and driving them out of the kingdom by force. Every vote, therefore, in their favour, was ſtrenuouſly debated; but the preſbyterians having, as yet, the majority, carried their point; and the meaſure for ſending the Scots into their own country, by an amicable treaty, was adopted. This being ſettled, it was voted, that Holmby-houſe, in Northamptonſhire, ſhould be the place for receiving his majeſty; and a committee of lords and commons, with a party of the army, were appointed to attend him thither from Newcaſtle; but, at the ſame time, they declared, that nothing ſhould be done towards ſettling the peace, till the Scottiſh forces had paſſed the Engliſh borders. When the Engliſh commiſſioners arrived in the Scottiſh camp, and were permitted to kiſs the king's hands, he received them with the ſame grace and chearfulneſs, as if they had travelled on no other errand, but that of paying their court to him. His majeſty was allowed only nine ſervants to attend him; and though he was treated by the commiſſioners with all the external marks of reſpect, he was not ſuffered to have any intercourſe with his friends. Some weeks before the king was delivered into the hands of the parliament's commiſſioners, the earl of Eſſex paid the debt of nature. This was a ſevere blow both to the king and preſbyterian party. Senſible of the deplorable ſtate of the nation, to which, from miſtake rather than deſign, he had ſo greatly contributed, he determined to exert all his power to bring about a peace, and reſtore the tranquillity of the nation; but death put a final period to his deſign, deprived the preſbyterians, or moderate party, of a popular leader, and ſo greatly leſſened the power of the houſe of peers, that it was almoſt annihilated.

A. D. 1647. While the king continued at Holmby-houſe, the nation began to be very uneaſy at the ſituation of public affairs. The houſe of commons had either by themſelves, or their committees, diverted the ordinary courſe of laws, even in matters of private property; but they had often declared, that as ſoon as the neceſſity of the times would permit, the courts of judicature ſhould reſume their ancient functions. The lords did not fail to put them in mind of thoſe declarations, but very little more was done than that of appointing ſome lawyers to go the circuits, and entering into a debate about the neceſſity of conſtituting new judges. A committee of the commons had ſat, at Goldſmith's-hall, ever ſince the beginning of the civil war, with almoſt unlimited power; and to them was committed the care of the greater part of the landed eſtates in the kingdom, being ſequeſtered for the adherence of their owners to the royal cauſe. The lords were of opinion, that the public diſtractions of the nation could not be compoſed, unleſs thoſe ſeverities were laid aſide, and more lenient methods purſued; and began to exert themſelves with regard to the committee at Goldſmith's-hall. But this was a power the commons were determined to ſupport, and not to ſuffer their proceedings to be examined. They therefore made an apology in favour of their committee, and plainly told the lords, that many of their houſe had petitioned for, and obtained large ſums from that committee; particularly the earl of Northumberland ten thouſand pounds; the earl of Kent, and the lord Gray of Warke, four thouſand pounds each; the lord Say two thouſand pounds, and the earls of Lincoln, Denbigh, and Stamford, fifteen hundred pounds each.

But the greateſt grievance conſiſted in the army, which, though there was not now the ſhadow of an enemy in the field, was ſtill kept up to the great terror of the preſbyterian party, who were therefore determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of reducing that alarming inſtrument of the independents. The army had for ſome time been greatly neglected, and had preſented many petitions to the parliament for their arrears, which were not only diſregarded, but an order had been made by both houſes, that no part of the army ſhould be quartered within twenty-five miles of London.

In the mean time the nation laboured under every ſpecies of oppreſſion. The public diſtractions had diſcouraged trade, manufactures, and agriculture in England, and the public now reflected, in all the bitterneſs of ſpirit, on the bleſſings of tranquillity they formerly enjoyed, and which they now ſaw no hopes of returning. The preſbyterians were deſirous of diſmiſſing the army, even without rewarding them for their former ſervices. Cromwell very juſtly oppoſed their deſign by obſerving, that the parliament had nothing to ſupport the authority they had acquired but the army. On the twenty-ſeventh of February a motion was made in the houſe with regard to the reduction of the forces, and carried by a majority of two only. It was then reſolved to begin with reducing the cavalry, and it was determined that four thouſand horſe and one thouſand dragoons would be ſufficient for the ſervice of the whole kingdom. They next proceeded to conſider how the forces and garriſons of the kingdom ſhould be diſpoſed of and provided for; and the queſtion was put, "whether there ſhould be a number of foot kept up at the pay of the kingdom, more than will be ſufficient for the keeping ſuch garriſons as ſhall be continued." This queſtion paſſed in the negative, notwithſtanding the independents exerted all their intereſt to procure a larger number. It was ſoon after voted, "that three thouſand horſe, nine hundred foot, and twelve hundred dragoons, ſhould be ſent over to Ireland." But the moſt violent queſtions carried againſt the independents, were, "That no officer ſhould command under Fairfax, above the degree of a colonel; and that no member of parliament ſhould have the command of any garriſon or fort in England." They next voted, "That ſuch perſons as ſhall be employed as officers in the garriſons, or forces that ſhall be kept up in the kingdom, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, ſhall conform to the eſtabliſhment of the church, eſtabliſhed by both houſes of parliament."

Theſe votes being directly levelled againſt the independents in the army, and who were the moſt active perſons in it, it is no wonder that Cromwell and his party determined to attempt the independency of the army upon the ruins of the parliament. This was no difficult taſk for Cromwell to perform, by giving the officers a very unfavourable opinion of the houſe of lords, who were daily ſending meſſages to the commons concerning the danger of the kingdom from the army. Mancheſter had indeed given the houſe a very unfavourable opinion of Cromwell's intentions, and the artful methods he made uſe of to gain an aſcendant over the army. The preſbyterians in the army equally hated Cromwell, and had already voted, that the Scottiſh forces in Ireland ſhould be ſent back to their own country, and that the war in that kingdom ſhould be proſecuted by the Engliſh forces only. This vote greatly alarmed the army; they well knew, that if they were once ſent into Ireland, their petitions and remonſtrances would have little weight: the parliament would leave them to earn a wretched ſubſiſtence with their ſwords in oppoſing the Iriſh rebels. The arrears due to the army were already very conſiderable, amounting to no leſs than three hundred and thirty-one thouſand pounds. A petition was therefore preſented to Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the officers of the army, in which they enumerated the hardſhips to which they muſt be reduced if their arrears were any longer deferred. Fairfax laid the petition before the parliament; but received only a harſh anſwer. The parliament even threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of the petition as enemies to the ſtate and diſturbers of the public peace.

As the army had certainly ſome reaſon for their petition, it is no wonder that the declaration of the parliament tended to increaſe rather than leſſen the mutinous diſpoſitions of the ſoldiers. They lamented, that they who had ſo long expoſed themſelves to every danger in order to eſtabliſh the liberty of the ſubject, ſhould themſelves be deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen, and even denied the privilege of repreſenting their grievances. The commons, fearful of the conſequences of exaſperating the army, ſent commiſſioners, at the head of whom were Cromwell and Ireton, to the head quarters at Saffron-Walden, to make propoſals for entering into the Iriſh ſervice. But inſtead of inliſting, the generality abſolutely rejected the terms, and deſired an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the courſe of the war, they might have been guilty; together with ſatisfaction for arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief for widows and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded. They expreſſed no diſſatisfaction againſt Skippon, who was appointed to command the troops in Ireland, but diſcovered a much ſtronger deſire of ſerving under Fairfax or Cromwell. The commiſſioners, who were in reality the ſole cauſe of all the diſcontents in the army, failed not to foment the diſorders they were ſent to appeaſe.

A military parliament, in oppoſition to that at Weſtminſter, was immediately formed, conſiſting of two houſes. The principal officers compoſed a council, or houſe of peers; while two private men, or inferior officers, choſen from each troop or company, under the title of agitators, formed the lower houſe. This eſtabliſhment afforded an eaſy method for the leaders to augment the mutinous diſpoſition of the army, without the leaſt danger of being diſcovered. At the ſame time, the general humour that then prevailed in the nation for forming plans for imaginary republics, was, in ſome meaſure, gratified. Their firſt reſolutions ſufficiently indicated the conſequences that would ſoon enſue from their deliberations. They voted, that the offers of the parliament were not ſatisfactory; that eight weeks pay (which was all, they ſaid, the parliament promiſed) was but a ſmall part of fifty-ſix weeks, which they pretended was their due: that no viſible ſecurity was given for the remainder; and that having been declared public enemies by the commons, there was ſufficient reaſon to fear, that unleſs the declaration was recalled, they might be hereafter proſecuted as ſuch. Cromwell, in order to carry on his ambitious deſigns under the impenetrable veil of hypocriſy, had taken care to repair to London before theſe violent reſolutions were taken, in order, as he pretended, to lay the increaſing diſcontents of the army before the parliament.

Alarmed at theſe rebellious diſpoſitions of the ſoldiers, the parliament determined to make one vigorous effort more, in order to ſupport their authority: They voted, that all the troops that refuſed to inliſt for Ireland ſhould be diſbanded in their quarters. But this reſolution was hardly paſſed by the commons, before the new parliament in the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to concert meaſures for ſupporting their common intereſts. A plan ſecretly ſuggeſted by Cromwell, decided the victory in their favour. Not a moment was to be loſt; both the magiſtracy and the militia of London had declared for the parliament; ſome of the beſt officers in England, and even the general himſelf, were for ſupporting the ſame authority; the ſources of money were almoſt exhauſted, and the ſoldiers had no other alternative than that of ſubduing the parliament, or ſubmitting implicitly to their authority.

The king was ſtill at Holmby-houſe, and guarded by a party of ſoldiers under the command of colonel Graves, who was ſuppoſed to be in the intereſt of the commons. It was, however, determined to ſeize the king's perſon, and conduct him to the army. A party of five hundred horſe, commanded by one Joice, originally a taylor, but now advanced to the rank of cornet, accordingly marched for Holmby-houſe. The guard made not the leaſt oppoſition; Joice came into the king's preſence, armed with piſtols, and bluntly told his majeſty he muſt go with him immediately. "Whither?" ſaid the king. "To the army;" replied Joice. The king aſked by what authority he acted, and required to ſee his warrant. Joice pointed to one of the ſoldiers he had brought with him, tall, handſome and well accoutered. "Truly," ſaid the king, ſmiling, "your warrant is written in very legible characters; it may be read without ſpelling." In the mean time the parliament's commiſſioners, perceiving the guard made no oppoſition, ſent an officer to know who commanded the party upon duty. He was anſwered, "That they all commanded." The commiſſioners now came into the room, and aſked Joice if he had any orders from the parliament? He ſaid, "No." "Have you any from the general?" "No." "By what authority do you act in this manner?" He pointed, as before, to the ſoldier. "We will write to the parliament," ſaid they, "to know their pleaſure." "You may if you pleaſe," replied Joice, "but in the mean time the king muſt immediately go with me." He added, that he had no deſign to inſult the perſon of his majeſty, but would conduct him with ſafety to their head quarters.

All reſiſtance was in vain, and the king, after protracting the time as much as poſſible, ſtepped into his coach, and was carried to the army, who were then haſtening to their rendezvous on Triplo-heath, near Cambridge.

Fairfax, who was totally a ſtranger to the whole tranſaction, knew not how to behave on this occaſion. No body could be found who gave the orders, which were merely verbal; and while they were employed in tracing them to their ſource, Cromwell arrived from London and finiſhed the debate. He juſtified the conduct of Joice, by aſſerting that Graves intended to carry his majeſty to London the next day, where a treaty was intended to be ſigned between him and the parliament, and the poor ſoldiers left to ſhift for themſelves, or perhaps be treated with greater ſeverity. Fairfax was however far from being convinced of the propriety of Joice's conduct. He thought he had gone too far; but conſented that the king ſhould be carried back to Holmby-houſe, and reſide there under a guard of his own officers and ſoldiers. But Whalley, a creature of Cromwell, being appointed to command the detachment, conducted his majeſty to Newmarket, inſtead of Holmby-houſe.

The parliament were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment when they were informed of this daring inſult on their authority. The city was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; diſtraction ſeemed painted in every countenance. Many of the preſbyterian members, terrified at the power of the army, either abſented themſelves from the houſe, or joined with the independents in paſſing ſuch reſolutions as might tend to allay the ferment raiſed among the ſoldiers. They voted that the army ſhould receive their full demands, and that both officers and ſoldiers ſhould receive a reaſonable gratuity, beſides their pay; but, at the ſame time, they voted, that the king ſhould be conducted back to Holmby-houſe; while the lords preſſed ſtrongly that he ſhould be carried to Oatlands. The army, however, put a negative upon both; and Joice openly avowed in the preſence of the king, Fairfax and Cromwell, that what he had done was the ſenſe of the whole ſoldiery, and that though he had undertaken to act in that manner without a written order from his commander, he had done no more than his duty. Both the council of officers, and houſe of agitators were wholly moved by the direction of Cromwell, who thus conveyed his will to the whole army. He had conducted himſelf in parliament with ſuch profound diſſimulation and refined hypocriſy, that he even deceived thoſe, who had long made it a practice to deceive others. Whenever any intelligence of diſorders in the army arrived, he appeared agitated in the moſt violent manner with the paſſions of grief and anger. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country: he adviſed the moſt violent meaſures for ſuppreſſing the mutiny; and by giving theſe precipitate counſels, he at once ſeemed to prove his own ſincerity, and inflamed thoſe diſcontents of which he intended to make his own advantage. He appealed to heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him ſo odious in the army, that his life was expoſed to the utmoſt danger while he continued among them. Theſe aſſeverations produced the deſired effect, and he had now, by his profound and artful conduct, attained a ſituation, where he could cover his enterprizes from the eye of the public; and by ſeeming either to obey the commands of his ſuperior officer, or yield to the motions of the ſoldiers, could, with eaſe and ſecrecy, pave the way to his future greatneſs.

When Fairfax drew up the whole army on Triplo-heath, the ſoldiers ſeemed more diſſatisfied than ever; there was not one among them who was ſatisfied with the laſt votes of parliament. The preſbyterian party were now ſufficiently alarmed, and immediately applied to the city for protection. Their requeſt was granted, and two regiments of militia marched to Weſtminſter for that purpoſe. This imprudent meaſure ſerved only to increaſe the ferment already too violent in the army. It was pretended that the parliament itſelf was under reſtraint; and that it was therefore neceſſary for them to march into the neighbourhood of the capital, in order to reſtore liberty to the members. Fairfax, who ſolemnly diſclaimed all intentions of breaking with the parliament, was pleaſed with what he conſidered as an inſtance of the ſoldiers duty, and gave orders for the army to march towards London. Deſtitute at once of talents for cabal, and of penetration to diſcover the cabals of others, Fairfax had given his confidence entirely to Cromwell; who, by the moſt ſpecious pretences, the appearance of an open ſincerity, and a ſcrupulous conſcience, impoſed on the eaſy nature of this brave and virtuous general.

On the twelth of June advice arrived in London, that the army had advanced to St. Albans. The city had already armed their militia, drawn out their artillery, poſted their guards, and diſplayed the ſame warlike appearance as in the beginning of the war againſt the king. But the enemy they were now to encounter was of a very different kind; and they were ſo greatly terrified with the names of Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of a powerful and victorious army, that on their approach, the warlike order of the militia ſubſided; letters full of civility and profeſſions of eſteem paſſed between the magiſtrates and the general, who ſtill continued to advance, notwithſtanding repeated meſſages were ſent by the parliament, enjoining the general not to lead his army nearer than within forty miles of London. The parliament now found it neceſſary to ſubmit, and endeavour, by complaiſance, to ſtop the fury of the enraged army. Their firſt indication was their ordering the vote, which declared the military petitioners public enemies, to be erazed from their journal-book.

The tyranny exerciſed by the parliament had rendered them very unpopular: from being once the idol of the nation, they were now become the object of general hatred and averſion. They experienced the meaſures they had ſo lately adopted in their uſurpations upon the crown. The army roſe every day in their demands. One claim was no ſooner granted, than another ſtill more enormous and exorbitant was made: they ſeemed determined never to be ſatisfied. At firſt they only pretended to petition the parliament for what concerned themſelves as ſoldiers: they next inſiſted on a vindication of their character: they then thought it neceſſary that their enemies ſhould be puniſhed; and at laſt they claimed the right of modelling the government, and ſettling the nation. In theſe exorbitant demands, they preſerved, in words, the utmoſt deference and reſpect to the parliament, while in actions they inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner. They did not pretend to accuſe the whole aſſembly; their petitions were levelled againſt evil counſellors only, by whom they ſaid it was ſeduced and betrayed.

On the ſixteenth of June, they charged with high treaſon, as enemies to the army, and evil counſellors to the ſtate, the following eleven members: Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, major-general Maſſey, Mr. recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. Theſe members, who were the leaders of the preſbyterian party, they inſiſted ſhould be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to priſon. The commons replied, that a general charge was not ſufficient for them to proceed to ſuch extremities. It was anſwered, that ſuch a charge was thought ſufficient in the caſes of Strafford and Laud. Such is, generally, the caſe of contending parties, in the alternate uſurpations of authority; they indulge themſelves in the ſame exceſſes they had condemned in their adverſaries.

It was in vain for the accuſed members to appeal to the people; the parliament was no longer conſidered as the defender of laws, and the reſtorer of liberty. It had exerciſed a power more arbitrary than that which had given occaſion to its enterprizes againſt the crown. The exciſe on liquors and proviſions, with a great variety of other impoſts, had alienated the minds of the people, who had before been wholly ſtrangers to ſuch burthens. Immenſe ſums (which, according to ſome authors, amounted to forty millions) levied in five years, gave ample occaſion for complaints, eſpecially when compared with the ſmall ſubſidies paid before the civil war. The commiſſioners, who were intruſted with the diſpoſal of this money, gave no account of it. The epiſcopal clergy, cruelly perſecuted, without any other cauſe than their adherence to the principles of the church of England, were become an object of pity rather than hatred. In the room of the courts of high-commiſſion and ſtar-chamber, aboliſhed with ſo much juſtice and ſpirit, tribunals by no means leſs odious were eſtabliſhed in every county.

The general charge againſt the eleven members was ſucceeded by a declaration ſigned by Fairfax and his officers, aſſerting their right of keeping their arms, till they ſaw the purpoſes for which they firſt took them up fully anſwered. The paper was drawn up in a very maſterly manner, and contained the following demands: “That both houſes be immediately purged of ſuch miniſters who ought not to have a ſeat in that aſſembly: that thoſe perſons who have abuſed the confidence of the parliament and army, and endangered the kingdom, may be ſpeedily diſabled from doing any farther miſchief: that ſome interval of time may be appointed for the continuance of this, as well as of future parliaments, and that new elections be ſucceſſively made according to the bill for triennial parliaments: that proviſion be made to prevent future parliaments from being diſſolved at the king's pleaſure, without their conſent, but ſuffered to ſit their proper time: that the right of the people to repreſent to the parliament their grievances, by way of petition, may be vindicated: that the diſcretionary powers given to country-committees during the war, may be taken away, as they are now no longer neceſſary: that the people may be ſatisfied with regard to diſburſements of the money levied on the nation: that public juſtice being ſatisfied by a few examples of the moſt exceptionable perſons, ſome courſe may be taken, by a general act of oblivion, that all apprehenſions of a future war may be entirely removed.”

Terrified at theſe demands of the army, the city of London ſent a deputation to St. Albans, diſclaiming any intention to raiſe forces for oppoſing the army. This timidity of the citizens greatly intimidated the preſbyterian party, which now became contemptible in the eyes of the ſoldiers. The proſecution againſt the eleven commoners was puſhed with great violence; and the members themſelves, unwilling to give occaſion to freſh diſcords, begged leave to retire from the houſe; and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this mark of ſubmiſſion.

Having thus completely ſubdued the parliament, and no ſigns of reſiſtance appearing in the city, the army, at the deſire of the commons, retired farther from the capital, and fixed their head quarters at Reading, carrying the king with them. He had experienced much greater lenity ſince he had been with the army than before: he enjoyed not only his favourite diverſions, but his favourite mode of worſhip,

ſhip, and the converſation of his favourite friends. His children were once allowed to viſit him, and paſſed a few days at Caverſham-houſe, where he reſided. This interview was remarkably tender and affecting: no man ever loved his family more ſincerely than Charles. Cromwell, who was preſent at this interview of the royal family, confeſſed he had never beheld ſo tender a ſcene.

The chiefs of the army ſeemed to pay their court to his majeſty. Fairfax declared he intended to force the parliament to moderate their demands, and to reſtore him to his juſt rights. Cromwell and Ireton went ſtill farther; they profeſſed a reſpect, and even a veneration for his perſon, and actually imparted to him propoſals, to which they promiſed to procure the agreement of the army, and to which he might aſſent with little or no violence to his conſcience. All the agitators, except thoſe infected with the principles of levelling, made the ſame profeſſions, and were even friendly enough to put him upon his guard againſt thoſe officers whoſe ſincerity they ſuſpected. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, addreſſed him with far more reſpect than formerly: they even invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance to the ſettlement of the nation. Charles flattered himſelf, that the preſent ſcene of diſtractions, oppreſſions and terror, would induce the people to reflect on that ancient form of government, under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed happineſs and tranquillity.

Courted by both parties, the king hoped he ſhould ſoon be reſtored to his juſt rights, and once more hold the ſceptre of his anceſtors. The independents, however, ſeemed to be moſt in his intereſt. He had ſufficiently experienced the rigour of the parliament: they pretended wholly to annihilate his authority: they had confined his perſon. In both theſe particulars he had received more indulgence from the army. None of his friends were excluded from his preſence. And in the propoſals ſent him by the council of officers for the ſettlement of the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſts; two points to which the king had the greateſt reluctance. They alſo inſiſted, that a period ſhould be put to the preſent parliament; a meaſure which Charles had extremely at heart. He hoped, by gratifying a few particular men, to draw over the whole army to his intereſt. Accordingly he offered to inveſt Cromwell with the order of the garter, create him earl of Eſſex, and give him the command of the army. Ireton was to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But notwithſtanding theſe favourable appearances, the king was ſtill ſenſible that they were but ambiguous proofs of the army's affection to his perſon and cauſe; he feared they were only intended to procure the countenance of him and his friends to favour their deſigns in effectually humbling the parliament. On the other hand, he reflected, that the independents, being the profeſſed patrons of the liberties of the people, could not ſurely act ſo contrary to their own principles, as to deny that liberty to their king. What they demanded for their own conſciences, they could not, with the leaſt appearance of reaſon, deny to his.

The militia of London had lately been put under the command of preſbyterian officers, and the army now determined to place it in the hands of the independents. This, together with the unſettled ſtate of public affairs, occaſioned petitions to be ſent to the parliament from all ranks and degrees of people. The garriſons in the country, being neglected and ill paid, began to mutiny, and ſend petitions to both houſes for redreſs. The Welſh forces were actually in arms againſt the parliament. The northern army had impriſoned Pointz, their old, brave, and ſucceſsful general. Many of the ſoldiers who had engaged to go to Ireland, retracted their promiſe, and offered their ſervice to Fairfax. Thoſe who had inliſted under the parliament, amounting to ſeveral thouſands, held nightly meetings to conſult the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at this alarming criſis. Theſe diſorders were wholly occaſioned by the army of Fairfax, who had engroſſed to themſelves all the money that had been raiſed. The people no longer paid any reverence to the parliament. Multitudes of young men and apprentices flocked to Weſtminſter with petitions, ſome for the old committee of militia, and others againſt it; but all of them ſpeaking in the ſtrain of ſupreme authority, as if both the parliament and army had been their ſervants. The artful Cromwell enjoyed this ſtorm, which he perceived would ſoon ſweep before it all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition. One day the mob of the independents, the next that of the preſbyterians, prevailed. The parliament was no longer guided by thoſe able men who could direct the tumult, and turn confuſion to their own advantage; the populace were now maſters, and the parliament had no will of its own.

It ſeemed, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary for the army to march to London, as the parliament was entirely directed by a ſeditious multitude. Accordingly the troops began their march from Reading towards the capital. When they reached Hounſlow-heath, they were drawn up, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. They were twenty thouſand ſtrong; and determined, without any regard to laws or liberty, to purſue whatever meaſures their generals ſhould think proper. Here they were met by the ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about ſixty commoners; who having ſecretly left the city, preſented themſelves, with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence exerciſed by the citizens, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; the ſame reſpect was paid them as to the parliament of England; and the army, being provided with ſo plauſible a pretence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and to reinſtate the violated parliament in all their liberties and privileges.

On the thirtieth of July, the parliament met, purſuant to their prorogation; and it being now abſolutely neceſſary for them either to reſign their whole authority, or oppoſe the violent deſigns of the army, they reſolved upon the latter. Accordingly they choſe two new ſpeakers, lord Hunſdon and Henry Pelham. Vigorous meaſures were immediately purſued. One of their firſt votes was to require the general not to advance nearer than thirty miles of London, or, if already advanced, to retire to that diſtance. They renewed their former orders for inliſting troops, and appointed Maſſey their commander. They ordered the artillery to be drawn out, and the trained bands to man the lines. The whole city was in a ferment; every corner reſounded with military preparations. But the terror of an univerſal pillage, and even maſſacre, had ſeized the timid inhabitants: confuſion was painted in every countenance. When any intelligence arrived that the army halted, or ſeemed to make preparations for a retreat, the cry of "One and all" ran with alacrity from ſtreet to ſtreet among the citizens. When news came of their advancing, the cry of "Treat and capitulate," was equally loud and vehement. All was uproar, confuſion, and diſmay.

Next day the lords and commons voted, "that his majeſty be deſired to come to London, and there treat with both houſes of parliament and the commiſſioners of Scotland for a ſafe and honourable peace." But the affairs of the parliament were now in ſuch confuſion, that this vote, which was ſent to Fairfax, was diſregarded, and the army continued ſtill to approach nearer to the capital. Rainſborow having been detached over Kingſton-bridge, at the head of a ſtrong party, preſented himſelf before Southwark, and was gladly received by ſome ſoldiers quartered there for its defence, and who were reſolved not to ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the army. It was now abſolutely neceſſary for the city to capitulate, though nothing better than the following diſhonourable conditions could be obtained: "That they ſhould deſert the intereſt of the impeached members, recall their declaration lately publiſhed, relinquiſh their militia, deliver up all their forts and line of communication to the army, together with the Tower of London, and all the magazines of arms and military ſtores depoſited in that fortreſs; diſband all their forces, and drive all the reformadoes out of the line; withdraw all their guards from the houſes of parliament, and receive within the lines ſuch forces as the army ſhall think neceſſary; demoliſh their works, and ſuffer the whole army to march through the city."

Theſe terms were complied with: the army marched in triumph through the city; but preſerved the greateſt order, decency, and the appearance of humility. The two ſpeakers were conducted to Weſtminſter, and took their ſeats without the leaſt oppoſition. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed of exciting the late tumult, were expelled, and moſt of them retired beyond the ſeas. Seven peers were impeached: the lord mayor, one of the ſheriffs, and three aldermen, ſent to the Tower: ſeveral citizens and officers of the militia committed to priſon; and every act of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the ſpeakers. The lines of communication were levelled; the militia reſtored to the independents; and regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews. Every thing being completed, the parliament and city entirely reduced to ſervitude, and the ſword alone giving law to the ſtate, a day was appointed for a ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the reſtoration of liberty.

The army now lay in the neighbourhood of Putney, greatly diſtreſſed for want of money, and threatening every moment to break into the city, and become their own pay-maſters. Fairfax, who was ſtill the tool of Cromwell, though his intentions were ſincere with regard to the peace and happineſs of his country, found the utmoſt difficulty in reſtraining the impatience of the ſoldiers, and the ſpirit of levelling which was now diffuſed among the troops, by means of the agitators. The general council of the army was now applied to in the ſame manner as the parliament had been formerly; nor did the commons venture to paſs any vote of importance without knowing the ſenſe of the officers. The preſbyterian party, however, ſtill gave the generals great uneaſineſs on the popular topic of ſending relief to Ireland; and ſome votes paſſed for ſending ſeven or eight regiments over to that diſtreſſed kingdom, which the officers of the army did not think prudent to oppoſe. Cromwell, however, found a pretence, from the want of money, to render the whole ineffectual for the preſent. Even that daring leader himſelf found ſome difficulty of rendering the reſentment of the agitators abortive; he was obliged to chaſtiſe ſome of them with his own hand, and to order others to be tried by a court-martial.

The leaders of the army, who now, in reality, governed the nation, carried the king to Hampton-Court, where he reſided, for ſome time, with all the appearance of dignity and freedom. He poſſeſſed ſo remarkable an equanimity of temper, that, during all the variety of fortune which attended him, no change was perceived either in his countenance or behaviour. Though a priſoner in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſupported, towards all that approached him, the majeſty of a monarch. His manner, which was not in itſelf popular or gracious, now appeared truly amiable, from its meekneſs and equality.

While the king continued at Hampton-Court, the parliament again preſented him with nearly the ſame conditions which they had offered him at Newcaſtle. The army alſo offered him propoſitions for a peace. Charles ſeemed to prefer the latter, and deſired the parliament to take the propoſals of the army into conſideration, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement. The offers of the army were to the following purpoſe:

"That there be biennial parliaments, each to ſit one hundred and twenty days, and after that time to be adjournable or diſſolvable at the king's pleaſure: that this biennial parliament may appoint committees to ſit during the interval for ſuch purpoſes as ſhall be thought neceſſary: that the king, with the advice of the council of ſtate, may call a parliament extraordinary during the intervals, with proper limitations of meeting and diſſolving: that the biennial parliament be never interrupted: that a better proportion be obſerved in elections; all counties to have a number of members proportional to the taxes they pay to the public: that no poor boroughs ſend any more repreſentatives to parliament: that effectual proviſion be made for the freedom of elections; and that the parliament only have power to give directions for that purpoſe: that liberty be allowed for entering diſſents in the houſe of commons; and no member be cenſured for what he ſhall ſay in parliament, but by the houſe itſelf: that the judicial power of the lords and commons be eſtabliſhed without appeal, and the king rendered incapable of pardoning offenders condemned by them, without their conſent: that the peers have no juriſdiction over the commons without the concurrence of that houſe, and the members judged only by thoſe of their equals: that grand-jurymen be choſen by the ſeveral parts and diviſions of each county reſpectively, and not left to the diſcretion of any under ſheriff; and that theſe grand-jurymen at each aſſize preſent the names of perſons to be made juſtices of the peace; and at the ſummer aſſizes, the names of three perſons, out of whom the king ſhall chuſe one for ſheriff.

"That, for the future ſecurity of parliament and the militia in general, an act be paſſed for veſting in both houſes, or perſons whom they ſhall appoint, the power of the militia by land and ſea, during ten years: that it ſhall not be exerciſed by the king, nor by any perſon appointed by him, during the ſaid interval; nor afterwards, but by the advice of the parliament, council of ſtate, or the parliamentary committees during the receſs: that both houſes raiſe and diſpoſe of money for ſuch forces as ſhall be thought neceſſary, for the payment of the public debts, and for the uſes of the kingdom: that theſe ten years ſecurity may be rendered firmer, it ſhall be provided, that none who have carried arms againſt the parliament, during the late war, be capable of any office or truſt during five years, without conſent of parliament; nor ſit as members thereof, till after the ſecond biennial parliament.

"That, in order to reſtore peace to the kingdom of Ireland, commiſſioners for the admiralty, together with an admiral and vice-admiral, be appointed, with ample powers to execute fully theſe offices, and that ſufficient pay be provided for the ſervice: that the forces in pay be commanded by a lord-general: that commiſſioners be appointed to diſcipline the militia in every county; and alſo a council of ſtate to ſuperintend the powers given to theſe commiſſioners: that the ſaid council have the ſame power with the king's privy-council, but not to make war or peace without conſent of parliament: that this council of truſty and able perſons do continue in office during their good behaviour, but not above ſeven years: that a ſufficient pay be provided for the ſtanding forces; the eſtabliſhment to continue till two months after the meeting of the firſt biennial parliament.

"That an act be paſſed for diſpoſing of the great offices of ſtate for ten years by the lords and commons in parliament, and by the committees in the intervals, in ſubmiſſion to the approbation of the next parliament; and after the expiration of that term, they ſhall name three, out of whom the king ſhall appoint one, to fill up any vacancy.

“ That all the peers created ſince the great ſeal was carried to Oxford on the twenty-firſt of May, 1642, be diſabled from ſitting and voting in parliament.

“ That an act be paſſed to annul all the acts; declarations, &c. againſt the parliament and their adherents; and to confirm the ordinances for indemnity.

“ That an act be paſſed to make void all grants paſſed under the great ſeal, ſince the twenty-firſt of May, 1642; and to confirm and render thoſe valid that paſſed under the great ſeal made by authority of parliament.

“ That the treaties between England and Scotland be confirmed, and that conſervators be appointed for preſerving the peace between the two kingdoms.

“ That the ordinance for taking away the court of wards and liveries be confirmed; but the king's revenue to be made up ſome other way, and the officers of thoſe courts to have reparation.

“ That an act be paſſed, declaring the ceſſation of arms in Ireland to be void, and leaving that war to the proſecution of the parliament.

“ That a bill be paſſed for taking away all coercive power, authority and juriſdiction of biſhops, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers, extending to civil penalties upon any, or to repeal all laws whereby the civil magiſtracy hath been, or is bound, upon any eccleſiaſtical cenſure, to proceed, ex officio, unto any civil penalties againſt any perſons ſo cenſured.

“ That all the penal laws, or clauſes, enjoining the uſe of the common-prayer, and for impoſing penalties for not coming to church, be repealed; and that ſome proviſion be made for diſcovering of recuſants.

“ That the taking of the covenant be not enforced upon any perſon, and that all ordinances enjoining it be repealed.

“ That theſe particulars being provided for, his majeſty, his queen, and their royal iſſue, be reſtored to a condition of honour and freedom in this nation, without diminution of their perſonal rights, or farther limitation of the exerciſe of their power.

“ That a certain number of perſons, not exceeding five for the Engliſh, beſides the Iriſh rebels, be reſerved to the judgment of the parliament; and that the grievances of the people, with regard to the abuſes of lawyers, impriſonments for debts, regulations of aſſeſſments, and removing the diſputes about tithes, aſſerting the people's rights in petitioning, and various other grievances, be redreſſed.”

Theſe offers of the army were certainly more reaſonable, and better calculated to form a ſolid foundation for peace, than thoſe of the parliament. But ſome event, or the ambitious deſigns of Cromwell, rendered the whole ſcheme abortive. Several writers have aſſerted, that the daring uſurper really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a meaſure which carried the moſt plauſible appearance, both with regard to his own ſafety and advancement; but that he found inſuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. Others ſay, that a diſcovery made by Cromwell prevented his cloſing with the king, and determined him to purſue the ambitious ſcheme he had formed of becoming himſelf the deſpotic maſter of the whole kingdom.

In the memoirs of lord Broghill we meet with the following ſtory, which deſerves ſome attention, as it agrees very well with the character of Cromwell. It is related in the following manner, by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, earl of Orrery. “ Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatneſs with Cromwell, juſt after he had ſo ſeaſonably relieved him in great diſtreſs at Clonwell, riding out at Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into diſcourſe about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon ſaid more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but truſty ſervants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have cloſed with him, but, upon ſomething that happened, fell off from that deſign. Orrery, finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, aſked, if he might preſume to deſire to know, why they would once have cloſed with his majeſty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would ſatisfy him in both his queries. The reaſon, ſaid he, why we would have cloſed with the king was this: we found that the Scotch and preſbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were like to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reaſon we thought it beſt to prevent them, by offering firſt to come in upon reaſonable conditions: but while our thoughts were taken up with this ſubject, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bedchamber acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not poſſibly learn what it was, but we might diſcover it, if we could but intercept a letter ſent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his reſolution; that this letter was ſown up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, though ſome in Dover did. We were at Windſor, continued Cromwell, when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I reſolved to take one truſty fellow with us, and go in troopers habits to that inn. We did ſo, and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had a wicket only open to let perſons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a ſaddle, we went into a drinking-ſtall. We there continued drinking canns of beer, till about ten o'clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, that the man with the ſaddle was come. We roſe up preſently, and juſt as the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled, we came up to him with drawn ſwords, and told him, we were to ſearch all that went in or out there; but as he looked like an honeſt man, we would only ſearch his ſaddle and ſo diſmiſs him. The ſaddle was ungirt; we carried it into the ſtall where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the ſkirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his ſaddle, told him he was an honeſt fellow, and bid him go about his buſineſs; which he did, purſuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had ſuffered. We found in the letter, that his majeſty acquainted the queen, that he was courted by both factions, the Scots preſbyterians and the army, and that thoſe who bade the faireſt for him, ſhould have him: but yet he thought he ſhould cloſe with the Scots ſooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windſor; and finding we were not likely to obtain good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his deſtruction.”

Whether this ſtory be true or falſe, it is certain that the behaviour of the officers of the army was about that time greatly altered towards his majeſty. Cromwell indeed pretended, that he was obliged to act in a very different manner from what he had hitherto done. He ſaid that the agitators had rendered him odious to the army, and had repreſented him as a traitor, who, for the ſake of private intereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. At the ſame time he pretended that deſperate projects were formed, and that he, feared all the authority of the officers would not be ſufficient to prevent theſe violent enthuſiaſts from executing their bloody purpoſe.

Charles was now ſufficiently alarmed, and juſtly concluded, that if theſe aſſertions were true, it would be unſafe for him to ſtay any longer at Hampton-court; if they were not true, they could be thrown out for no other reaſon than that of making him a cloſe priſoner. At all events therefore he determined to attempt his eſcape before he was deprived of the few remains of liberty he ſtill enjoyed. He was confirmed in this reſolution by the looks, the geſtures, and the expreſſions that dropt from the officers and ſoldiers at Hampton-court, as he walked about the gardens and village. He underſtood that this alteration was owing to his not embracing the army's propoſitions without reſerve, and his not excluding the Scots and parliament from the negotiation.

Determined to take this imprudent ſtep, and without forming any rational ſcheme for the diſpoſal of his perſon, Charles effected his eſcape from Hampton-court in a dark ſtormy night with more eaſe than could have been expected. He had no other attendants in his flight than Sir John Berkley, Mr. Aſhburnham, and Mr. Legg, all gentlemen of his bedchamber. The difficulties they encountered on the way, and in paſſing through the foreſt in a diſmal night, muſt have diſcouraged any perſon, but one in Charles's ſituation, who thought no danger ſo dreadful as that he had eſcaped. Early in the morning he reached Tichfield, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Southampton, where the counteſs dowager reſided, a woman of great honour, to whom the king knew he might ſafely intruſt his perſon. But he could not hope to continue long concealed at Tichfield: and it was not eaſy to determine what meaſure it was moſt prudent to embrace. Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, and who had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, was governor of the Iſle of Wight, which lay in the neighbourhood of Tichfield. Very little ſurely could be expected from a man devoted to the chiefs of the army, yet, becauſe he was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him in this alarming exigence. Aſhburnham and Berkley were accordingly diſpatched, with orders not to inform Hammond where the king was concealed, unleſs he would promiſe not to deliver him up to any perſon whatever; or if he could not protect him, to reſtore him to his liberty. The very nature of the negotiation itſelf ſufficiently demonſtrates that the king was under the greateſt anxiety of mind when he ſent his ſervants into the Iſle of Wight: for what ſecurity could be expected from Hammond? or how could Cariſbrook-caſtle, weak and unprovided with military ſtores, be ſufficient to defend the perſon of his majeſty againſt the joint efforts of the parliament and army? Notwithſtanding this, had Aſhburnham, who alone was acquainted with Hammond, acted conformable to the inſtructions he had received, he might, at leaſt, have eſcaped the ſnare into which he fell. But without exacting any promiſe from Hammond, he treacherouſly, or at leaſt imprudently, brought the governor to Tichfield; and Charles, diſtracted and amazed at this wrong ſtep of his ſervant, paſſed over with Hammond to the Iſle of Wight, and was received at Cariſbrook-caſtle with great appearances of reſpect.

The king's departure from Hampton-court was not diſcovered for near an hour after; when ſome perſons entering his chamber, found on the table ſeveral letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had atended him. The parliament was confounded with the news of the king's eſcape, and voted it high-treaſon, and death without mercy, in any one to conceal his perſon. But they were ſoon relieved from their terror, by letters from Hammond; on the receipt of which it was reſolved, that the king ſhould be confined in Cariſbrook-caſtle, and none of his friends or adherents be either ſuffered to viſit him, or even continue on the iſland.

The king being thus in a place of ſafety, and the parliament incapable of reſiſting the army, Cromwell applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell the diſorders among the troops, which had been at firſt artfully fomented by himſelf, but which were now riſen to a height that ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of all order and government. The members of the republic eſtabliſhed in the army, thought themſelves fully qualified to ſettle the kingdom, and various ſchemes for that purpoſe were every day debated by theſe military legiſlators. It was on all hands determined to aboliſh royalty, and ſet nobility aſide: all ranks of men were to be levelled, and an univerſal equality of property, as well as of power, was to be introduced among mankind. They ſaid that the ſaints were the ſalt of the earth; that an entire equality had place among the elect; and that the moſt common centinel, if enlightened by the holy ſpirit, was entitled to the ſame reſpect as the greateſt commander, and equally capable of executing all the offices of government. Cromwell found it was high time to put a period to thoſe enthuſiaſtic opinions, which would otherwiſe deſtroy his whole ambitious ſcheme of power. He accordingly iſſued orders that the meetings of the agitators ſhould be diſcontinued. But they did not, in this reſpect, chuſe to pay an implicit obedience to their general. They had taſted the ſweets of power, and were unwilling to reſign it. They ſecretly continued their meetings, and made no difficulty of aſſerting, that their own officers, as well as the church and ſtate, ſtood in need of a reformation. Several of the regiments were ſo heated with theſe enthuſiaſtic ideas, that they joined in preſenting ſeditious remonſtrances to their general: they even appointed ſeparate places of rendezvous; and every thing ſeemed to threaten an univerſal anarchy and confuſion. The reſolution of Cromwell only was able to put a ſtop to this alarming appearance of the commencement of the moſt dreadful diſorders. He choſe the time of a review for ſtriking terror into the levellers; and as ſoon as the troops were drawn up in order, Cromwell ſeized the ring-leaders in the preſence of their companions; held a council of war upon the ſpot; and cauſed one of the mutineers to be ſhot directly. Struck with terror at the boldneſs of the action, the reſt of the levellers threw down the ſymbols of ſedition, which they had carried before them, returned immediately to their duty, and readily ſubmitted to the uſual diſcipline.

While Cromwell was employed in quelling the diſorders of the army, a committee of lords and commons, with the earl of Denbigh at their head, was ſent to the king with four bills, to which he was deſired to give the royal aſſent. The firſt was for ſettling the militia of the kingdom; the ſecond for recalling all declarations, oaths and proclamations againſt the parliament, and their adherents; the third for diſabling thoſe lords, created ſince the great ſeal was carried to Oxford, from ſitting and voting in the houſe of peers; and the fourth for giving power to both houſes of parliament to adjourn themſelves as they may think proper. The king was required to give his anſwer in four days; but the Scottiſh commiſſioners preſented a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the four bills, and inſiſted on a perſonal treaty with his majeſty at London. This occaſioned great uneaſineſs to the independents at Weſtminſter, and ſeveral ſpirited papers paſſed between them. The Scots reproached the Engliſh parliament with having broken all the fundamental articles of the agreement between the two kingdoms. This breach gave great pleaſure to the king, and the Scots were indeed now ſo well diſpoſed to ſerve him, that they offered, if he would make his eſcape to Berwick, to ſupport him with the whole force of their kingdom. Whether this quarrel induced Charles to flatter himſelf that the parliament would be obliged to offer him more reaſonable conditions, or whether he hoped that the army would inſiſt upon more equitable terms, is uncertain, but the king thought proper to reject the bills.

Cromwell having reduced the agitators to obedience, now determined to carry the ambitious ſcheme he had formed into execution. He did not however think proper to intruſt the whole of his deſign to any but Ireton, and two or three particular favourites.

From the ſuggeſtion of Ireton, Cromwell called at Windſor a ſecret council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate of the moſt proper methods for ſettling the kingdom, and the future diſpoſal of the king's perſon. Before the council began, Cromwell poured out devout prayers, when the minds of the members were ſufficiently elevated by enthuſiaſtic raptures, the conferences were begun, and the black deſign of bringing the king to juſtice, and puniſhing their ſovereign, under the ſanction of a judicial ſentence, was firſt propoſed, and reſolved to be carried into execution.

A. D. 1648. When the committee from the Iſle of Wight reported to the houſe, that the king had abſolutely refuſed to paſs their bills, inſiſting, that all the terms on both ſides ſhould be adjuſted, before any conceſſions ſhould be inſiſted on; the republican party took fire at this refuſal: they openly inveighed, in the moſt virulent terms, againſt the perſon and government of the king, whoſe name hitherto, in all debates, had been mentioned with ſome degree of reverence. Sir Thomas Worth had the boldneſs to move, that the king ſhould be removed, and committed cloſe priſoner to ſome inland caſtle; that articles of impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him, he himſelf deprived of all ſhare in the adminiſtration, and a new form of government eſtabliſhed. This motion was ſeconded by Cromwell and Ireton with great warmth, but in general terms. The former deſired them to ſettle the nation without having any farther recourſe to the king, who had rejected all their propoſitions; promiſing that the army, who had hitherto defended the parliament at the expence of their blood, would ſtill continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them againſt all oppoſition, in this vigorous meaſure. "But," added he, with a ſtern look, "teach them not, by your neglecting your own "ſafety, and that of the kingdom, (in which theirs "too is involved) to imagine themſelves betrayed, "and their intereſt abandoned to the rage and malice "of an irreconcileable enemy, whom, for your ſake, "they have dared to provoke. Beware," he cried, raiſing his voice, and clapping his hand on his ſword, "beware, leſt deſpair cauſe them to ſeek ſafety by "ſome other means, by adhering to you, who know "not how to conſult your own ſafety; and how de"ſtructive ſuch a reſolution in them will be to you "all, I tremble to think, and leave you to conſider."

The houſe well knew that it was much eaſier for Cromwell to execute than to utter a menace, and ſhuddered at the thought. The queſtion, therefore, of no more addreſſes being preſented to his majeſty, was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This vote, in reality, dethroned the king, and formally overturned the whole conſtitution. But it was not enough to reſolve on ſo violent a meaſure; it was determined to ſupport it by a declaration equally violent. The king was accuſed of the blackeſt crimes, however improbable; in order, by blaſting his fame, to prevent the populace from uniting in his favour. Not only government, but even ſociety itſelf, ſeemed to be overturned. The people looked with contempt upon the parliament, and with execration upon the army. One John Lilburn, an active, reſolute fellow, whoſe conduct is ſtill a paradox, had been committed to the Tower by the houſe of lords, but releaſed by the commons, and re-committed by the peers. Being afterwards queſtioned by the commons for ſome incendiary practices, he boldly diſowned the authority that had committed him; upon which he was ſent to the ſame priſon by the commons themſelves. His cauſe now became the cauſe of the people; and the nation was filled with petitions and counter-petitions, each wilder than the other, all of them in the wrong, and all dictated by ignorant, headſtrong fanatics. Cromwell enjoyed theſe national clamours; his whole ſcheme depended on preventing the people from uniting againſt the army.

Hammond now received orders to treat the king with great ſeverity. All his ſervants were removed, his correſpondence with his friends cut off, and no perſon allowed to viſit him. An old, decrepid man, employed to kindle his fire, was the beſt company he enjoyed during the interval of this rigorous confinement, which laſted ſeveral months. At the ſame time, new proſecutions were carried on againſt his friends. Hollis and Maynard, together with moſt of the eleven commiſſioners lately impeached by the army, had reſumed their ſeats in the houſe, and ſpoke with great boldneſs and freedom againſt the violent meaſures purſued by the independents. It was therefore neceſſary to ſilence theſe oppoſers, whoſe ſpeeches had the moſt alarming effect among the people. Their impeachments were accordingly re-aſſumed, and a vote paſſed for rendering them incapable of ever ſitting again in that parliament.

The mutinies and ſpirit of levelling, which ſtill prevailed among the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the attempts of Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, afforded now the only gleam of hope to the royaliſts. The Scots indeed, who were highly exaſperated at the meaſures purſued by the independents, were proceeding vigorouſly in their levies for invading England; but their late conduct had been ſo deteſtable, that very few of the royaliſts joined them. But amidſt this gloomy night of deſpair, a gleam of hope unexpectedly appeared, which ſeemed to revive the ſpirits of his majeſty's friends. For though Cromwell was maſter of the king's perſon, the general, the parliament, the city, and the army, the nation, in general, thought as freely as ever, and beheld, with impatiience and indignation, the handful of fanatics who held them in chains. But great art was requiſite to unite into one common cauſe ſo many people differing in their principles, their characters, their actions, and their intereſts. The greater part of the preſbyterians were now well diſpoſed to join the royaliſts; and were headed by the earl of Holland, Sir William Waller, the generals Payer and Laughern, and other officers and perſons of diſtinction, who had ſignalized themſelves againſt the king. General Goring, the earl of Norwich, lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and a few others, directed the royaliſts, and undertook to raiſe the ſouthern provinces; while Sir Marmaduke Langdale engaged for the northern, together with Berwick and Carliſle. The Scots were to be commanded by the duke of Hamilton, and the Welſh by Laughern and Poyer. But the chief dependence of the royal party reſted on an intrigue now carrying on for putting the fleet under the command of the prince of Wales. The ſeamen had been, for ſome time, neglected, ſo that very little art was neceſſary to prevail upon them to deſert a party that ſeemed to treat them with contempt. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainſborough, their admiral, aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, and took on board the prince of Wales.

The firſt who declared themſelves were Langhorne and Poyer, who having a conſiderable body of Welſh troops under their command, diſplayed the royal ſtandard, and were joined by great numbers of perſons. They were already maſters of Chepſtow, Pembroke, and ſeveral other places of ſtrength in that country, and their army exhibited a formidable appearance. Hales, a young gentleman of fortune in Kent, put himſelf at the head of the royaliſts in that county with ſurprizing ſucceſs. Sandwich, Dover, Graveſend, Canterbury, and almoſt every place of ſtrength in the county, declared for the king. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and other gentlemen of fortune, excited commotions in Eſſex; while the earl of Holland raiſed forces in Surry. Pomfret-caſtle, in Yorkſhire, was ſurpriſed by Maurice. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwick and Carliſle, in the north.

The Scots were impatient to enter England, but their march was delayed by the oppoſition made by the general aſſembly. The parliament had voted to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men, and to call over a conſiderable body under Monro, who commanded the Scots forces in Ireland. The rigid preſbyterians, headed by Argyle, dreaded the ſucceſs of Hamilton. They ſaw, that if his army proved victorious, the natural conſequence would be the reſtoration of monarchy, before preſbytery was eſtabliſhed in England. They conſidered all attempts to join the king, before he had ſubſcribed the covenant, as no other than ſapping the very foundations of chriſtianity. They were, indeed, highly offended with the independents, who profanely called their covenant an almanack out of date, and claimed an unbounded liberty of conſcience, which the preſbyterians regarded with horror. But they hated the king more than they abhorred toleration, and thundered out anathemas againſt all who paid obedience to the parliament. Thus the two ſupreme tribunals in the kingdom directly oppoſed each other. One threatened the people with eternal torments if they aſſiſted the royal party in England; the other pronounced againſt them the ſentence of impriſonment, baniſhment, and military execution, if they refuſed.

Amidſt ſuch jarring intereſts it is no wonder that the levies went on very ſlowly. The royal party in England exclaimed loudly of theſe delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were that all the king's party ſhould firſt be ſuppreſſed, and the victory be entirely owing to the preſbyterians. Hamilton, with much better reaſon, complained of the precipitate meaſures of the Engliſh royaliſts, who, by their ill-timed inſurrections, forced him to march his army before his levies were completed, or his preparations in ſufficient forwardneſs. The Scottiſh parliament, not intimidated by the violent meaſures of the general aſſembly, reſolved to ſend three demands to the Engliſh parliament, and if they were refuſed, to order their army to march immediately and join the royal party. Their firſt demand was, the eſtabliſhment of the preſbyterian religion in England. This they well knew would be rejected by the independents, and flattered themſelves that this refuſal would render the king's cauſe more popular in Scotland. Their ſecond demand was, that Charles might come to ſome of his own houſes in the neighbourhood of London, with honour, freedom, and ſafety, in order to the eſtabliſhment of a ſafe and equitable peace. And their laſt, that the army of Fairfax might be diſbanded, and the Engliſh parliament reſtored to its freedom. The meſſenger who carried theſe demands was limited with regard to time, and during the interval, the Scottiſh forces were recalled from Ireland, and the earl of Inchiquin, at the head of the Engliſh troops in that kingdom declared for the king. No ſatisfactory anſwer being returned to the demands of the Scottiſh parliament, Hamilton publiſhed a ſpirited declaration, and numbers of the royal party prepared to join his army, as ſoon as he had paſſed the Engliſh borders.

The ſword of civil diſcord, which had hardly been ſheathed, was again drawn, and ſeemed to threaten the whole kingdom with deſtruction. The parliament at Weſtminſter beheld theſe commotions with terror, and ſhuddered for the event. The independents in the army quartered in the neighbourhood of London, made no ſecret of their deſign to plunder the capital as ſoon as the Scottiſh forces entered England, in order to prevent the citizens from joining their preſbyterian brethren. This declaration ſtruck the wealthy inhabitants with horror. The whole city was in a ferment, and the people ſo much exaſperated, that they attacked and overpowered a party of the trained bands, and advanced in a body to Whitehall, where they were met by Cromwell, at the head of two regiments of horſe, who drove them back into the city; but thinking it would be imprudent to purſue the blow, the tumult increaſed to ſo violent a degree, that the lord-mayor was obliged to take ſhelter in the city. The next morning Cromwell perſuaded Fairfax to give him leave to enter the city with two regiments of horſe. This produced the deſired effect. Struck with terror at the appearance of that victorious general, the people diſperſed, and tranquillity was once more reſtored in the capital. This was the only attempt made by the Londoners in ſupport of the royal cauſe: the terror of the army kept the citizens in ſubjection. They were obliged to bear the humilitating yoke of being governed by the dregs of the people; and to ſee hypocrites exerciſing iniquity under the maſk of religion.

On the eighth of May advice arrived that the royaliſts were in motion, and that the number of forces in Wales was daily increaſing. The eſtabliſhment of the army at this time, was twenty-ſix thouſand men; but by inliſting ſupernumaries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and in general conſiſted of more than double their ſtated compliment. Cromwell was ordered to march into Wales, at the head of two regiments of horſe and three of foot, to relieve colonel Horton, who commanded in that principality, while Fairfax himſelf undertook the ſervice in the north. Laughern, who had formed an engagement with the Scots, declared himſelf too ſoon; for before Cromwell reached the borders of Wales, and even before Laughern had procured arms for his men, Horton found means to put himſelf between the horſe and foot of Laughern's army. A battle enſued, in which the Welſh forces were completely routed; and major-general Stradling, with twenty-ſix captains, one hundred and fifty ſubalterns, and near three thouſand ſoldiers were made priſoners. This defeat, however, did not ſubdue the whole party; they were ſtill maſters of ſeveral ſtrong places, and ſeemed determined to defend them to the laſt extremity. Cromwell therefore ſat down before Chepſtow-caſtle; but finding it too well fortified to be ſoon reduced, he left a ſmall party to block up the fortreſs, and marched with the main body of his forces into Pembrokeſhire. On the eleventh of June he took the town and caſtle of Pembroke, and obliged Laughern and Poyer to ſurrender at diſcretion. Chepſtow ſoon after fell into his hands, by which the principality of Wales was ſufficiently reduced, and Cromwell made diſpoſitions for leading his forces into the north, in order to oppoſe the Scots and royaliſts; the inſurrections in Kent, Surry, and Suffolk, not ſuffering Fairfax to march into that country as he at firſt intended.

Petitions from ſeveral counties were now preſented to parliament in favour of the king, and the inhabitants of Surry were ſo highly exaſperated at not receiving an immediate anſwer, that they attacked and killed ſeveral of the ſoldiers who were guarding the parliament. The Kentiſhmen, who were now on their march towards London, in order, as they pretended, to preſent a petition to the parliament, made choice of the earl of Norwich for their general. The commons were alarmed, and the earl of Pembroke was diſpatched with terms to the inſurgents. He offered indemnity to all who ſhould lay down their arms, and free liberty to preſent their petition, after they had delivered up the towns, magazines, and ſtores they had ſeized. His offers were rejected, and the Kentiſhmen marched to Blackheath, where they drew up their forces, and prepared to make an attack upon the capital, perſuaded that the citizens would open their gates upon the firſt ſummons. By this time Fairfax had collected his army, and the Kentiſhmen were informed by the parliament, that they muſt treat with their general. This greatly diſpirited the inſurgents, and perceiving no motion was made by the citizens in their favour, they retreated with great precipitation to Maidſtone, where a party of them was attacked and cut to pieces by Fairfax. The earl of Norwich now thought that a fair opportunity now offered of giving the parliament's general the ſlip, and of advancing again towards the capital, fully perſuaded that the citizens, being now delivered from the terrors of the army, would declare in his favour. He accordingly returned with the main body of his forces to Blackheath, where he hoped to be joined by the inhabitants of Suſſex and Surry. But he was deceived in all his expectations; and a ſudden panic ſeizing his ſoldiers, they deſerted their general, and returned to their reſpective habitations. Upwards of two thouſand of them, however, ſtill kept together, and it was determined, if poſſible, to paſs over into Eſſex, where they were informed the county was in arms for the king, under the command of lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and other officers of courage and experience. Not more than a thouſand of them paſſed the river, where they were obliged to cut their way through a regiment belonging to the Tower-Hamlets, and afterwards to ſkirmiſh with the parliament's forces, during their march to Chelmsford, where they were joined by lord Capel, and the other officers already mentioned. Their army now amounted to three thouſand men; but being in no condition to fight Fairfax, they purſued their march to Colcheſter, made themſelves maſters of the place, and took the parliament's committee priſoners.

During theſe tranſactions Fairfax croſſed the Thames with his army at Graveſend, and marched with great expedition to Colcheſter, from a perſuaſion that the town was wholly deſtitute of fortifications, and that the royaliſts, who had retired thither, muſt ſurrender at diſcretion. He was miſtaken. The enemy made a noble defence: few ſieges in hiſtory are ſo remarkable as that of Colcheſter. Fairfax in perſon led his troops to the charge, which was at once both brave and deſperate, but they were beaten off with loſs by the beſieged. The charge was again and again repeated, but without ſucceſs; and Fairfax, unwilling to expoſe his troops to inevitable deſtruction, changed the ſiege into a blockade.

The nation was now wholly in a blaze, which could only be quenched by the blood of its inhabitants. Beſides Kent, Eſſex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Corniſh men were in arms; but were ſoon defeated at Penzance by Sir Hardreſs Waller, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of Exeter. The inhabitants of Rutlandſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and the neighbouring counties, alſo took up arms, and were defeated by colonel Waite, near Stamford. Sir John Owen renewed the war in Wales, and beſieged Carnarvan-caſtle, but his forces were routed, and he himſelf taken priſoner by colonel Carter. The moſt determined enemies of the parliament were thoſe who, in the beginning of the war, had been the moſt active againſt Charles. They were therefore conſidered as apoſtates by the army, and puniſhed with much greater ſeverity than even the royaliſts themſelves.

The removal of the army from the capital, though not ſufficient to induce the city to declare in the king's favour, tended greatly to inſpire the preſbyterians in parliament with freſh vigour. They recovered ſo much ſpirit from the inſurrections, which afforded ſufficient employment for the forces under Fairfax and Cromwell, that they determined to make another attempt to conclude a peace with his majeſty. On the twenty-third of May, ſeveral perſons who had been ſent to the tower by the independents were ſet at liberty by the commons, and it was voted, that the numerous impeachments againſt the leaders of the preſbyterian party ſhould be laid aſide, and that the members of both houſes ſhould attend their duty in parliament. On the twenty-ſixth of May, the guards from the army were diſcharged from attending the parliament, and a party of the city militia ordered to attend; and it was voted, that the king be deſired to ſettle the preſbyterian government of the church for three years. New propoſitions for ſettling the kingdom were ſent to his majeſty, and every thing ſeemed to wear the aſpect of a ſpeedy peace. The people had indeed ſo ſeverely felt the weight of parliamentary authority, that they would have been glad to ſee the king replaced on the throne without ſubſcribing any terms; and the preſbyterians in parliament plainly ſaw, that this would be the conſequence, ſhould the Engliſh and Scots who had declared for the king, unite their forces. They knew that ſuch an union would encourage, not only the moſt timorous among the people, but alſo many of the reduced officers and ſoldiers to declare for the royal cauſe. They were therefore deſirous of preventing an incident which muſt have been pregnant with the moſt dreadful conſequences to their party; and accordingly raiſed every oppoſition in their power to the meaſures of the Scottiſh parliament. At the ſame time they ſent five peers and ten commoners to Newport in the Iſle of Wight, in order to treat with his majeſty. He was allowed to ſummon ſeveral of his friends and old counſellors, that he might have their advice in this important tranſaction.

Perhaps no ſight was ever more moving and mortifying than the appearance and ſituation of Charles, when he entered the apartment where the parliament's commiſſioners were aſſembled. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had ſuffered his hair and beard to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt entirely grey; either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows under which he laboured, and which, though borne with almoſt unexampled conſtancy, had preyed greatly on his heart. But though he had paid no attention to his perſon, he had aſſiduouſly cultivated the talents of his mind. His faculties were ſtrong and active, his judgment clear and penetrating, his prudence and patience invincible. He ſuffered not the ſmalleſt ſpark of the indignation he felt at his unworthy treatment to eſcape him. The parliamentary commiſſioners would not ſuffer any of his council to be preſent; they refuſed to enter into debate with any but himſelf. He alone during the tranſactions of of two months, was obliged to ſupport the argument againſt fifteen men of the greateſt parts and capacity in both houſes; and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was indeed the ſcene in which, of all others, he was qualified to excel. His conception was quick, his underſtanding penetrating, his elocution chaſte, his manner commanding; theſe accompliſhments rendered him capable of triumphing in all diſcuſſions of cool and temperate reaſoning. The parliamentary commiſſioners, who were before ſtrangers to the king's abilities, were aſtoniſhed. "The king is much changed," ſaid the earl of Saliſbury to Sir Philip Warwick; "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip; "he was always ſo: but you are now at laſt ſenſible of it."

The firſt propoſition the commiſſioners preſented him was that for revoking all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament and their adherents, and acknowledging that they had taken up arms in their own defence. This was touching Charles in the ſenſible part. He made no difficulty of granting the former, but for ſome time oppoſed the latter with all the ſtrength of reaſoning. But the commiſſioners refuſed to recede the leaſt from their propoſition. It could not indeed be expected they would conſent to give up this part of the article, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid to the contrary by hiſtorians. The king, during the whole courſe of the war, had aſſerted, that the parliament and their adherents were fundamentally in the wrong, and had they not obtained from him an acknowledgement, that he himſelf was ſo, what ſecurity could they expect hereafter; as no conſequences could be valid from erroneous premiſes? But Charles was now in their power, nor were the commiſſioners to be diverted from their purpoſe by his moſt pathetic repreſentations of the wounds ſuch a conceſſion muſt inflict, both upon his judgment and his conſcience. But finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, he yielded to neceſſity. It was however agreed, that no part of any of the propoſitions ſhould be binding, prejudicial, or made uſe of, unleſs the treaty was finally concluded.

The next propoſition was that which regarded the abrogation of epiſcopacy and the liturgy of the church of England, and the total alienation of all church lands. This demand brought on a ridiculous diſpute between the king and ſome ignorant preſbyterian teachers, with regard to the divinity of epiſcopal government. Charles, even by his enemies, is allowed to have obtained the victory: but the more important part of the queſtion, the policy, or rather the neceſſity of it, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, was never debated. He at laſt conſented to ſuſpend epiſcopacy for three years, and, at the expiration of that period, to name twenty divines, who ſhould conſult with others named by the parliament, with regard to the future form of church-government; that all who were willing might take the covenant, and uſe the directory of the preſbyterians, provided he himſelf was at liberty to uſe the common prayer book in his own chapel; and that money ſhould be raiſed on the ſale of the church-lands, and only the old rents reſerved to the owners and their ſucceſſors.

The future diſpoſal of the militia, was the next ſubject of debate. The parliament required not only to have an unlimited power of raiſing what men they thought proper, both for the land and ſea-ſervice, and of employing them as they pleaſe during twenty years, but alſo that of paſſing bills to pay them, which were to have the force of laws, even though the king ſhould refuſe the royal aſſent. Charles oppoſed theſe exorbitant demands with all the force of reaſon and eloquence; but all his endeavours were in vain: the commiſſioners had no power to recede one title from their inſtructions. Even this did not diſcourage the king from purſuing the work of peace: he granted their demands; but at the ſame time, he laid the three following demands before the commiſſioners, that they might be communicated to the parliament. 1. That he ſhould be reſtored to his liberty. 2. That he ſhould enjoy his revenue. 3. That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed. Theſe demands were ſent to the parliament, where it was voted that they ſhould be granted, on the king's conſenting to the deſires of the two houſes.

The affairs of Ireland now came upon the carpet, and the commiſſioners inſiſted that the peace made with the rebels ſhould be declared void. Charles, who thought no conceſſion too great for obtaining the bleſſings of peace, remitted all the affairs of Ireland to be determined by his parliament.

With regard to the other points of the treaty, they admitted of leſs debate. Charles agreed that taxes ſhould be levied for the payment of the army, and for diſcharging the debts of the public; that all the chief officers of ſtate ſhould be nominated by the parliament for ten years; that the militia of the city of London, the government of the Tower, and the appointing the chief officers in theſe departments, ſhould be conſigned to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, for ten years; and that the king ſhould receive one hundred thouſand pounds a year, as a compenſation for giving up the court of wards.

The time taken up in theſe debates rendered it neceſſary either to break off the treaty, or allow the commiſſioners a longer time to complete it, ſeveral of the king's conceſſions, particularly that relating to religion, having been voted unſatisfactory. The latter was choſen, and the time was enlarged to fourteen days longer. The parliament now demanded, that the earl of Newcaſtle, the lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Winter, ſhould be excepted from pardon, both with regard to lives and eſtates. This was a demand which Charles abſolutely refuſed; he declared he would never agree to give up his friends to puniſhment. The ſevere repentance, which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford, had, doubtleſs, confirmed him in the reſolution never again to be guilty of a ſimilar error. He, however, conſented, that the royaliſts ſhould pay ſuch compoſitions, as they and the parliament ſhould think reaſonable; he only begged that they might be as moderate as poſſible: he alſo offered, that the perſons excepted by the parliament ſhould be baniſhed for a limited time.

The king wrote a letter to the prince of Wales, in which he related the whole of this tranſaction, and accompanied his narrative with many wiſe and pathetic reflections and advices. The concluſion of this letter is remarkable: "By what has been ſaid, you ſee how long I have laboured in the ſearch of peace. Do not you be diſheartened to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy means to reſtore yourſelf to your rights, but prefer the way of peace: ſhow the greatneſs of your mind to conquer your enemies rather by pardoning than by puniſhing. If you ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian this implacable diſpoſition is in our ill-wiſhers, you would avoid that ſpirit. Cenſure me not for having parted with ſo much of our rights: the price was great, but the commodity was, ſecurity to us, peace to my people; and I am confident, that another parliament will remember, how uſeful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much power I diveſted myſelf, that I and they might meet once again in a parliamentary way, in order to ſettle the bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatneſs or prerogative than what is really and intrinſically for the good of the ſubject, not the ſatisfaction of favourites. If you thus uſe it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to treat with extraordinary favour. You may perceive, that all men intruſt their treaſure where it returns them intereſt; and if a prince, like the ſea, receive and repay all the freſh ſtreams which the rivers intruſt with him, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves, to make him up an ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one; and your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed as mine hath been ſhaken. For our ſubjects have learned, I dare ſay, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themſelves, and ſo will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The Engliſh nation are a ſober people, however at preſent infatuated. I know not but this may be the laſt time I may ſpeak to you or the world publickly. I am ſenſible into what hands I am fallen; and yet, I bleſs God, I have thoſe inward refreſhments, which the malice of my enemies cannot diſturb. I have learned to buſy myſelf by retiring into myſelf; and therefore can the better digeſt whatever befalls me; not doubting but God's providence will reſtrain our enemies power, and turn their fierceneſs into his praiſe. To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and be ever far from revenge. If he reſtore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Theſe men that have violated laws which they were bound to preſerve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining by foul and unjuſt means."

Notwithſtanding it was ſo evidently the intereſt both of the king and parliament to finiſh this treaty while Cromwell and Fairfax were employed againſt the royaliſts and Scots, yet the fear of the army on the one hand, and of the king's inſincerity on the other, continued to have ſo great an effect on many of the members, that they ſtrengthened the hands of the independents, till it was too late to prevent inevitable ruin. The inſurrections were every where quelled before the treaty was finiſhed; and the army had leiſure to carry into execution the violent and ſanguinary projects they had formed.

Cromwell, after reducing the inſurgents in Wales, marched with great expedition in order to meet the Scottiſh army, who, under Hamilton, had entered

England, and were advancing forward without meeting with any oppoſition. But religious diſputes rendered their expedition abortive, and deſtroyed that cauſe they entered England to ſupport. They refuſed to join the royaliſts, becauſe they had not taken the covenant: ſo that the two armies purſued the ſame route, but at ſome diſtance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwell, oblige the bigotted covenanters to conſult their own ſafety, by a cloſe union with the royaliſts. The two armies, commanded by Hamilton and Longdale, amounted to twenty thouſand men; yet theſe not being joined, Cromwell ventured to attack them at the head of eight thouſand only. He fell upon the royaliſts by ſurprize near Preſton in Lancaſhire, and though they made a brave reſiſtance, were almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Cromwell had now an opportunity of taking vengeance on the Scots, whom he had long deteſted. He attacked Hamilton, put his army to the rout, and purſued the fugitives to Utoxeter, where the Scottiſh general ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. No forces now remained in the field to oppoſe the march of Cromwell, who, purſuing his victory, marched into Scotland, and having joined Argyle, and ſuppreſſed the earl of Laneric and Munro, he placed the power in the hands of the violent party among the preſbyterians.

The ſiege of Colcheſter was now drawing to a criſis. The garriſon, after enduring the utmoſt extremity of famine, were at laſt obliged to capitulate. No terms could, however, be procured from Fairfax: he inſiſted on their ſurrendering at mercy; and gave ſuch an explanation of that term, as to reſerve to himſelf the power of putting them all to the ſword if he thought proper. The officers of the garriſon were very unwilling to ſurrender unleſs they were promiſed, that their lives ſhould be ſafe, and endeavoured to perſuade the ſoldiers to make one glorious attempt on the enemy, and either cut themſelves a paſſage, or ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. But they had ſuffered too much during the ſiege; ſo that this propoſal, which would perhaps have been embraced at firſt with alacrity, was now refuſed: and they ſurrendered the town to Fairfax.

Ireton, to whom Cromwell in his abſence had conconſigned over the government of the paſſive general, perſuaded him to take an unmanly revenge on the principal officers who had made ſo noble a defence; though that circumſtance ſhould have recommended them to the regard of every lover of military greatneſs. Accordingly Sir George Lucas, and Sir George Liſle were ſeized, and ordered to be ſhot immediately. Exaſperated at ſo ungenerous an action, lord Capel reproached Ireton with this unmanly behaviour in the boldeſt terms, and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the ſame honourable cauſe, to execute on all the ſame impartial vengeance. Lucas was firſt ſhot, and was ſo far from being intimidated, that he gave, himſelf, the orders to fire, with the ſame alacrity, as if he had been at the head of his own platoon of ſoldiers. Liſle ran and kiſſed the dead body, and then preſented his own breaſt with the ſame undaunted reſolution. The lords Goring, Capel and Loughborough, with the other officers of diſtinction, eight lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, thirty captains, ſixty-five gentlemen, ſeventy-two lieutenants, ſixty-one enſigns, one hundred and eighty-three ſerjeants, and three thouſand and ſixty-ſeven private men, were ſent to different priſons.

The ſiege of Colcheſter put a period to what was called the ſecond civil war; and all England was once more reduced to the power of the parliament. Fairfax led his army back to St. Albans, and renewed his complaint of the want of pay for his ſoldiers. The army alſo renewed their cabals, and almoſt every corps petitioned the general that juſtice might be executed upon criminals. Ireton's regiment, in particular, demanded, that the ſame fault might have the ſame puniſhment, from the king to the commoner; and that all ſuch might be proceeded againſt as traitors, who ſhould ſpeak in behalf of the king, till he was acquitted of the charge of innocent blood. Theſe demands ſo plainly indicated the dreadful cataſtrophe which ſoon after followed, that all who wiſhed well to his majeſty, both in and out of parliament, adviſed him to make his eſcape, which was conceived to be very eaſy: But Charles having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after; he could not be prevailed upon to hazard the reproach of violating his promiſe.

On the twentieth of November, colonel Ewer, at the head of ſeven other officers, preſented a remonſtrance from the council of the army to the parliament. It began with a demand that the treaty with the king ſhould be laid aſide, and that the prince of Wales and duke of York, ſhould be declared incapable of government; that the army be ſatisfied out of the eſtates of the delinquents; that juſtice be done to the capital cauſes of the war; that a period be put to the preſent parliament; that there be a more equal repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king, ſhould be diſabled either for voting or being elected to ſerve in parliament; that the ſupreme power of government ſhould be veſted in the repreſentatives of the people, among whom there ſhould be a liberty of entering diſſents; that all future kings ſhould be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general ſettlement ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the general contract of the people; but that none ſhould have a ſhare in it who ſhould oppoſe the matter of this remonſtrance.

We ſhall not be ſurprized at the demands contained in this paper, which was intended to aboliſh the houſe of peers, and introduce a new ſcheme of government, when it is remembered, that the army had ſpoke the ſame language almoſt two years before; that many of the independent members had adopted it in their ſpeeches; and that nothing but the late unexpected commotions, could have prevented Cromwell and his friends from carrying it before into execution.

This violent proceeding did not, however, intimidate the parliament. Though they well knew that they were in no condition to withſtand the force of the army, yet they were determined to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of their power, and rather bring on a violent ſubverſion of government, than give their conſent to ſuch ſanguinary meaſures. They accordingly reſolved to pay no regard to the remonſtrance of the army. But this oppoſition tended only to haſten the execution of the project formed by the council of officers. Hammond received an order from Fairfax to attend him, and to reſign to colonel Ewer, the cuſtody of the king's perſon. In this emergency, Charles conſulted his friends, who were permitted ſtill to remain about his perſon, and all of them adviſed him to make his eſcape, which was ſtill very practicable. But Charles, from a delicacy in point of honour, thought his royal word ſo far engaged, that he refuſed to conſent, and ſtill continued under the fatal deluſion, that the preſervation of his perſon was neceſſary both to the parliament and the army. But the earl of Lindſay, with great judgment, replied, "Take heed, ſir, leſt you fall into ſuch hands as will not ſteer by the rules of policy. Remember Hampton-court, where your eſcape was the beſt ſecurity." Charles, however, continued obſtinate; and the next morning the officers of the army, detached for that purpoſe, ruſhed into his apartment, and carried him over to Hurſt-caſtle, where he was again made a cloſe priſoner, and none of his friends ſuffered to viſit him.

In the mean time the parliament voted that the ſeizing the king's perſon was done without their knowledge and conſent; and ſent a meſſage to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize was undertaken. They alſo iſſued orders that the army ſhould not advance any nearer to London. They next voted, “That the anſwers of the king to the propoſitions of both houſes are a ſufficient ground for the houſe to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom.” It was alſo propoſed by Hollis, the preſent leader of the preſbyterians, a man of the moſt unconquerable intrepidity, that the generals and principal officers of the army, ſhould be traitors to their country by the parliament, for their diſobedience and uſurpations.

Theſe ſpirited proceedings brought matters to a criſis. The general marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament. The next day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, blocked up the paſſage to the houſe at the head of two regiments; and being directed by the lord Gray of Groby, he ſeized, in the paſſage, forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed under the denomination of hell, whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Beſides theſe, above one hundred and ſixty members more were excluded, and none ſuffered to enter the houſe but the moſt furious and moſt determined of the independent party, which was ſo ſmall, that their number did not exceed ſixty. This egregious invaſion of the rights of parliament, was generally known under the name of “colonel Pride's purge;” ſo ready were the people to turn into ridicule the dethroning a party who had governed the nation with a rod of iron, and overturned the conſtitution of their country.

Cromwell, who was then in London, was thoroughly ſenſible of the deſpotic part the commons had acted, and well knew they were as much deſpiſed as the army was feared in every part of the kingdom. Colonel Whaley preſented, at the bar of the houſe, a paper, entitled, “The humble propoſals and deſigns of his excellency the lord Fairfax, and the general council of officers, in order to a ſpeedy proſecution of juſtice, and the ſettlement formerly propounded by them.” This paper, after reproaching the parliament and their proceedings, with all the bitterneſs of uſurped authority, demanded, “That the ſecluded members, together with major Brown, might be ſecured and brought to juſtice: and that all thoſe who refuſed to vote againſt the late Scottiſh engagement, as well as thoſe who concurred in the vote of yeſterday, with regard to the king's conceſſions being a ſufficient ground for proceeding to a ſettlement, ſhould be immediately ſuſpended the houſe: and that all thoſe who concurred not in theſe votes, ſhould acquit themſelves by a proteſtation.” And, to complete the triumph of the army, Fairfax marched a large detachment into the city, and ſeized all the money at Goldſmith's-hall, amounting to twenty thouſand pounds. He alſo ſecured the money in Haberdaſhers and Weavers halls, in order to pay the army part of their arrears.

The ſecluded members having publiſhed a paper containing a narrative of the violent manner in which they had been prevented from entering the houſe, together with a proteſtation againſt all acts, which ſince that moment had been tranſacted by the commons, the paper was voted to be falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious, tending to deſtroy the viſible and fundamental government of the kingdom, and therefore ought to be ſuppreſſed. While the commons were employed in paſſing this vote ſo contrary to what every member in the houſe knew to be true, the army preſented a ſcheme of government in conſequence of their former declarations and remonſtrances. But it was ſo wild and impracticable, and was ſo ſtrongly tinctured with that fanatical ſpirit ſo prevalent throughout the kingdom, that it is probable Cromwell ſuffered them to form ſo ridiculous a ſcheme, merely to keep them in employment.

The conduct of the parliament itſelf was equally mean and inconſiſtent. The commons had voted, that the lords Capel, Goring, and Loughborough, the earl of Holland, Sir Henry Linden, major general Laughern, and Sir John Owen, ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom: this vote they now revoked, declaring that it was deſtructive of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. In the ſame manner they repealed a vote whereby the duke of Hamilton was fined a hundred thouſand pounds; together with all thoſe that had the leaſt tendency to conclude a peace with his majeſty. At the ſame time they ſent a committee to the general to know the reaſon why the members were reſtrained from coming to the houſe by the ſoldiers. The general anſwered, that he would conſider the matter; but deſired they would not give themſelves the trouble of ſending any more meſſages to him on that ſubject. But notwithſtanding this inſolent anſwer, the commons committed to priſon Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, the generals Maſſey, Brown, and Copley, with other leaders of the preſbyterian party.

The only difficulty Cromwell had to ſurmount in order to bring on the cataſtrophe of this deteſtable tragedy, conſiſted in diſguiſing its horrid form from Fairfax. The force that had been laid upon the parliament, and the army continuing almoſt ſingle, in oppoſition to the whole nation, together with ſome tenderneſs for the king, ſtartled Fairfax. He began to fear he had gone too far; nor could all the arts of Cromwell quiet the fears with which his breaſt was agitated. The ſoldiers themſelves proved aukward executioners of Cromwell's vengeance; they had ſuffered ſeveral of the ſecluded members to eſcape; and about ſixteen of them were ſet at liberty by Fairfax. This ſeemed to be a kind of apology for the force put upon the houſe: but Cromwell prevented him from going any farther, by procuring a multitude of addreſſes from independents reſiding in various parts of the kingdom.

Nothing now remained than the laſt act of that bloody tragedy, which rendered the leaders of the independents deteſtable in the eyes of all Europe. Terror and aſtoniſhment had already ſeized the whole nation. Every man was fearful of being trodden under foot in this dreadful contention for power. Many began to withdraw with their effects to the continent, in order to ſeek in foreign countries that peace which was baniſhed from their own. Public credit hardly ſubſiſted, and the commerce of the kingdom, both foreign and domeſtic, was ſtagnated, and anarchy and confuſion ſeemed to threaten the whole nation with deſtruction.

In the midſt of this confuſion, the king was ordered to be brought under a ſtrong guard to Windſor, by colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt in the whole army. Charles himſelf was now convinced, that the period of his life was approaching; but could not be perſuaded that they intended to proceed againſt him by a formal trial, and make him fall a victim to what they called, the ſtroke of juſtice. He every moment expected a private aſſaſſination, a cataſtrophe ſo frequent with dethroned princes: there was not an inſtance to be found in hiſtory where a ſovereign was put to death by the laws of his country. Harriſon aſſured him that his fears were groundleſs, and that whatever was intended againſt him would be done before the ſun. On his arrival at Windſor, all ſymbols of ſovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to treat him in no other manner than that of a private gentleman.

On the twenty-fifth of December, a committee was appointed by the commons to bring in a charge againſt the king, and other capital offenders. This committee was impowered to take informations with regard to facts, on which the charge againſt the king was to be founded; and on the twenty-eighth an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the houſe of commons, by Scot an independent member. This ordinance met with very little difficulty in the houſe. Some ſpeeches were indeed made againſt it, but they ſeemed rather calculated to ſave appearances, than prevent the ordinance from receiving the ſanction of the commons.

A. D. 1648-9. On the ſecond of January the ordinance was carried up to the peers by lord Gray of Groby. The upper-houſe had long been conſidered as of little weight in the legiſlature, and ſince the king's impriſonment had become totally contemptible. It happened however to be fuller than ordinary when the ordinance was preſented: ſixteen of the peers were aſſembled. When the charge againſt the king was read, every member was filled with aſtoniſhment: it was conceived in the following terms. "That Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his truſt in departing from his parliament, ſetting up his ſtandard, making war againſt them, and thereby been the occaſion of much bloodſhed and miſery to the people, whom he was ſet over for good; that he had given commiſſions to Iriſh rebels, and was ſince the occaſion of a ſecond war; that he had invaded the rights of the ſubject, and endeavoured to deſtroy the fundamental laws and liberties of this kingdom." The peers looked upon each other with aſtoniſhment, and ſeemed deprived of the power of ſpeech. The earl of Mancheſter firſt broke the awful ſilence, in a ſpeech at once pathetic and conſtitutional. He affirmed it to be a palpable abſurdity to ſay, "that the king could be a traitor againſt the parliament." The earl of Northumberland declared, that the far greater part of the people of England were far from being ſatisfied whether the king or parliament were the firſt aggreſſors; and that even if it ſhould be granted that the king firſt began the war, there was no law in being, that declared, ſuch an action to be treaſon; and for the parliament to declare it treaſon before the matter of fact was proved, and without any law to countenance ſuch a proceeding, would be highly unreaſonable." All the reſt of the lords were of the ſame opinion, and the vote of the lower houſe was rejected without one diſſenting voice. They alſo adjourned themſelves for ten days, in order to embarras the commons, not imagining they would dare to proceed without their concurrence.

They were fatally miſtaken. The commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. They immediately voted to proceed to the trial of the king without the conſent of the houſe of lords. Their reſolutions were couched in the following terms.

"Reſolved, that the commons of England in parliament aſſembled do declare, that the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power.

"That the commons of England, in parliament aſſembled, being choſen by and repreſenting the people, have the ſupreme power in this nation.

"That whatſoever is enacted or declared for law, by the commons, in parliament aſſembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the concurrence of the king and the houſe of peers, be not had thereunto."

Theſe votes being paſſed, the ordinance for the trial of the king was again read, and aſſented to unanimouſly. Nothing leſs could be expected; the balance of government had been long deſtroyed, and the quarrel now was only about its ſpoils. The parliament had before declared, that they had a right to impoſe laws without the conſent of the king; and the army had juſt as much right to give law to the poor remains of a parliament that now aſſumed the legiſlative power.

As it would have been an inſult on the common ſenſe of the nation even to offer a vindication of theſe violent meaſures on the principles of reaſon; recourſe was had to the ridiculous pretenſions of ſupernatural aſſiſtance. A woman of Hertfordſhire, illuminated by prophetical viſions, deſired admittance to the council of war, and aſſured them of her being informed by a revelation, that their meaſures were conſecrated in heaven, and ratified by a celeſtial ſanction. The leaders of the independent party alſo augmented their pretences to ſanctity. "Should any one have voluntarily propoſed," ſaid Cromwell one day in the houſe, "to bring the king to puniſhment, I ſhould have regarded him as the greateſt traitor; but ſince providence and neceſſity have caſt us upon it, I will pray to God for a bleſſing on your councils, though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occaſion. Even I myſelf," added he, "when I was offering up petitions for his majeſty's reſtoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and conſidered this ſupernatural movement as an anſwer, which heaven, having rejected the king, had ſent to my ſupplications." Under ſuch fanatical pretenſions the leaders of the independents endeavoured to ſanctify their ſanguinary deſigns, and conceal from the people their thirſt of power. It was not ſufficient to ſacrifice the conſtitution of their country to their ambition, heaven itſelf muſt be brought to applaud their meaſures!

The fate of the king was now to be precipitated on many accounts. The army might feel remorſe if the fervours of fanaticiſm were ſuffered to ſubſide. The people might recover from their conſternation. The Scots might interpoſe. Foreign nations might declare in the king's favour. The ſtates-general had already named an ambaſſador to negotiate a peace between his majeſty and the parliament. The court of France appeared to be deeply concerned at the fate of Charles; the king of Denmark was fitting out armaments for his relief; and all Europe beheld his fate with pity and indignation. Cromwell knew this, and ſat late every night in conſultation with his officers. He had too ſound a judgment to think of entering upon any vindication of the late proceedings: he knew they would not ſtand the teſt of reaſon; and thought it would be more eaſy to juſtify the blow after it was given than before.

On the ſixth of January information was brought to the houſe, that the king might eaſily make his eſcape; and Fairfax was ordered to confine him more cloſely, and not to ſuffer any of his friends to viſit him; and on the thirteenth of January it was voted to leave the king's name out of all public papers. Nor was the government of the city of London leſs unhinged than the conſtitution. The independent faction, in the name of the common-council, preſented an addreſs to parliament, without the conſent of the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had all of them abſented themſelves. The addreſs was, however, voted to be regular, and the thanks of the houſe were accordingly returned. No member was found intrepid enough to oppoſe theſe proceedings, Cromwell having made no ſecret of his intention to expel every one who voted againſt the meaſures he propoſed. The whole kingdom beheld theſe proceedings with ſilent horror. The queen wrote to the parliament in favour of her huſband, and deſired leave to attend him, but this letter was inhumanly thrown aſide by the commons.

Prynne, who had ſuffered ſo deeply by the tyranny of the ſtar-chamber, was the only man in England who dared to face this conflagration of rebellion. He had been elected a member of parliament, and was ſo honeſt as to ſpeak, vote, and write, agreeable to his own opinion; and had been, with other members, excluded from his ſeat in the houſe, and kept priſoner at a common inn. But though his perſon was confined, he wrote ſtrongly in defence of the principles he profeſſed. He appealed to the public againſt the proceedings of the independent faction, and boldly printed a pamphlet, intituled, "A brief memento to the preſent unparliamentary junto to depoſe and execute Charles Stuart, their lawful king." This pamphlet gave ſo much offence to the party, that a committee was appointed to demand of Prynne, whether he would own it. Prynne readily replied, "I will give no anſwer till I am commanded by a lawful authority." The preſbyterian members approved this anſwer, and made another faint attempt to try their ſtrength with the army, but were defeated.

Had they now quitted the houſe, they had done ſome ſervice to their country, by depriving the party of their countenance; for though they were always ready to oppoſe the independents, they were always overborne by a majority; and the people, who had no opportunity of knowing what paſſed in the houſe, conſidered every tranſaction as an act of the whole parliament. Whereas by abſenting themſelves, few or none would have acted as a parliament, except thoſe who ſet their hands to the warrant for the execution of their ſovereign.

No long time was neceſſary for adjuſting all the circumſtances of the trial, and conſtituting what was termed "the high court of juſtice." It conſiſted of one hundred and thirty-three perſons, as named by the commons, but never more than ſeventy met: ſo difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to prevail upon perſons of any name or character to engage in ſo criminal a meaſure. It may, perhaps, be thought ſtrange, that as a great number, nearly the majority, of the commiſſioners, who were empowered to act on this occaſion, deteſted the guilty deſigns of the court, they did not attend, and endeavour to prevent the ſentence. But the truth is, they were intimidated by the fierceneſs of the army. They knew, that if any difficulty occurred in completing this ſanguinary meaſure, the independent faction among the officers would purge the court, as it had already done the parliament. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number; but on their affirming, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the king for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for that crime muſt neceſſarily be conducted; their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, were judges, together with a few of the members of the lower houſe, and ſome citizens of London. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke was appointed ſollicitor for the people of England; and Doriſlaus, Steel and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants.

Fairfax now ſeemed as one awakened from a lethargy, and ſtartled at the guilt that was every day committing under the ſanction of his name. He never, knowingly to himſelf, had profeſſed independency, though he had in fact been the tool of Cromwell to eſtabliſh it. His wrong notions, with regard to the army, occaſioned all his miſcarriages. He was perſuaded that the profeſſion of a ſoldier ought to be governed by ſeverer maxims and principles of honour than thoſe that fell within any civil ſyſtem; and was always jealous of government, becauſe he feared it wanted to make a property of the army. After he was made general in chief, he conſidered himſelf as anſwerable to the ſoldiers, with regard to their treatment from the parliament. Such military notions, greatly augmented by religious ſincerity and fervour, rendered it very eaſy for Cromwell to mould Fairfax to his purpoſes; and it happened, that, in ſome particulars, he had juſtice on his ſide. The parliament had, for inſtance, violated ſeveral articles of capitulation granted by the army, which Fairfax conſidered as highly criminal. They had engroſſed into their hands immenſe ſums from ſequeſtrations, delinquencies, and taxes; while the ſoldiers, who had given them all their power, were actually left to ſtarve, or to live upon free quarter. Theſe were undoubted truths; and Cromwell perſuaded Fairfax, that the hardſhips of the ſoldiers proceeded from the notorious avarice and wicked policy of the members. The former induced them to evade all demands of money; the latter to abandon the ſoldiers, ſo that they were obliged to live upon free quarter, whereby they were become hateful, and an intolerable burden to the people. Fairfax being once convinced of theſe truths, was led to believe every thing that was reported of the parliament; and his ill opinion was increaſed on ſeizing, in the cuſtody of their committees, when he marched his troops into the city, more money than would have been ſufficient to quiet the clamours of his ſoldiers. But when his troops were ſatisfied, and his preſbyterian friends laid before him the conſequences that muſt reſult from the ſcheme formed by the army, he was ſtruck with horror at the proſpect, and would fain have prevented the dreadful effects of that power he had been ſo inſtrumental in obtaining.

At the firſt meeting of the high court of juſtice, which ſat in Weſtminſter-hall, an incident happened which deſerves to be recorded. Lady Fairfax, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury, having been ſeduced by the violence of the times, ſeconded all the ardour of her huſband againſt the royal cauſe; but being now convinced of her error, ſhe joined with her huſband in bewailing the miſeries which threatened her country, and joined the friends of Fairfax in diſſuading him from being preſent at the trial. Curioſity, however, prompted her to attend; and when her huſband's name was called in reading over the liſt of commiſſioners, a voice was heard from one of the ſpectators, ſaying aloud, "He has too much wit to be preſent." And when the charge was read againſt the king, in the name of all the people of England, the ſame voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." Orders were now given to Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, to fire into the box whence the voice proceeded; but the ſoldiers being informed that it was their general's lady, they refuſed to obey. This circumſtance ſufficiently proves, that Fairfax was now convinced of his having been abuſed, and that Cromwell was then conſidered as the hypocrite, who had inſtigated the army to inſiſt on this deteſtable trial.

It is not eaſy to form a more affecting idea than was now exhibited in the high court of juſtice; the delegates of a free people ſitting in judgment on their ſupreme magiſtrate, and trying him for his miſgovernment and breach of truſt; and the pomp, the dignity, and the ceremony, were equal to the conception. The charge againſt the king was read by the ſollicitor, in the name of the commons; in which it was declared, "That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intruſted with a limited power; yet, nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlawful and tyrannical government, had traitorouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth."

Charles, even in this hour of diſtreſs, loſt not the majeſty of a king. On the preſident's telling the king, that the court expected his anſwer; he aſked by what authority he was brought thither? This queſtion had been expected by Cromwell, and the preſident, by his direction, anſwered, "In the name of the commons of England." The king denied the authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit to their juriſdiction. He obſerved, that being born their lawful hereditary king, all his ſubjects united could have no power to bring him to a trial; that having often expoſed his life in defence of the liberties and fundamental laws of the kingdom, he would not now deſert them, but was ready, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights for which he had ſo long, though in vain, contended: That in the court which pretended to ſit in judgment on his actions, he could not perceive the leaſt appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned from ſufficient authority, that the commons, with whoſe power the court pretended to be inveſted, had been ſubdued by lawleſs force, and entirely deprived of their liberty: That thoſe who arrogated the power of being his judges were born his ſubjects, and ſubjects of thoſe laws, which declare, "That the king can do no wrong;"

but that without having recourſe to that general maxim, which ſcreens even the worſt of princes, he was ready to juſtify his conduct by the evidence of reaſon: and that if he were called upon in another manner, he ſhould be deſirous of demonſtrating to them and all the world, the juſtice of that war he was unfortunately, and contrary to his inclinations, engaged in his own defence: but in his preſent circumſtances he muſt not enter on the apology he was ſo deſirous of making, leſt, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he ſhould be conſidered as the betrayer of that conſtitution he was ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing even by his blood."

This anſwer had no effect. Bradſhaw, in the moſt attrocious and inſolent language told him, that the court over-ruled his objections, and derived their authority from the people, the only ſource of genuine power. Thrice was Charles brought before the court, and as often denied their juriſdiction. The commiſſioners therefore proceeded to examine ſome witneſſes, who depoſed that the king had appeared in arms againſt the troops of the parliament. Upon which, after another inſolent ſpeech made by Bradſhaw, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him. The king, during his laſt appearance before the court, ſeemed very deſirous of being admitted to a conference with the two houſes of parliament; but this was denied. The independents intended not to gratify any requeſt he might make; they had already determined to aboliſh the power of the houſe of peers, and it would have been dangerous on this occaſion to acknowledge them as a branch of the legiſlature. Their denial was accompanied with the moſt brutal inſolence. The ſoldiers were ſuffered to uſe every mark of diſreſpect, and ſome of them even ſpit in his face. But even this inſult could not ſhake the tranquillity of his ſoul, a ſentiment of piety was the only effect it excited. He was more nearly affected by the ardent prayers and wiſhes offered up for his ſafety by the people who thronged about him, and which even the rod of lawleſs power was not ſufficient to reſtrain.

The ambaſſadors of France, Holland and Scotland interpoſed to ſtop theſe horrid proceedings, but in vain. Every nation in Europe exclaimed againſt this example as the moſt egregious inſult on law and juſtice. But all their exclamations and interpoſitions had no effect: the fate of the king was fixed and irrevocable. Four of the chief and moſt illuſtrious friends of his majeſty, Richmond, Holland, Southampton and Lindſey, repaired to the houſe of commons, and repreſented, that, in quality of his counſellors, they alone were guilty of the meaſures imputed to him as crimes; and deſired to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which the commons themſelves were ſo much intereſted to defend. This generous offer had no other effect than that of increaſing the animoſity of the court. For the more bad men ſee their conduct reproached by the virtue of the good, the more eager they are to conſummate their baſe deſigns.

The ſhort interval of time between his ſentence and execution, was employed by the king in meditating thoſe eternal truths which elevate the ſoul above the evils of mortality. All his family that remained in England were allowed to viſit him. The duke of Glouceſter was little more than an infant; but the advanced judgment of the princeſs Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her tender years, rendered her ſenſible of all the miſeries ſhe was doomed to ſuffer. The king, after giving her the moſt prudent advice, and endeavouring to fortify her mind with pious conſolations, charged her to tell the queen, that he had never during the whole courſe of his life failed in conjugal fidelity towards her, not even in thought; and that his tenderneſs for her ſhould only end with his life. Holding the duke of Glouceſter on his knee, he ſaid, "Now they will cut off thy father's " head." So unexpected a ſentence ſeemed greatly to affect the child, who looked ſtedfaſtly upon him. " Mark! child what I ſay; They will cut off my " head, and perhaps make thee a king: But mark " what I ſay: Thou muſt not be a king, as long " as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They " will cut of thy brothers heads when they can " catch them! And thy head too they will cut off " at laſt! And therefore I charge thee do not be " made a king by them!" The duke replied, fetching a deep ſigh, "I will be torn in pieces firſt." The king's eyes were filled with tears of joy and admiration at hearing ſo determined an anſwer from one of ſuch tender years.

Every night during this awful interval, the king ſlept ſound as uſual, though the noiſe of workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, reſounded continually in his ears. The morning of the fatal day he roſe early; and calling Hubert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity, which would put a final period to all his ſorrows and to all his cares. Biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteady virtues by which the king himſelf was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, aſſiſted him in his devotions, and paid the laſt duties to his ſovereign and his friend.

The ſcaffold was erected in the ſtreet before Whitehall, it being intended by making choice of a ſpot, adjoining to his own palace, to diſplay in a more evident manner, the triumph of popular juſtice over the power of royalty. When the king came upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſo ſurrounded with ſoldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He therefore addreſſed his diſcourſe to the few perſons who were about him, particularly to colonel Tomlinſon, whom his virtues had reclaimed from an enemy to a friend. He proteſted his innocence, but, at the ſame time, acknowledged that his death was juſt in the eyes of the ſupreme Being, and that he was puniſhed for not having oppoſed an unjuſt ſentence, (meaning undoubtedly that of Strafford;) he generouſly forgave his enemies, and exhorted them and the whole nation, to live in obedience to his lawful ſucceſſor. Having finiſhed his ſpeech, he laid his head on the block with the greateſt decency and compoſure, and it was ſevered from his body by one blow of the executioner, who performed the bloody office in a vizor.

Fairfax was abſent during the trial. He attempted by his influence to ſtop the execution, but not been able able to ſucceed, he reſolved to ſave the king by force. Cromwell and Ireton were no ſtrangers to his reſolution, and requeſted him to have recourſe to prayer at a time when they ſtood ſo much in need of ſupernatural aſſiſtance. The fanatic Harriſon was ordered to join with him in this pious office, and he took care to prolong the farce, till a perſon came and whiſpered him, that the king was no more. Then riſing with the air of a prophet, he aſſured Fairfax, that the lord had heard their prayers, and made known his holy will in a very marvellous manner.

The nation, too long the dupe of hypocriſy, began to awake from its error. Never monarch, in the full triumph of ſucceſs and victory, was more dear to his people, than this unhappy prince was now rendered by his miſfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety. Each now reproached himſelf either with active diſloyalty, or with a too indolent defence of his cauſe. The very pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the moſt violent imprecations and anathemas againſt him, were now bedewed with the tears of ſincerity. His very enemies allow, that if temperance, chaſtity, regularity and piety can form a complete moral character, that of Charles may be deemed faultleſs. But he loved power to exceſs; and in order to retain it, he gave up a miniſter whom he loved and eſteemed, and made conceſſions which he diſdained and deteſted. Charles was, however, early and ſecretly ſenſible, that there was the ſame deſtination between power and prerogative, as between poſſeſſion and a claim, and by endeavouring to render them inſeparable, he forfeited both. By flying to fortify his prerogative before it was attacked, he pointed out to his enemies the places where it might be aſſaulted with moſt ſucceſs; and his timorous friends drew him off from his defence, where he might have made a ſucceſsful ſtand. Their fears of his being torn in pieces if he did not paſs the bills that depoſed him, were vain and chimerical; conſcience and guilt had magnified their danger. When he began to grant, he found no end of conceſſions, nor means of reſiſtance when he was perſuaded to deny. In proſperity he was ſurrounded by harpies, who dreaded the vengeance of the public, and placed both his perſon and his crown between them and the ſtroke of juſtice. His friends wiſhed to have the extent of his prerogative defined, that it might be known; his creatures to keep it concealed, that it might be dreaded; and his enemies to ſee it reduced, that it might be ruined. In a word, the character of this prince, like that of all other men, was mixed; but his virtues greatly predominated; and he certainly merited the eſteem and affections of his ſubjects. In times of happier tranquillity he would have reigned with glory, and with the confidence of his ſubjects; but he wanted that political ſagacity, which can adapt itſelf to critical circumſtances and events; and he was led too eaſily by counſels inferior to his own.

The death of Charles was not more deſtructive to his family than to the conſtitution. For ſeveral days, even before his condemnation, the commons were employed in preparing acts for aboliſhing monarchy, and erecting a republican government on its ruins; and on the very day of his execution they publiſhed the following proclamation:

“ Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being, for the notorious treaſons, tyrannies and murders, committed by him in the late unnatural and cruel wars, condemned to death; whereupon, after execution of the ſame, ſeveral pretences may be made, and claims ſet on foot to the kingly office, to the apparent hazard of the public peace; for prevention whereof be it enacted and ordained by this preſent parliament, and by the authority of the ſame, that no perſon or perſons whomſoever, do preſume to proclaim, declare, or publiſh, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, the ſon of the ſaid Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other perſon, to be king, or chief magiſtrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or either of them, by colour of inheritance, ſucceſſion, election, or any other claim whatſoever, without the free conſent of the people in parliament firſt had, or ſignified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpoſe; any ſtatute, law, uſuage, or cuſtom to the contrary hereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

“ And be it farther enacted and ordained, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, that whoſoever, contrary to this act ſhall proclaim, publiſh, or any way promote the ſaid Charles Stuart the ſon, or any other perſon, to be king, or chief magiſtrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or to either of them, without the ſaid conſent in parliament ſignified as aforeſaid, ſhall be deemed and adjudged a traitor to the commonwealth, and ſhall ſuffer the pains of death, and ſuch other puniſhments as belong to the crime of high-treaſon. And all officers, as well civil as military, and all other well-affected perſons, are hereby authorized and required to apprehend all ſuch offenders, and to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to the next juſtice of peace, that they may be proceeded againſt accordingly.”

An act was alſo paſſed “ for repealing ſeveral clauſes in the act of parliament of the 25th of Edward III. intitled, A declaration which offences ſhall be adjudged treaſon; and of one clauſe in the act of the firſt of Edward VI. intitled, Statutes concerning treaſons, &c. repealed; and of one clauſe in the act of the third of James, intitled, an act for diſcovering and repreſſing recuſants; and of part of an act made in the firſt year of queen Mary, intitled, A repeal for certain treaſons, felonies, and premunire; and for repealing the act of the eleventh year of Henry VII. intitled, None that ſhall attend upon the king, and do him true ſervice, ſhall be attainted or forfeit any thing; and of one clauſe in the act of the firſt year of Elizabeth, intitled, An act for reſtoring to the crown the ancient juriſdiction over the ſtate, eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual; and of ſix ſeveral clauſes in a ſtatute paſſed in the fifth year of Elizabeth, intitled, An act for the aſſurance of the queen's power over all eſtates; and of an act paſſed in the ſeventeenth year of king James, touching the taking the oath of obedience to the king.”

Another proclamation was alſo publiſhed, ordering, “ That all courts of law, juſtice, or equity, and in all writs, grants, patents, commiſſions, indictments, informations, ſuits, returns of writs, and in all fines, recoveries, exemplifications, recognizances, proceſſes, and proceedings at law, juſtice, or equity, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, inſtead of the name, ſtile, title, and teſt of the king heretofore uſed, the name, ſtile, and teſt of Cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ authoritate parliamenti, ſhall be uſed, and no other. And the date ſhall be the year of our Lord, and no other: And that all duties, profits, penalties, iſſues, fines, amerciaments, and forfeitures whatſoever, which heretofore were ſued for in the name of the king, ſhall from henceforth be proſecuted, ſued for and recovered in the name of Cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ authoritate parliamenti, and no other; and in all, or any of the proceedings aforeſaid, where the words were, juratores pro domino rege, it ſhall from henceforth be juratores pro republicâ; and where the words, in any of the proceedings aforeſaid uſed to be, contra pacem dignitatem, vel coronam noſtram, that from henceforth theſe words, contra pacem publicam, inſtead of them, or any of them, ſhall be uſed.”

When the peers met on the ſixth of February, purſuant to their adjournment, they entered upon buſineſs, and ſent down votes to the commons; but the latter deigned not to take the leaſt notice of them. A few days after, the lower houſe paſſed a vote “ that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the houſe of peers, nor any more received from them; that the upper houſe was uſeleſs and dangerous, and ſhould therefore be aboliſhed.” They formed a new great ſeal, on which that aſſembly was repreſented, with this legend, “ On the firſt year of freedom, by God's bleſſing, reſtored 1648. The king's ſtatue in the Exchange was thrown down, and theſe words engraved on the pedeſtal, “ Exit tyranus, Regum ultimus,” the tyrant, the laſt of kings, is gone.

Charles left ſix children; three ſons, Charles, born in 1630; James, duke of York, born in 1633; Henry, duke of Glouceſter, born in 1641: and three daughters, Mary, princeſs of Orange, born in 1631; Elizabeth, born in 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards dutcheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter in 1644. Elizabeth did not long ſurvive her father; his tragical end ſo deeply affected her, that ſhe died of grief.

A few days after the execution of Charles, a book was publiſhed, intituled, “ Icon Baſilikè,” ſaid to have been written by that prince. This work, ſo full of piety, meekneſs and humanity, publiſhed at ſo critical a juncture, excited, in a moſt remarkable manner, the compaſſion of the people for their murdered prince. The ſale of it was ſo rapid, that it paſſed through fifty editions in leſs than a year. Some have not even ſcrupled to aſcribe to that work the ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family. It operated, ſays Milton, like the will of Cæſar, when read by Mark Anthony to the tumultuous Romans. It was, doubtleſs, the beſt proſe compoſition in the Engliſh language, at the time of its publication.

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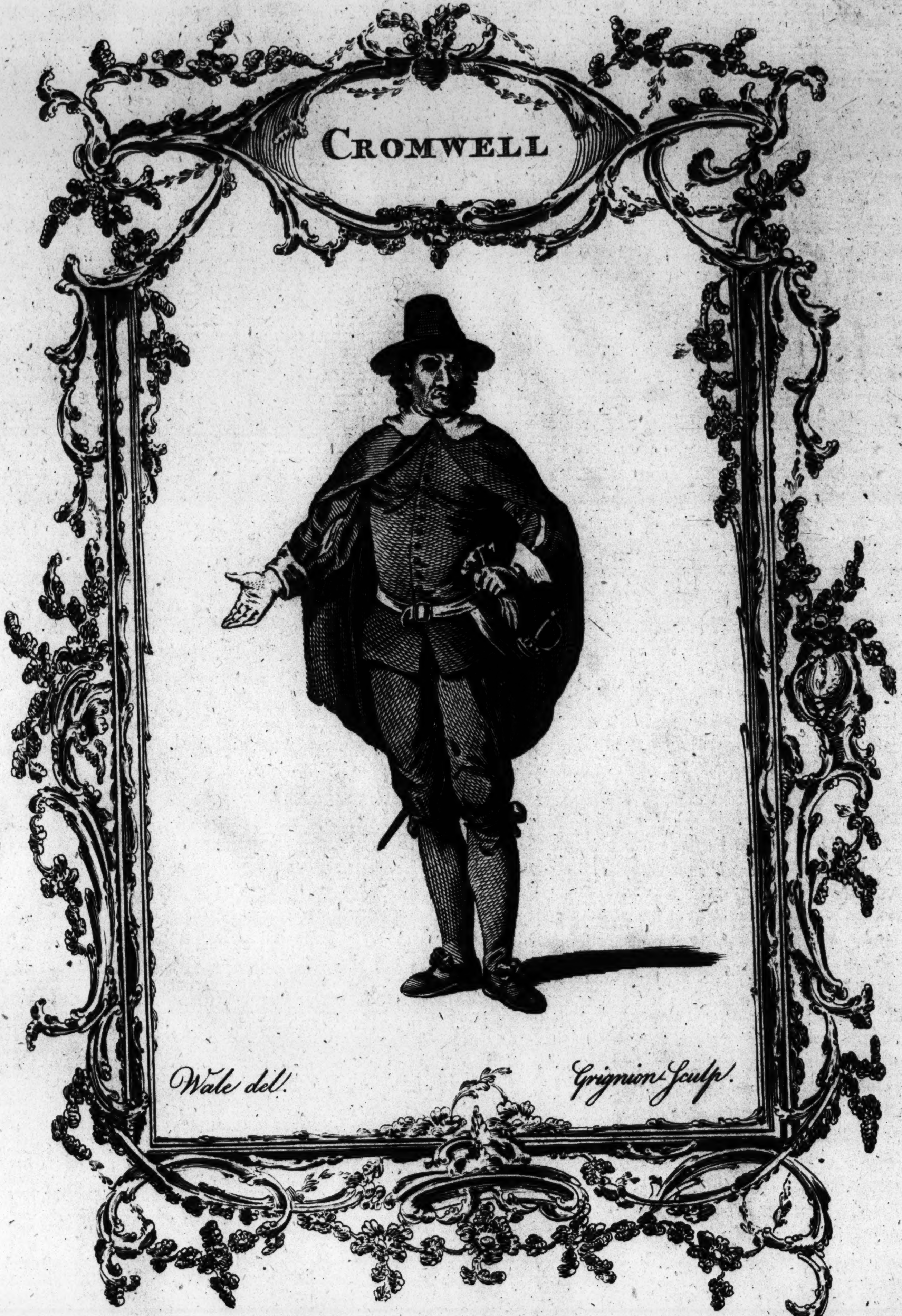
CROMWELL
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

Some have denied the compoſition to have been the king's: but the arguments brought to prove, that theſe elegant meditations really flowed from the royal pen, ſeem much the ſtronger; and it is now the general opinion, that they were actually written by the king.

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# The Republic, or, Commonwealth, of England.

A.D. 1649. THE monarchical government of England being thus deſtroyed, and the whole conſtitution overturned, it became neceſſary to eſtabliſh another in its room, and that of a republic, or commonwealth, was choſen. But the nation was ſo far from being unanimous, that it was divided into ſeveral parties, whoſe animoſity was the greater, as they were almoſt all of them under the influence of enthuſiaſm. Some were for having no form of human government, becauſe Chriſt, whoſe ſecond coming they ſaid was at hand, would be the ſole governor of the world. Others aſſerted, that there was neither moral nor natural law remaining; and that the elect, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, were above human obligations. The preſbyterians and royaliſts, though of oppoſite principles, were equally offended. Theſe factions, however, gave no uneaſineſs to Cromwell; he knew, that when the baſis of government is deſtroyed, the ſword alone muſt give law to the people. He was maſter of the army, and on that foundation he determined to build his future greatneſs.

During the continuance of theſe diviſions in the ſtate, the trials of the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Norwich and Holland, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, came on before the high court of juſtice, where they were all found guilty, and received ſentence of death. Hamilton and Capel made their eſcape, but were retaken: the former might have ſaved his life, but was honeſt enough to refuſe it, as it was only offered at the expence of his honour. Great intereſt was uſed to ſave them all. Capel had joined early in the oppoſition to the king; Hamilton had ſerved the parliament; and Holland had been, by turns, the friend and the ſlave of the faction: the other two had no merits to plead, either towards the party, or their perſons; yet the three former ſuffered, whilſt the two latter were ſaved. Hamilton died becauſe he refuſed to betray his friends; Holland, on account of his apoſtacy, in deſerting the cauſe he had long defended; and Cromwell honeſtly ſaid, that Capel had ſo many virtues, that his life was incompatible with the ſafety of the faction.

The ſettlement of the government now became a ſerious affair with the party; and after long debates and conſultations, it was reſolved that a council of ſtate ſhould be eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of thirty-eight members, who were to be intruſted with the following powers: to command and ſettle the militia of England and Ireland: to fit out ſuch a navy as they ſhould think proper: to appoint magazines and ſtores, and diſpoſe of them; and to ſit and execute the powers with which they were intruſted for one year.

Cromwell acted with great prudence in erecting this council of ſtate; becauſe their powers being limited with regard to time, it was impoſſible for them to make any ſucceſsful oppoſition to the ambitious ſchemes he had formed, and ſeveral of the members were his own friends and creatures. In the mean time, a kind of anarchy prevailed in the kingdom. The landmarks of the conſtitution being removed, no man knew upon what foundation his property ſtood; and moſt of the judges, together with many ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, refuſed to act under the new government. Cromwell was not diſpleaſed at their refuſal, becauſe it enforced the neceſſity of keeping up a numerous army, and of proceeding by martial inſtead of municipal law. Hewſon, one of the colonels, very properly obſerved, that the ſoldiers could hang twenty with leſs difficulty than the magiſtrates could hang one. This introduction of martial law rendered Cromwell abſolute in the government: he took poſſeſſion of the king's rooms of ſtate at Whitehall; he diſpoſed of civil property by his warrant; and he had his officers always at command, to preſent to the houſe ſuch forms and alterations, both in the civil and military departments in government; and whatever he pleaſed to preſcribe, were always approved of by the commons and the council of ſtate. He met, however, with a ſtrong oppoſition from lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, a very abuſive and turbulent man, and he was ſent immediately to priſon. The women aſſembled in troops, and demanded his enlargement. They were told to take care of their families, and leave the government of the ſtate to the men. The preſbyterians, the peers, and the ſecluded members, alſo joined in the oppoſition, and filled the kingdom with the boldeſt invectives againſt the new government; and ſome had even the boldneſs to diſperſe papers, proclaiming the prince of Wales to be king of England, under the title of Charles II. an appellation by which we muſt now diſtinguiſh him.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners had entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt the proceedings of the commons, with regard to the trial of the late king, and had now received orders to quit England, without taking leave of the faction. They accordingly wrote a ſpirited letter to the commons, who voted, that it was a ſcandalous and reproachful libel againſt the juſt proceedings of the parliament, intended to lay the foundations for a new and bloody war; and that all who ſupported them ſhould be conſidered as traitors and rebels to their country. But Cromwell, willing to avoid, if poſſible, a rupture with Scotland at that critical conjuncture, procured a vote in parliament on the twenty-eighth of February, that the commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to Scotland under a guard. The fate of that kingdom itſelf was now deplorable. Rent with factions, and diſtracted with fanatical enthuſiaſm, no meaſures founded on reaſon and the rules of policy could be taken. The body of the people abhorred the Engliſh faction, who had put their king to death, and were unanimous for proclaiming his ſon, and placing him on the throne of his anceſtors; but they differed with regard to the terms on which the ſovereignty ſhould be offered. The violent preſbyterians headed by Argyle, were for obliging him to obſerve every article of the covenant, and even previous to their ſending any invitation, to oblige him to ſign it, to ſubmit implicitly to their church cenſures, to renounce the ſins of his father's houſe, the iniquity of his mother, and to ſubmit to ſeveral other mortifications, that even a private gentleman would have refuſed. The covenanting royaliſts as well as the epiſcopalians, were for proclaiming the king without obliging him to ſign any conditions. The earls of Lauderdale and Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, were at this time with Charles at the Hague, where he kept up the appearance of a court, though his affairs were in a deſperate condition. The prince and princeſs of Orange wiſhed well to his intereſt, but the ſelfiſh maxims of the Dutch republic, rendered it impoſſible to ſerve him effectually. The higheſt expectations were formed of Charles, who was now about nineteen years of age. He had behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs towards his father and his family; he had, with a prudence far above his years, reconciled to his ſervice all the different members of his council; and had ſhewn great ſpirit on all occaſions, as well as a cloſe application to buſineſs. He had hitherto enjoyed very few opportunies of improving himſelf by reading, and the perſons intruſted with his education by his father, were but ill qualified to improve him by their converſation, and ſtill leſs by their inſtructions.

The ſtates-general had given frequent intimations that their affairs would not permit them to come to a rupture with the ruling powers of England, and Charles knew not where to retire for protection. During this diſagreeable ſuſpence, the gallant marquis of Montroſe appeared, with magnificent equipages, and a ſmall number of choſen friends, at the court of Charles. His ſentiments were very different from thoſe of the other counſellors. He thought all treaties with rebels to be diſhonourable; that the king ought to throw himſelf upon the friendſhip of his brother monarchs and the affections of his loyal ſubjects; undertaking himſelf, with very ſmall aſſiſtance, of ſeating him on the Scottiſh throne. The great actions Montroſe had already performed, his majeſtic deportment, and his unmerited ſufferings for the royal cauſe, inſpired all who approached him with impreſſions of awe, of love, and of pity. Though he was almoſt ſingle in his ſentiments, none ventured to oppoſe him; and his own countrymen regarded him as the guardian genius of injured majeſty.

Plainer declarations of their deſire that Charles ſhould leave the Hague being now made by the States-general, it was reſolved in council that the king ſhould retire into France. He was received with great politeneſs in all the towns of Flanders through which he paſſed, and with as much ſtate by the young king of France, as if he had been actually in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. But theſe civilities flowed entirely from a commiſeration of his miſfortunes, which was ſo ſtrong with the public that cardinal Mazarine, and the queen regent of France did not think fit to reſtrain it. No effectual aſſiſtance was, however, to be expected; an aſylum was all that could be brought to promiſe.

The affairs of Ireland ſeemed to diſplay a dawn of ſucceſs to the royal cauſe; the marquis of Ormond was at the head of a conſiderable party devoted to Charles; and though the Iriſh, at the inſtigation of the pope's nuncio, had again took up arms againſt the Engliſh, they were now ſincerely united with the royaliſts. Had Charles appeared at the head of his army, there is no doubt but the whole kingdom would have declared in his favour; but his preſence and the want of money, were great obſticles to the ſucceſs of Ormond. He, however, made himſelf maſter of Drogheda, with other conſiderable garriſoned towns, and laid ſiege to Dublin, where Jones, the general of the parliament's forces had been obliged to ſhut himſelf up.

The Engliſh government was now ſufficiently alarmed, and Cromwell, at his own requeſt, was appointed to command the troops intended to be ſent againſt the royaliſts in Ireland. Prince Rupert, ever ſince the fleet deſerted to the prince of Wales, had commanded a conſiderable ſquadron, and taken ſeveral rich prizes. Dunkirk and Oſtend alſo ſwarmed with privateers, that acted under commiſſions granted by Charles. The natural remedy for this evil was to fit out a ſuperior fleet; but it was not eaſy to determine who was to command it. The earl of Warwick, the ſucceſsful admiral of the parliament, though a violent preſbyterian, was not an independent, and he had lately been diſguſted with the government, on account of their putting his brother, the earl of Holland to death, notwithſtanding he had exerted all his intereſt to ſave him. After long debates and conſultations, it was determined to put the affairs of the admiralty into commiſſion, and the command of the fleet was given to Blake, Popham, and Dean. The navy was ſoon in ſo reſpectable a condition, that the Engliſh channel was cleared of thoſe privateers that had ſo greatly obſtructed the commerce of the kingdom, and prince Rupert himſelf was blocked up in the harbour of Kinſale, by a ſquadron under the command of Blake and Dean.

It ſeemed to be a paradox in politics for Cromwell to undertake to head the expedition againſt the Iriſh in perſon, before the affairs of government were ſettled upon ſome ſolid baſis. But his conduct was directed by wiſe maxims. He knew that power could only be maintained by the ſame meaſures by which it had been acquired. The dangerous ſpirit of levelling was far from being deſtroyed in the army; and this, with all other cautions, could only be cured by finding full employment for the ſoldiers. Cromwell promiſed himſelf great advanttges from the ſpirit and temper of his ſoldiers returning from foreign conqueſt, when they had loſt all tenderneſs for their mother-country, and regarded no will but that of their general. He was ſenſible that it was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce Ireland, as it lay very convenient for receiving aſſiſtance and ſupplies from the Roman catholic powers, particularly from Spain, whoſe friendſhip the parliament had as yet great reaſon to diſtruſt. Beſides theſe motives Cromwell flattered himſelf with extending the fame of his military atchievements, and of revenging himſelf on the marquis of Ormond, and other royaliſts in Ireland, who had accuſed him of being the ſole cauſe of the king's death.

But before Cromwell led his troops againſt the Iriſh, he was determined to deſtroy that ſpirit of levelling which was now ſo common in the army, and which, if not cruſhed in the bud, muſt undermine the baſis of his authority. The writings of Lilburn, and his aſſociates, who were all unanimous in their hatred of Cromwell, had greatly encouraged the ſpirit of levelling; and ſome examples of ſeverity made at London, blew the ſcattered ſparks into a flame. One Thompſon, a bold, intrepid trooper, headed the levellers, who appointed their rendezvous to be held at Banbury in Oxfordſhire. Some of the regiments that had been appointed to go to Ireland, mutinied about the ſame time, particularly thoſe commanded by Ireton, Scroop, and Reynolds. Thompſon ſoon found himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, and expected daily to be joined by ſo large a body of mutineers, as would enable him to ſet the government at defiance.

Cromwell artfully prevailed upon Fairfax to accompany him in the diſagreeable ſervice of reducing the levellers. They reached Banbury ſoon enough to prevent the mutineers from uniting into a body, and Fairfax directing his march to Burford, made four thouſand of them priſoners. This ſucceſs rendered the whole deſign of the levellers abortive, Thompſon himſelf being killed in the conflict.

The mutiny being quelled, the parliament paſſed an act declaring it treaſon in any one "to affirm that the preſent government is tyrannical, uſurped or unlawful, or that the commons in parliament are not the ſupreme authority; or to endeavour to alter the preſent government; or to affirm the ſame of the council of ſtate; to contrive the death of the general or lieutenant-general of the army; to raiſe a mutiny among the ſoldiers; to join with thoſe that invade England or Ireland; to level war againſt the parliament; to counterfeit the great ſeal; or to kill any member of parliament, judge, or miniſter of juſtice."

The houſe of commons now exerciſed all the powers of royalty both legiſlative and executive. The earl of Pembroke was mean enough to ſit in the houſe as a commoner, and to give Whitlock, keeper of the great ſeal, the ſame precedency as the chancellors enjoyed over noblemen in the times of monarchy. All foreign princes, though they deteſted the principles, dreaded the power of the new government. Even Chriſtiana, queen of Sweden, herſelf, who had loudly exclaimed againſt the faction, received with kindneſs colonel Potley, who was ſent by the parliament to reſide at her court. In a word, every thing ſmiled on the new eſtabliſhment. The royal arms were taken down from all public offices and courts of juſtice, the royal titles eraſed out of public writings; and it was declared by the parliament and council of ſtate, "That the people of England, and all the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, are, ſhall be, and are hereby conſtituted, made, and declared, a commonwealth, and free ſtate, and ſhall ſo be governed by the ſupreme authority, the repreſentatives of the people in parliament, and by ſuch as they ſhall conſtitute as officers for the good of the people, and that without any king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords." The new-coined money was alſo ſtruck with the arms and titles of the Commonwealth of England.

About the middle of May, the army under Cromwell was ready to embark for Ireland. The news of this expedition determined the king, who was now heartily tired of the court of France, to retire to Jerſey, the only ſpot he now inherited of all his large paternal dominions, and where he had already been proclaimed by the loyal governor, Sir George Carteret. This was, doubtleſs, placing his fortune on a very ſlender foundation; but it was the wiſeſt meaſure he could purſue in this critical conjuncture, when the courts of France and Spain, notwithſtanding all their pretended deteſtation of the rebels proceedings, only ſought to make the beſt advantage they could of their being poſſeſſed of his perſon. The king of Denmark, and a few of the German princes, were, indeed, ſincere in their endeavours to ſerve him; but they wanted money to fit out a fleet ſufficient to face that of the Engliſh.

The ſiege of Dublin was carried on with great vigour by the marquis of Ormond, and the garriſon was now reduced to great diſtreſs. Cromwell knew the importance of ſaving the capital, and ſent over immediately three thouſand of his beſt troops, who landed under the favour of a ſquadron commanded by Sir George Aſkew, juſt at a time when Jones was going to capitulate. This reinforcement, together with a large quantity of proviſions and ſtores landed at the ſame time, animated with new vigour the parliamentary garriſon. They made a furious ſally upon the royaliſts, drove them from their trenches, and obliged them to retreat over the river with great precipitation. Ormond now fortified his camp, and reſolved to wait the arrival of ſome reinforcements he every day expected.

But the fortune of Cromwell bore down all oppoſition. Being inveſted with the ſole command, both civil and military, in Ireland, the very magic of his name brought thouſands of ſoldiers to his ſtandard; ſo that in a few days after his coming to his camp, he found himſelf at the head of a large army of veterans, from whoſe courage and experience he promiſed himſelf a plentiful harveſt of glory. His military cheſt was well furniſhed with money, his ſoldiers with arms, and his camp with artillery, ſtores and proviſions; while the confidence of the ſoldiers in the abilities and intrepidity of their general, rendered them almoſt invincible.

Cromwell's ſituation was now very different from what it had been before. He was at the head of a great and independent army, and entering upon a boundleſs career of conqueſt; while Fairfax, who was above him in commiſſion, was little better than the cypher of a general. and hardly preſerved the reſpect due to his great rank and ſervices. Nor did the policy of Cromwell terminate here; he left the minds of the principal officers full of diſcontents againſt both the parliament and council of ſtate, with regard to their impracticable ſchemes of government, and wild notions relative to their own importance in the ſtate.

Having received his commiſſion for three years, while that of the council of ſtate was only for one, he thought himſelf in no danger of ſeeing any formidable combination formed againſt him between the civil and military powers, the only thing he had to dread. He therefore embarked his forces at Milford-haven; but, for want of a ſufficient number of tranſports, he was obliged to leave three regiments behind him. He landed at Dublin, after a ſhort paſſage, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, and immediately diſpatched a letter to England for a reinforcement. This was a caution very unuſual with Cromwell, and ſeems to prove that he entertained not the beſt opinion of the parliament.

Ormond had made Sir Arthur Aſton, who formerly commanded at Reading, governor of Drogheda, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Ireland, and garriſoned the place with the flower of his troops, hoping it would be able to hold out for a month at leaſt; during which he propoſed to march his army from the neighbourhood of Dublin, in order to recruit his forces. But before Ormond could aſſemble his different diviſions, Drogheda was inveſted with an army of twelve thouſand men. Cromwell knew that the royaliſts depended chiefly on the defence of this place, and therefore exerted all his power to take it. The garriſon made a very obſtinate defence, but the town was at laſt taken by ſtorm; and every one that appeared in arms put to the ſword. This ſucceſs was chiefly owing to the perſonal courage of Cromwell, who perceiving his men diſheartened by the gallant reſiſtance of the garriſon, and the death of colonel Caſtle, one of their beſt officers, repaired to the breach, and led his troops to the attack with ſo much fury, that the Iriſh were ſeized with a panic, and acted with a deſpondency that would have diſhonoured women; they made no farther reſiſtance, but tamely ſuffered themſelves to be put to death by the ſwords of the Engliſh, who conſidered it as impiety to ſuffer any of them to live. The whole war, indeed, was carried on with a cruelty which reflects eternal diſgrace on the victors: the Iriſh were treated with infernal barbarity; no quarter was given them, either by ſea or land; and they were generally excepted out of all capitulations and treaties.

The loſs of Drogheda ſo intimidated the royaliſts, that they abandoned Trym and Dundalk. Tenalis was taken by ſtorm; Wicklow ſubmitted; and Cromwell marched his army into Munſter, where he met with very little oppoſition. The dreadful execution at Drogheda ſtruck all his oppoſers with deſpair. Lord Inchiquin's officers and ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers; and the city of Cork was baſely ſurrendered by the governor, when Cromwell was in no condition to have undertaken the ſiege.

But notwithſtanding Cromwell's ſucceſs, a very ſtrong ferment was excited againſt his principles in the Engliſh parliament. Fortunately for him, the marquis of Ormond, by forming a kind of coalition with the Iriſh papiſts, and taking many of them into his ſervice, rendered the royal cauſe in Ireland unpopular, even among the Engliſh preſbyterians, and tended to increaſe the importance of Cromwell's ſucceſs. They, however, took advantage of his abſence, to paſs ſome votes in parliament for moderating the exceſſive ſeverities propoſed againſt the delinquents. The army remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt theſe proceedings, but in vain; even their threats were diſregarded.

The loyaliſts ſtill continued under the infatuation, that they ſhould yet be able to reſtore the king to his rights, and place him on the throne of his anceſtors. They were even weak enough to imagine, that the ſpirit of levelling, which ſtill continued in the army, might be uſeful to their cauſe; and accordingly diſperſed themſelves in different parts of the nation, joined the levellers, and ſpirited them up againſt the government. The effects of this prepoſterous conduct were ſome childiſh inſurrections, in which ſeveral of them periſhed for a cauſe they, in their hearts, deteſted.

Colonel Pride, who had been remarkably active in all the mad, fanatical actions of the times, now became

became the head of a party, who inſiſted, that to put any man to death for theft only, was abſolutely murder. This ridiculous opinion was carried to ſuch a height, that they preſented petitions to the council of ſtate againſt all executions of that kind; and ſuch regard was paid to their interceſſions, that the lord mayor and his independent brethren were empowered to change the ſentence of death into that of baniſhment, and many felons were accordingly ſent to the American colonies. Notwithſtanding theſe eccentric proceedings, the reins of government were, in the main, held with ſo ſteady a hand, that no convulſions ſhook the public tranquillity.

The Scots, from a retroſpective view of the diſtractions that had prevailed in England ſince the captivity of the king, were very deſirous of being again governed by a prince deſcended from their ancient kings. The demerits of the firſt Charles were almoſt forgotten, and his ſon had done nothing to induce them to believe he inherited his father's inflexibility with regard to religion. Even the marquis of Argyle, and his violent covenanters, were not averſe to monarchical government, provided their king embraced their tenets of religion. Argyle well knew that the reſtoration of Charles was incompatible with the engagements he had entered into with Cromwell, on whom he chiefly depended for protection againſt the ſeveral factions formed in his country: but he hoped, that if Charles was reſtored, he would be nothing better than the ſhadow of a king, a mere name without authority; or that ſome incident might happen to prevent his landing in Scotland, notwithſtanding the preſſing invitations he had received from the inhabitants of that kingdom. The ſpies maintained by Cromwell at the court of Charles, informed him thoroughly of the ſtate of parties formed among the king's friends; and that he wiſhed rather to be reſtored by Montroſe, and the epiſcopal royaliſts, than by either the preſbyterian or independent party.

Convinced that Ireland could now afford him no aſſiſtance, Charles turned his whole thoughts towards Scotland, as the only part of his dominions where he could hope to be protected. The terms offered by the rigid covenanters were, indeed, highly diſagreeable; but he thought proper to open a conference with Winram, who had been ſent from Scotland to Jerſey with the following propoſitions: 1. "That the king ſhould ſign the covenant, and paſs an act for giving liberty to all that pleaſed to ſign it, and for ratifying all that had been done in Scotland on that ſubject. 2. That he ſhould give the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts which had been ratified in the two laſt ſeſſions of the Scottiſh parliament; and that the kings of Scotland ſhould, for the future, have no negative voice in that aſſembly. 3. That he ſhould recall his commiſſions given to Montroſe, for raiſing forces to be ſent into Scotland, and put a final ſtop to his proceedings. 4. That he ſhould put away all papiſts from about his perſon, and let known proteſtants only have ſeats in his council. 5. That ſome place, either in or near Holland, ſhould be appointed to treat with commiſſioners from the ſtates of Scotland, who would be ſent thither, where every thing ſhould be provided neceſſary for him and his train to reſide in a legal manner. 6. That a ſpeedy anſwer ſhould be given to theſe deſires."

Theſe offers were the mildeſt ever ſent by the Scottiſh government: they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars with regard to the beſt friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable particulars with regard to the perſon of Charles himſelf. In matters of religion, the young king was the very reverſe of his father. He conſidered the different forms of worſhip and church-government among chriſtians, as ſo many different faſhions of the ſame cloak. He was, indeed, fondeſt of epiſcopacy, but merely becauſe he thought it better adapted to monarchy. His education had not greatly contributed to fix his principles with regard to any one ſect. During his infancy, he had been chiefly inſtructed by the perſons about the queen, who treated the church of England with more contempt than even preſbytery itſelf. They ridiculed, in private, the moſt celebrated divines of the Engliſh court; while the pomp of their own worſhip, and the irregularity of their lives, implanted prejudices in the mind of Charles which were never obliterated, though they ſeldom carried him farther than to prefer the form of worſhip practiſed in the Roman to that uſed in the Engliſh church. But though he was not ſtrongly prejudiced againſt any religion, yet every thing contributed to give him the greateſt averſion to the covenant. He, however, determined to receive the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and the city of Breda was appointed for that purpoſe.

A. D. 1650. During this interval, Montroſe haſtened his preparations for landing in Scotland, and determined to exert all his power to place the king on the throne of his anceſtors, without his ſigning any conditions. He had been encouraged by great promiſes of aſſiſtance from the courts of Denmark and Sweden, where many excellent Scotch officers, well affected to the king, had ſerved with great reputation; but his impatience and loyalty would not ſuffer him to remain any longer inactive; and he landed, in the beginning of April, in the northern parts of Scotland, accompanied by a ſmall number of German ſoldiers. He had flattered himſelf with being joined by many of his countrymen, but he was diſappointed; no forces appeared to join his ſtandard, and he was ſoon after ſurpriſed and taken priſoner by his countrymen. The fanatical Scots looked upon this great man only in the light of an impious, excommunicated perſon, who was a rebel to the covenant. He ſuffered the moſt horrid indignities, and was condemned to be hanged. The ſentence ran, that his head ſhould be nailed to the door of the priſon, his legs and arms fixed up in the four principal towns of the kingdom, and his body interred with malefactors, unleſs his repentance induced the Scottiſh divines to take off the excommunication. "I am more proud," ſaid he, to the preſbyterian miniſters, "to have my head nailed to the place mentioned in the ſentence, than I ſhould be to have my picture hung up in the king's chamber. Far from being diſturbed at having my legs and my arms ſent to the four principal towns in the kingdom, I wiſh I had limbs enough to diſperſe through all the towns in Chriſtendom, in teſtimony of the cauſe for which I am condemned." In the evening, he put theſe ſentiments into verſe; and died as he had lived, like a hero. He was in the flower of his age when the jaws of fanaticiſm ſnatched him from his king and his country.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the conferences were opened at Breda. Charles diſputed every propoſition offered by the Scottiſh commiſſioners, till he was informed of the defeat and death of Montroſe, when he no longer made any oppoſition, but agreed at once to all their demands. The treaty being thus concluded, Charles embarked on board a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and purſued his voyage towards Scotland. Before they reached their intended port, the Scottiſh commiſſioners produced freſh articles, by which they inſiſted on ſtill greater ſacrifices than any Charles had hitherto made. This gave Charles ſo much uneaſineſs, that he threatened to land in Denmark, rather than make ſuch degrading ſubmiſſions. His wiſeſt counſellors were, however, of a different opinion; and Charles, fearing he might be intercepted by ſome of the parliament's ſhips, purſued his courſe, and landed ſafely in an obſcure part of Scotland.

The king was immediately given to underſtand that he muſt expect no aſſiſtance in that kingdom unleſs he ſigned the covenant, and diſmiſſed from his preſence all perſons who were obnoxious to their parliament. Charles was obliged to comply. The Scotch covenanting royaliſts retired from the ſtorm.

Some of the Engliſh fled back to the continent; and others were lodged in houſes of the king's friends, but at a diſtance from his perſon. Buckingham alone, for whom the king entertained the ſincereſt friendſhip, was ſuffered to be with him. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the people in general ſhewed a ſurprizing alacrity for his ſervice; they flocked to his ſtandards in every part of the kingdom. Argyle was careful that Charles ſhould want nothing of the reſpect or attendance that had been paid to his anceſtors, and endeavoured to give him juſt notions of his own intereſt; but, at the ſame time, ſuffered him to exerciſe no perſonal acts of power, or to have any voice in the management of public affairs.

This exterior appearance of royal honours had, however, a ſurprizing effect on the courts of Europe, as well as on the minds of all his friends both at home and abroad. Every corner of England was filled with reproaches againſt the parliament, and in ſome places inſurrections actually happened which were not ſuppreſſed without difficulty. Charles, before he left Holland, had ſigned many commiſſions for agents and officers to act for him in England, and theſe were ſo active, and their endeavours ſo imprudently bold, that the council of ſtate thought no time ſhould be loſt in recalling the general from Ireland. Cromwell had by this time ſo fully eſtabliſhed his reputation, that he very readily accepted the invitation, and having made Ireton his deputy, he returned to England. He was received by the parliament with all the honours due to his eminent ſervices, and as no time was to be loſt, the affairs of Scotland were immediately taken into conſideration. The preſbyterian party had made ſeveral attempts to open a correſpondence with their brethren in Scotland; but their meſſengers had always been intercepted by the troops quartered on the borders.

Cromwell was deſirous of heading the troops intended againſt Scotland; but Fairfax, who had ſtill great intereſt both in the army and parliament, was an obſtacle that was not eaſily removed. Cromwell was unwilling to truſt either his principles or ambition in the Scottiſh war; and he accordingly procured a vote in parliament that both himſelf and Fairfax ſhould command againſt the Scots; and that Fairfax ſhould receive a new commiſſion from the houſe for that purpoſe. In the mean time the council of ſtate received orders to prepare every thing neceſſary for the immediate march of the army. Fairfax, however, thought proper to refuſe the offer, and to reſign his commiſſion. This was, in reality, what Cromwell wanted; he had now no ſuperior in the army, and he feared no oppoſition in parliament. He, however, thought proper to publiſh a declaration in order to remove the ſcruples of the preſbyterians, who loudly exclaimed againſt the intended invaſion of Scotland. This paper declared, that though it was intended to carry the Engliſh arms into Scotland, a defenſive war only was deſigned; and that this method was taken merely to prevent an invaſion of England.

Cromwell left London on the twenty-ninth of June, and directed his march towards the borders of Scotland. He conſidered fighting and beating the Scots as nearly the ſame thing, and thought the whole difficulty conſiſted in bringing on a general engagement. But though he looked with contempt upon the forces of Scotland, he knew that it was abſolutely neceſſary to drive Charles out of that kingdom; becauſe while he reſided there in a royal capacity, his party in England continued to encreaſe, many of them having already joined him in Scotland, and others were preparing to raiſe an inſurrection in England as ſoon as his army ſhould paſs the borders.

Argyle, in the mean time continued to be extremely jealous of the royal party, who were for reſtoring the king upon his own terms. This he knew was inconſiſtent with his own ſafety, and the civil and religious liberties of his country. He endeavoured to give Charles right notions both with regard to government and his own intereſt; but the heart of the young king was already debauched, and his prejudices againſt the covenanters, had taught him to conſider them only as a company of mad enthuſiaſts. The king was indeed charmed with the politeneſs of Argyle's behaviour, his elegant manners, and inſtructive converſation; but he could not digeſt his confinement; nor did Argyle think it prudent to truſt him with the management of himſelf. But the mortifications he met with from Argyle were nothing when compared to thoſe he was obliged to ſuffer from the zealots. The general aſſembly, and afterwards the committee of eſtates together with the army, who were entirely governed by the aſſembly, publiſhed a declaration, in which they proteſted, “ That they did not eſpouſe “ any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely “ on their former grounds or principles; that they “ diſclaimed all the ſins and guilt of the king and his “ houſe; nor would they own him or his intereſt, “ otherwiſe than with a ſubordination to God, and “ ſo far as he owned and proſecuted the cauſe of “ God, and acknowledged the ſins of his houſe, and “ of his former ways.”

This declaration wanted no comment. The king knew he was entirely at their mercy, and muſt ſubmit to every thing they propoſed. He iſſued a declaration in the very terms they required; he gave thanks for the merciful diſpenſations of providence, by which he was recovered from the ſnare of evil councils, had attained a full perſuaſion of the righteouſneſs of the covenant, and was induced to caſt both himſelf and his intereſt wholly upon God. He deſired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe of his father's following evil councils, oppoſing the covenant, and the work of reformation, and ſhedding the blood of God's people in every part of his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's houſe: a matter of great offence, he ſaid, to all the proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the fathers upon the children. He profeſſed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm and profaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance, any of them in any part of his dominions. He declared that he would neither love nor favour any who have ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference to the goſpel and kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. And he expreſſed his hope, that whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe, yet having now obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowledge his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, the divine providence would crown his arms with victory.”

Having obtained this victory over the king, and placed the crown in ſubordination to the altar, the Scottiſh clergy pointed their ſpiritual inſtruments againſt the invaders of their country. They repreſented Cromwell as an incarnate devil, and his ſoldiers as ſo many monſters of blood and cruelty, who were ordered to put all the Scots to the ſword without any regard to age, condition, or ſex. This had the deſired effect. The ſouthern parts of Scotland were in an inſtant depopulated, the inhabitants flying to the northward for ſhelter and protection. Cromwell was aſtoniſhed when he paſſed the borders to find he was going to enter a deſolate wilderneſs, where it would be impoſſible to procure proviſions for his army. He was, indeed, attended by a fleet, but ſupplies from them were difficult and precarious. The only method that ſeemed to offer ſucceſs was to publiſh a declaration, that he was not come to deſolate the country, but to ſupport them in their civil and religious rights and privileges. He alſo was very careful to treat all the Scots that fell into his hands with unuſual kindneſs. But all his attempts to gain the favour of the inhabitants were in vain: they fled from him, as from a peſtilence, and he advanced towards Dunbar under infinite difficulties. For by this time a conſiderable party of Scots, had put themſelves between his fleet and army, ſo that he ſaw himſelf in danger of periſhing by famine.

The Engliſh army conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand men; and that of the Scots, which was commanded by general Leſley, of about twenty thouſand, beſides a vaſt multitude of irregulars. But Cromwell's were the beſt troops in the world, while the Scottiſh army was compoſed of men differing in their principles, aukward in their exerciſes, their arms neither well formed for offence or defence, yet full of preſumption, partly from an idea of their own valour, but chiefly from the enthuſiaſtic aſſurances of their preachers.

The Scots were poſſeſſed of Edingburgh caſtle, and their army poſted ſo advantageouſly near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell ſaw this and was fearful for the event; he perceived only but a diſmal proſpect of famine; for the ſtormy weather prevented him from receiving any proviſions from his ſhips. He ſtill endeavoured by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into hands, and by doing juſtice to his own ſoldiers, who were fond of plundering the country, to make a party among the enemy; but without ſucceſs; and their preachers began already to triumph from the pulpits, that the Engliſh army was on the point of being deſtroyed.

Finding all his attempts abortive Cromwell advanced towards the Scottiſh camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to provoke Leſley to a battle; but the Scotchman well knew, that though his army was much ſuperior in numbers, his forces were far inferior to the Engliſh in diſcipline and experience; and therefore carefully kept himſelf within the intrenchments of his camp. He, however, endeavoured to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers by ſmall ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, and was generally ſucceſsful. His army increaſed daily both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp, and having exerted himſelf in one of theſe rencounters, gained extremely on the affections of the ſoldiery, who were far more deſirous of ſerving under a young prince of ſpirit, than a committee of preaching gownſmen. This produced a fatal effect, they cauſed the king to leave the camp; and at the ſame time purged the army of near four thouſand malignants, whoſe zeal for the royal cauſe had led them to attend their prince, and were all of them ſoldiers of credit and experience. They ſaid they had no need of the aſſiſtance of the ungodly, their army being entirely compoſed of ſaints, who could not be conquered by the arm of fleſh.

Cromwell deſpairing of being able to bring the cautious Leſley to a battle, retired to Dunbar. Leſley followed him, and encamped on the heights of of Lammermure, which overlook that town. The Engliſh general hoped he ſhould now be able to accompliſh his purpoſe of forcing the Scots to leave the heights; but he ſoon perceived, that this was impoſſible, and that Leſley had taken poſſeſſion of all the difficult paſſes between Dunbar and Berwick. Theſe diſcoveries almoſt drove Cromwell to deſpair. His army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and he was on the point of forming a reſolution of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of breaking through with his horſe, the different poſts poſſeſſed by the enemy in his route to Berwick. The madneſs of the Scottiſh miniſters prevented him from putting this reſolution into practice; and of loſing at once all the honours he had acquired in ſo many glorious campaigns.

The enthuſiaſtical miniſters in Scotland had been, according to their expreſſion, wreſtling day and night with the Lord in prayer, and now fancied they had obtained the victory. Revelations, they ſaid, had been made them from heaven, that the ſectarian and heretical army, together with Agag their leader, would be delivered into their hands. The ſoldiers catched the flame of enthuſiaſm, and forced their general, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, and gather the laurels of victory promiſed their miniſters by the voice of heaven. Cromwell could hardly believe his eyes when he firſt perceived the Scottiſh camp in motion, and ventured to foretel, without any revelation from above, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hand.

The engagement began in the morning of the third of September, and ſoon became general, but the diſpute was unequal. The Scots, though more than double the number of the Engliſh, were ſo far from ſtanding the ſhock of Cromwell's veterans, that they ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces, almoſt without reſiſtance. One regiment of Highlanders only made a proper reſiſtance: they were very little affected with the enthuſiaſm of their brethren, and did not rely on the miraculous interpoſition of heaven for aſſiſtance. They exerted their whole power, and for ſome time ſtopped the career of the Engliſh. But being abandoned by their friends, they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force, and leave the field of battle to the enemy.

Cromwell's victory was complete; upwards of four thouſand Scots were ſlain on the field of battle, and ten thouſand taken priſoners; together with all their colours, arms, ammunition, tents and baggage. The Engliſh general purſued his advantage, and took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith; while the remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Stirling. The approach of winter, and an intermitting fever, with which he was ſeized, prevented Cromwell from advancing farther into the kingdom.

He now boldly attacked the Scottiſh divines with their own weapons, and publiſhed ſeveral letters in which he openly defended the independent principles; and aſked them, with an air of triumph, whether the Lord had not declared againſt them? They replied, that the Lord had only hid his face for a time from Jacob; but would ſoon ariſe to vindicate the cauſe of his people. Cromwell retorted their arguments with great force, and was certainly more than a match for them in the argument. "You ſay," ſaid this artful leader, "you have not ſo learned Chriſt, as to hang the equity of your cauſe upon events. We could wiſh that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to all thoſe marvellous diſpenſations which God hath lately wrought in England. But did not you ſolemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, inſtead of lightly calling it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited upon God, to ſee which way he would manifeſt himſelf upon our appeals? And ſhall we, after all our prayers, faſtings, tears, expectations, and ſolemn appeals, call theſe mere events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, becauſe it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us.

"I beſeech you in the bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we ſhall help you by our prayers, that ye may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Chriſt yearn towards the godly in Scotland."

Such were the triumphal expreſſions of this archhypocrite, over a fallen fanatical enemy. But the Scottiſh miniſters ſupported their own tenets with the ſtrongeſt perſeverance. They imputed the late defeat to the manifold provocations of the king's houſe, of which they feared he had not thoroughly repented; to the ſecret intruſion of malignants into the king's family; and to the leaving a moſt malignant and profane guard of horſe, who being ſent for to be purged, arrived only two days before the defeat, and were ſuffered to fight among the godly. To ſuch wretched evaſions were theſe miniſters reduced to ward off the blow of ridicule for their late promiſes of victory.

While Charles was at the head of an army in Scotland,

land, his ſervants and ambaſſadors abroad were treated with reſpect; and all the language of foreign courts, eſpecially that of France and Spain, expreſſed their deteſtation of the Engliſh rebels and regicides. But in reality, theſe two courts neither wiſhed nor endeavoured his reſtoration. The grand duke of Muſcovy, at once more barbarous and more generous, received Colepepper as an agent from Charles, and ſupplied him with a large ſum of money. The duke of Lorrain, though he had not a foot of land he could call his own, ſupplied Charles and his family with conſiderable ſums. The prince of Orange continued to be his faithful and uſeful friend, and a few of the German princes threw their mites into his treaſury. The king of Denmark aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, but his kingdom was poor, and being inſulted by the Swedes, he was obliged to live in a precarious dependence on the Dutch. Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, who cheriſhed the moſt extraordinary paſſion for every thing that was extraordinary either in war or literature, was now ſo charmed with the exploits of Cromwell, that ſhe entertained a kind of Platonic paſſion for his perſon, and recommended it to her council, and to the prince ſhe intended for her ſucceſſor, to avail themſelves of the friendſhip of England.

A. D. 1651. Blake, Deane, and Popham, ſtill continued to command the Engliſh fleet, which was now increaſed to more than double its former number; but the parliament was very uneaſy that prince Rupert and his ſquadron had found a kind reception in the harbours of Portugal. The truth is, the Portugueſe had at this time ſeveral very rich ſhips coming from the Brazils, which they were afraid might be intercepted by the fleets of the Engliſh parliament. The ſhips under the command of prince Rupert therefore promiſed to be of ſignal ſervice to the Portugueſe, and he had actually been invited thither before he left Ireland. In his paſſage, he loſt two or three of his beſt ſhips in a ſtorm; but he took a great many rich prizes, which he ſold, and generouſly remitted the money to Charles. Vane, who reſided at the court of Portugal, as agent from the Engliſh parliament, made vigorous remonſtrances on this ſubject; but they were not much regarded, and, at laſt, the court of Portugal declared itſelf a friend to Charles. Upon this the parliament ordered Blake to ſail immediately, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Portugal, and demand that the fleet of prince Rupert ſhould be given up, as they were nothing better than rebels and pirates, and conſequently entitled neither to protection nor neutrality. If this was denied, Blake had inſtructions to deſtroy them wherever he could find them. On his arrival at the mouth of the river of Liſbon, he demanded the fleet of prince Rupert; but the court of Portugal was ſo far from complying, that the king declared he would ſuffer no more Engliſh ſhips to enter his ports or harbours, and Blake found himſelf in no condition to force his entrance. He was ſoon after joined by Popham; and the Portugueſe finding themſelves unable to ſupport the prince any longer, orders were ſent to him for quitting the Tagus, and he was fortunate enough to make his eſcape. Blake revenged this diſappointment on the king of Portugal, by taking twenty ſhips of his Brazil fleet; and it was not without great difficulty, and making many ſubmiſſions, that he obtained a peace with the Engliſh republic.

The dreadful defeat at Dunbar, and the ridicule thrown on the Scottiſh miniſters by Cromwell, was far from curing them of their fanatical madneſs. They had been very open in declaring, that they had taken up arms in defence of the covenant, not for the crown, and were therefore equally hated by the royaliſts and independents. Thoſe jarring diſpoſitions had fatal effects on the royal ſervice. It was now ſufficiently evident, that the covenanters neither could nor would reſtore the king; and the beſt officers he had to depend upon were royaliſts, who diſdaining the meanneſs and ſelf-ſufficiency of the Scotch preſbyterians, refuſed to ſubmit to their diſcipline. The marquis of Argyle, would he have truſted the royaliſts, might have retrieved the late defeat; but the longer he converſed with Charles, the more reaſon he ſaw to diſtruſt him, and to keep a very watchful eye over his conduct. Charles had in his converſation ſomething bewitchingly ſoft: he talked to the Scots in their own language: his addreſs was eaſy and inſinuating; his perſon beautiful, and his underſtanding far ſuperior to what Argyle expected. But the marquis was convinced that he both deſpiſed and hated the covenanters; that all he did was from convenience or neceſſity; that he was tinctured with arbitrary principles; and that the misfortunes of his family had only taught him the art of diſſimulation, in order to re-eſtabliſh his power. Argyle could not avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of either the epiſcopal or preſbyterian royaliſts: his bloody proceedings againſt Montroſe and his friends, who acted under the king's commiſſion, had ſtruck all mankind with horror. He ſaw the conſequences of his conduct, and trembled for the event, whenever the king was intruſted with the powers of royalty. He therefore treated Charles with more condeſcenſion, and removed ſeveral particulars which had rendered him very uneaſy.

Charles was not ignorant of the cauſes that produced this relaxation, and began to exert ſome power with regard to his own affairs. His principal reſource lay in the affections of his friends: for when the revenues of the kingdom of Scotland were ſtated, they amounted to no more than ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten pounds, eighteen ſhillings and eight-pence ſterling, to defray all the charges of his court and government. This poverty was owing to the rapaciouſneſs of the Scots themſelves, who, ever ſince the acceſſion of the Stuart family to the crown of England, had been in a manner quartered on the royal revenues, and had raiſed both fortunes and families from what they had extorted from the crown. But this was no time for reſumption; and Charles, at preſent, enjoyed a decent ſtate, and had about him the proper officers of the Scottiſh court. Charles now ventured to propoſe, at the council-board, proper perſons for commiſſions in his army; and ſeveral of the counſellors, knowing the king's inclinations, reſumed courage ſufficient to ſecond him, even without applying to Argyle for leave. At laſt the royaliſts joining with the more moderate preſbyterians, Leſley was charged, in direct terms, with treachery at the battle of Dunbar, and required by the royal council aſſembled at Perth to deliver in to the board a circumſtantial account of his behaviour that day.

This coalition between the proteſtants and moderate preſbyterians rendered the conqueſt of Scotland a work of more difficulty than Cromwell before imagined, conſidering the complete victory he had obtained at Dunbar. The caſtle of Edinburgh ſtill held out. Charles was in poſſeſſion of the paſs at Stirling, and behind him lay the moſt populous and beſt affected counties in Scotland; while the country where Cromwell lay had been eaten up, and the inhabitants looked upon his men as infernal dæmons. The king's levies were going on with great ſucceſs, and there was no doubt but he would ſoon be at the head of a much ſtronger army than that which had been defeated at Dunbar. Theſe circumſtances, and the increaſing averſion of the country towards his army, gave Cromwell infinite uneaſineſs. He endeavoured to reconcile the people to his perſon, by treating them with uncommon humanity in his marches. He ſent a meſſenger to the governor of Edinburgh caſtle, inviting the preachers to take again poſſeſſion of their pulpits, provided they meddled not with the civil affairs of the kingdom in their ſermons. This invitation was rejected with diſdain; and they treated his offers with the moſt contumelious language.

In the mean time, the independent faction at Weſtminſter were extremely careful to make every ſucceſs, either of their arms or councils, a kind of teſt for diſcovering their enemies. They ordered a thankſgiving to be obſerved for the advantages gained over the Scots at Dunbar. Many of the preſbyterians refuſed to obſerve it, and were perſecuted on that account with great ſeverity; but they were unfortunate in their proſecutions; hardly a jury could be found that would bring in their verdict, guilty. Another high court of juſtice was therefore eſtabliſhed for the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and the Iſle of Ely. Orders were alſo iſſued, by Cromwell's direction, for raiſing new bodies of horſe and foot in every part of the kingdom; the pay of the officers and ſoldiers, both by ſea and land, was augmented; and the greateſt induſtry and punctuality obſerved in procuring ſupplies, both for the fleet and army.

As theſe augmentations rendered it neceſſary for the parliament to increaſe the revenues of the kingdom, the contributions on the public were raiſed to one hundred thouſand pounds a month. They encouraged the importation of bullion; they impoſed a teſt, called An Engagement, upon all the people who lived under their government; by which they were obliged to ſwear fidelity to the commonwealth, as conſtituted without a king or houſe of lords. They alſo paſſed ſeveral other acts, all of them tending to encourage their friends, and terrify their enemies. The truth is, the preſbyterians had loſt the majority in the houſe. There were, however, ſtill ſeveral men of too great abilities to pay any attention to the mere forms of religion: theſe were republicans; and though they hated Cromwell, they joined the independents, becauſe they thought their principles better adapted to the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth.

But notwithſtanding theſe acquiſitions gained by the parliament, Cromwell was ſtill in a very indifferent ſtate in Scotland. He was unable to attack Charles, whoſe army lay beyond the Forth, and who ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of Stirling. Cromwell's men began to be ſickly, he himſelf was in a very indifferent ſtate of health, the country round him was a deſart, and he had no opportunity of performing any remarkable action, that might revive the drooping courage of his ſoldiers. Charles and the royaliſts had now attained a great aſcendency in Scotland, and he had been crowned at Scone, with as much magnificence as the temper of the times and the impoveriſhed ſtate of the revenues would admit. The marquis of Argyle ſtill ſhewed great reſpect to his perſon, and had aſſiſted at his coronation, where the king was obliged again to take the covenant, and to liſten to many long ſpeeches and prayers from the pulpit. The duke of Hamilton was, however, now admitted to court; and both the parliament and general aſſembly declared, that in a time of ſuch imminent danger, there ſhould be no exception of perſons. This gave encouragement to the royaliſts, who now flocked from all quarters to the Engliſh ſtandard. The duke of Hamilton commanded under Charles, Leſley was lieutenant-general, Middleton major-general of the horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh.

The royal army ſtill increaſing, Cromwell ordered colonel Overton to croſs the Forth, at the head of ſixteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe: theſe were followed by major-general Lambert, and colonel Okey, with another body of fifteen hundred foot, and eight hundred horſe; while he himſelf marched towards Stirling, in order either to bring the Scots to a battle, or force them to divide their army. But when he came in ſight of the Scottiſh camp, he found it too ſtrong to be attacked, and their officers too cautious to be drawn from their poſt.

While both the main armies lay thus in ſight of each other, an engagement happened in Fiſe between the forces that had paſſed the Forth under Lambert, and a ſtrong detachment of the royaliſts, greatly to the diſadvantage of the latter, five of their regiments of foot, and the ſame number of horſe, being cut to pieces, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners. Cromwell had foreſeen great advantages from Lambert's paſſing the Forth: it was, indeed, one of the moſt maſterly actions he ever performed; for he had imperceptibly ſtrengthened Lambert's party to ſeven thouſand men, by which he not only ſecured all the paſſes on the Forth, but put himſelf between the king and the northern provinces, on which the royaliſts chiefly depended.

Charles had now no choice, but that of fighting Cromwell, or marching into England. The army of the parliament had been weakened greatly by detachments; but the mouths of the violent covenanting preachers, ſince the defeat at Fiſe, were opened againſt Charles and all his adherents, whom they accuſed of being the authors of that dreadful misfortune. Charles therefore thought proper to march into England, where he hoped to be ſtrongly ſupported by the friends to monarchy, who were ſtill very numerous.

The march of the royal army left Cromwell, as it were, maſter of Scotland, and accordingly his conqueſts in that kingdom were rapid and important. He made himſelf maſter of Perth, with all the adjacent country, and detached Lambert to hang on the rear of the king's army. But he thought the march of the royaliſts into England of too much importance to truſt the management of the war to any but himſelf; and accordingly, leaving general Monk to command in Scotland, he began his march in purſuit of the king, at the head of the main body of his army.

The beſt officers about Charles entertained very melancholy preſages of the conſequences that would probably attend this march; and, from an excellent letter wrote by the duke of Hamilton to his niece, it appears to have been conſidered as a deſperate ſtep, and that the royaliſts daily deſerted from the army. But the preſbyterian party at Weſtminſter either conſidered, or affected to conſider, this matter in a very different light. The conduct of Cromwell was blamed; he was accuſed of forcing an enemy into the bowels of England, and of having trifled away his advantages in Scotland, till it was too late to retrieve them. Cromwell paid little regard to theſe calumnies; he left his actions to ſpeak for themſelves. His abſence, however, gave ſome advantage to his enemies; and they made great intereſt to ſave Love, a preſbyterian preacher, who had for ſome time continued under ſentence of death for being engaged in the ſervice of the king. But Cromwell, who well knew that one inſtance of ſeverity would have more effect upon the preſbyterians than twenty of lenity, refuſed their requeſt, and Love was accordingly executed. This ſeverity increaſed the hatred of the preſbyterians againſt Cromwell, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made againſt him in parliament, for ſuffering the royal army to enter England. Ignorant of the effect theſe prepoſſeſſions might have on the parliament, Cromwell, in his letters, very freely owned, that he had ſuffered the king to march into England, from a perſuaſion, that if the parliament did their parts in defending the moſt tenable paſſes, his whole army muſt be ruined; whereas a winter campaign in Scotland might have ruined that of the parliament.

The king, who expected great reinforcements on his entering England, found himſelf greatly diſappointed. Terrified at ſo dangerous an enterprize, the Scots loſt their uſual courage, and deſerted in great numbers; while the Engliſh preſbyterians, having received no intelligence of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. This meaſure was full as unexpected to the royaliſts; nor were they very deſirous of joining the royal ſtandard, as the Scottiſh miniſters, even in this deſperate extremity, had iſſued orders not to admit any who refuſed to take the covenant. The earl of Derby had exerted all his intereſt to raiſe troops for the king's ſervice; but before he was in a condition to march, his recruits were diſperſed by a party of the parliamentary forces; ſo that when Charles reached Worceſter, he found his army was not more numerous than when he began his march for England.

Cromwell followed the king with the utmoſt expedition; and being joined by the militia of the different counties through which he paſſed, he inveſted Worceſter with an army of forty thouſand men. On the third of September, he attacked the royaliſts, and the engagement ſoon became general, and very bloody. Charles led on his men in perſon, with an intrepidity which amazed even Cromwell himſelf; while the Scottiſh infantry behaved ſo gallantly, that they obliterated the mean opinion that uſurper had always entertained of their courage. By this time Cromwell had brought up ſome field-pieces, to make good the paſſes he had gained; but theſe were attacked with ſo much impetuoſity by the duke of Hamilton's regiment, that the artillery was, for ſome time, in the power of the royaliſts. Charles endeavoured to improve this advantage, and charged, at the head of ſome of his battalions, with ſo much ſpirit, that Cromwell was obliged to bring up his veterans, whom he had hitherto ſpared. The diſpute was now no longer equal; for Leſley, the Scottiſh general, remained in the city with his horſe, as if they had been unconcerned ſpectators of the engagement. The parliamentary army now made a general attack on all the poſts of the royaliſts, and were every where ſucceſsful. The brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded. General Maſſey was alſo wounded, and taken priſoner. Charles, however, ſtill made a noble defence: he had two horſes killed under him, but he was always foremoſt in every poſt of danger. Had Leſley done his duty, Cromwell muſt have purchaſed his victory very dear; but he continued totally inactive, notwithſtanding the dreadful carnage of his countrymen. The king made another effort to lead his broken troops to the charge; but neither his actions, his words, nor his preſence, could prevail. The tide of victory became irreſiſtible; and Cromwell entered Worceſter ſword in hand; nor could Charles prevail on the Scottiſh cavalry, who were ſtill unbroken, to make one attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day. The king muſt now have fallen into the enemy's hand, had not the brave colonel Drummond, and a few battalions of foot, ſtopped the victors at Sudbury-gate, while Charles made his eſcape through the gate of St. Martin's in the duſk of the evening. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Shrewſbury, Cleveland and Derby, and about ſixty horſe. This defeat was fatal to the Scottiſh army, the greater number being either killed or taken priſoners; and many of the parties that eſcaped were put to death by the country people.

Diſtreſs is a powerful advocate for fallen majeſty; and the loſs which Charles ſuſtained by this total defeat was amply compenſated by the pity, the love, the eſteem, and the tenderneſs which now touched the hearts of the people. The Engliſh ſeemed to be aſhamed of their own triumphs; and ſome who had been remarkably forward in oppoſing his progreſs, were now the firſt in commiſerating his misfortunes. His unmerited ſufferings, his courage, his conſtancy, were the general topics of diſcourſe; while his eſcapes from the unremitted vigilance of his inveterate enemies, were conſidered as ſo many miraculous indications that he was deſtined to ſway the ſceptre of England.

It could not be expected that Charles, attended by ſo many of his friends, could ever eſcape from his purſuers; and it was therefore thought prudent that the king ſhould ſeek for that protection alone which was deſpaired of with his companions. On their arrival at Kidderminſter, the king, purſuant to the advice of the earl of Derby, retired to Boſcobel, a lone houſe on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. This man was an unſhaken friend to the royal party; and though death was denounced againſt all who concealed the king, and a large reward promiſed to any who ſhould betray him, Penderell preſerved an incorruptible integrity. He had, indeed, a dignity of ſentiment far ſuperior to his condition; and was more pleaſed with having it in his power to conceal his royal maſter, than to have enjoyed all the advantages Cromwell was able to beſtow. He had four brothers equally loyal with himſelf, and theſe all joined in aſſiſting their diſtreſſed ſovereign. The king was cloathed in the dreſs of a peaſant, and carried into the woods with a bill in his hand, where they pretended to be employed in making faggots. Colonel Careleſs only, of all his attendants, was now his companion, except the five faithful Penderells. He ſometimes lay on ſtraw in the houſe, and ſometimes in the fields. But even this manner of life was expoſed to the utmoſt danger. Two ſtrangers continuing ſome time at Boſcobel, could not be concealed from the ſervants, and parties of the parliament's army were diſperſed all over the neighbourhood, in ſearch of his majeſty. It was therefore thought prudent that the king and Careleſs ſhould continue conſtantly in the woods; and, for the better ſecurity, they mounted upon a large oak, the leaves and branches of which ſheltered them from the ſight of the enemy. While they continued in this retreat, they ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers paſs by in ſearch of the king; and ſome of them expreſſed, in their hearing, their earneſt deſire of ſeizing him. This tree was, for many years after, held in great veneration; and, for having concealed his majeſty from the ſight of his enemies, was called, The Royal Oak.

But notwithſtanding all their precautions, it was found impoſſible to conceal the king any longer at Boſcobel; and it was propoſed by lord Wilmot, who had now joined him, to repair to the houſe of Mr. Whitegrave, a catholic gentleman, who lived at ſome diſtance from Boſcobel, and where lord Wilmot had, before he joined his royal maſter, been concealed. They accordingly paſſed thither with the five Penderells, and met with a very kind reception. During the whole time, the parliament's officers were very aſſiduous in their inquiries after all ſtrangers that were lately arrived in theſe parts; and, perhaps, all the fidelity of his friends would not have been ſufficient to have ſaved him, had not the houſes, whither he retired, generally belonged to Roman catholics, and contained ſeveral ſecret hiding-places in the walls and wainſcot, where they concealed their perſecuted prieſts, when their houſes were ſearched by the officers of juſtice.

Colonel Lane, a zealous loyaliſt, who reſided at Bentley, not many miles diſtant from Whitegrave's houſe, was now made acquainted with the king's diſtreſs, and the neceſſary precautions were taken for carrying him thither. But his majeſty's feet were ſo hurt by walking about in heavy boots, or countrymen's ſhoes, which did not fit him, that he was forced to mount on horſeback; and in this manner he travelled to Bentley, ſtill attended by the five Penderells, his faithful companions. After ſome conſultation, it was reſolved that the king ſhould repair to Briſtol, where it was hoped a ſhip might be found to carry him over to the continent: and, in order to prevent any diſcovery being made during the journey, it was propoſed to make uſe of a paſs that had been procured for Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's ſiſter, for herſelf and ſervant to viſit Mrs. Norton, a near relation, who lived within three miles of Briſtol. Charles was accordingly dreſſed in the habit of a ſervant, and rode before the lady, lord Wilmot, with a hawk on his hand, paſſing for a ſtranger who had joined them by accident.

Nothing remarkable happened during their journey; but on their arrival at Norton's houſe, Mrs. Lane pretended that her ſervant had been taken ill on the road, and deſired that he might have a private room, where he might be quiet. In this chamber Charles kept himſelf concealed; but he was known by one Pope, the butler, at his firſt entering the houſe. He, however, prudently concealed the diſcovery, but took the firſt opportunity of throwing himſelf on his knees before the king, and praying for his life and preſervation. Charles was greatly alarmed at this incident, but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret inviolably, and he ſcrupulouſly performed the engagement.

After continuing ſome days at Norton's houſe, they were informed that no ſhip was expected to ſail from Briſtol either to France or Spain in leſs than a month. This rendered their ſcheme abortive; and it was agreed that the king ſhould intruſt his perſon to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, a gentleman who had always been a zealous partizan of the royal family. Before he received the king, Windham aſked leave to intruſt the ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could depend; and not one of them proved wanting either in honour or diſcretion. Here the king continued nineteen days, and all his friends in every part of Europe were held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to his ſafety. It was indeed generally imagined that he was dead, and this notion prevailing ſtrongly among his enemies, operated greatly in his favour, by relaxing their diligence. After leaving Windham's houſe he repaired to Charmouth, where he was in the utmoſt danger of being diſcovered by the ſagacity of a blackſmith, who declared that the horſe on which his majeſty rode had been ſhod in the north, and not, as he pretended, in the weſt of England. This intelligence of the ſmith rendered it neceſſary for Charles to leave the place immediately, and he was fortunate enough to reach Windham's houſe, before the neighbourhood was informed of the diſcovery.

It was now determined that he ſhould paſs into Suſſex, where it was hoped a veſſel might be found to carry him over to the continent. He accordingly went to Hale near Saliſbury, and thence to Brighthelmſtone, where he continued till a ſhip could be provided for his paſſage. This was at laſt accompliſhed, and on the fifteenth of October he embarked in a ſmall veſſel at Shoreham, and was landed at Feſchamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed no leſs than two and forty days in England. His eſcape was truly wonderful, ſome of the royaliſts have termed it miraculous. But the moſt extraordinary part of the whole is, the inviolable attachment which all, who either diſcovered him, or to whom he diſcovered himſelf, expreſſed for his perſon. Tho' no leſs than forty perſons of both ſexes were intruſted with the ſecret, and though every method was uſed by Cromwell for diſcovering where he was concealed, yet not one of them ever wavered in their affection, though their vanity ſometimes got ſo much the better of their loyalty, that all his party in the neighbourhood knew the houſe where he was ſheltered.

The ſucceſs of Monk in Scotland completed the deſtruction of the royal party, and rendered the triumph of the parliament complete. He took the ſtrong caſtle of Stirling, where he found forty pieces of cannon, five thouſand ſtands of arms, the regalia and records of Scotland, and other rich booty. He afterwards ſurprized and made priſoners the earls of Leven and Crawford, with the principal nobility and gentry, whom he either knew or ſuppoſed to be enemies to the Engliſh parliament. He ſtormed Dundee, and put the governor and garriſon to the ſword. The plunder of this town was very conſiderable, Whitlock ſays the common ſoldiers had five hundred pounds to their ſhare; fifty ſail of ſhips were taken in the harbour, and thirty pieces of ordnance in the town. All the Lowlands of Scotland now ſubmitted; but the Highlands, where the braveſt and moſt warlike part of the inhabitants reſided, ſtill ſupported themſelves under two rival chiefs, the marquis of Huntley and Argyle.

This ſucceſs in Scotland added to the victory Cromwell had gained at Worceſter, rendered him abſolutely maſter of the kingdom. He called the deſtruction of the royal army at Worceſter, his "crowning mercy;" and was ſo elated with his ſucceſs in that deciſive battle, that he intended to have conferred the honour of knighthood on two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood, in the field: and it was not without great difficulty that his friends diſſuaded him from exerciſing that act of legal authority. His power and ambition were both too great to brook ſubmiſſion to the empty name of a republic, which ſubſiſted merely by his influence, and was ſupported by his victories. According to Whitlock, he now communicated to his moſt intimate friends the views he had formed on the crown itſelf; and expreſſed a deſire of aſſuming the regal power, which he had ſo long and ſo effectually laboured to aboliſh. He well knew that the members in parliament, who at preſent governed the nation, were deſpiſed by the people, and their views too much confined to qualify them for legiſlators. Their whole attention was engroſſed by ſelfiſh aims and fanatical bigotry. Their rigid auſterity was carried to the greateſt height; and they had hardly made any progreſs in the important work of fixing a new plan of government, and ſettling a juſter model of repreſentation.

All theſe particulars were favourable to Cromwell's ſcheme of power; the army was at his devotion, and he had no competitor in authority. The only perſon that ſeemed capable of making any oppoſition to his ambitious ſcheme was Ireton, who commanded the troops in Ireland, but he ſoon after died of the plague, and left Cromwell at full liberty to proſecute the plan he had formed. Ireton was famous for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, and even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a ſincere and paſſionate love of liberty, and could never have been induced, by any motive whatever, to ſubmit to the ſmalleſt appearance of regal government.

A. D. 1652. No farther oppoſition being apprehended either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the parliament turned their thoughts towards the affairs of the continent; and the Dutch were the firſt who felt the vigour of their arms. The ſtates had obſerved an exact neutrality with regard to the civil wars of England, during the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange; but after his death, when his ſon William, who married an Engliſh princeſs, ſucceeded him in power, they were accuſed of betraying an inveterate prejudice againſt the Engliſh parliament, and of aſſiſting the royal party. After the death of William, which was attended with the depreſſion of his party, it was hoped that a kind of a coalition might be effected between the two republics, and St. John, lord chief-juſtice, was ſent to the Hague for that purpoſe. But he ſoon perceived that the ſtates entertained a contemptible idea of a government whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious to the people. They offered indeed to renew the former alliances with England, but refuſed any nearer connection. Diſguſted with this refuſal, and incenſed at many affronts offered him with impunity, the haughty St. John returned to England, and exerted all his intereſt to excite a war between the two republics.

St. John, who had a great aſcendency over Cromwell, ſoon accompliſhed his deſigns. He repreſented to the parliament, that the Dutch ſought nothing ſo much, as to diſpute with England the government of the ſeas; that in all their papers they mentioned Charles II. which was a tacit recognition of his authority; that in all their profeſſions they were inſincere, and that it was neceſſary for the Engliſh to depreſs thoſe, whoſe friendſhip they could not gain. Theſe repreſentations had the deſired effect, and under pretence of providing for the intereſt of commerce, the parliament embraced ſuch meaſures as they knew would ſufficiently diſguſt the ſtates. They formed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their own bottoms, any commodity not the growth and manufacture of their own country. Though the terms in which this ſtatute was conceived were general, yet the Dutch were principally injured; becauſe their country produced few commodities, and they ſubſiſted chiefly on being the general factors and carriers of the world. Several merchants complaining of injuries they pretended to have received, obtained letters of reprizal againſt the ſtates; and about eighty of their merchant ſhips were taken. About thirty years before the Dutch had practiſed the moſt horrid cruelties on the Engliſh merchants in Amboyna; theſe were now complained of, and even ſatisfaction demanded.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings which indicated an approaching rupture, the ſtates ſent ambaſſadors to London in order to renew, if poſſible, the treaty of alliance that had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. They repreſented that famous republican as a perſon whom it was impoſſible to pleaſe; and that they either granted, or were willing to grant every thing that he aſked. But the parliament believed St. John rather than the Dutch, and all the preparations for an approaching war were made with great vigour and alacrity.

Soon after an Engliſh man of war falling in with a fleet of Dutch fiſhermen, demanded the uſual acknowledgement. This being refuſed the captain ſunk one of the Dutch veſſels with all her crew. All negotiations were now ſuſpended. The Dutch following the example of the Engliſh in iſſuing letters of reprizal, and in a few days appeared before Portſmouth with a fleet of forty-five ſail. The Engliſh marine was not immediately in a condition to reſent this inſult, but their motions were watched by commodore Brown till Blake's ſquadron was in a condition of meeting them on the open ſea. This required no great length of time; ſuch diſpatch was uſed in the different departments, that in leſs than ſix weeks Blake was ſailed with a conſiderable fleet. About the middle of May, he diſcovered the Dutch ſquadron commanded by their celebrated admiral Van Tromp, and immediately made a ſignal for his paying reſpect to the Engliſh flag. The ſignal being diſregarded, Blake, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of twenty-ſix ſhips, formed the line of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. Before he came within gun ſhot he was joined by eight ſhips, and ſoon after the action began with great fury, and laſted till night put an end to the battle. Blake's ſhip being conſiderably a-head of the reſt, was expoſed, for ſome time, to the whole fire of the enemy, but his other ſhips coming up the attention of the Dutch was divided. One of the Dutch ſhips was taken, and another ſunk by the Engliſh, who loſt only fifteen men in the engagement. The next morning the Dutch fleet was perceived at four leagues diſtance, ſteering towards the coaſt of France. The truth is, neither of the admirals were deſirous of renewing the engagement, as they had received no orders to fight but in caſe of neceſſity.

The Dutch pretended that Van Tromp had exceeded his commiſſion, and that he had been forced upon the Engliſh coaſt by ſtreſs of weather. But the Engliſh parliament affected to diſbelieve their moſt ſolemn aſſurances, and voted a letter of thanks to Blake for his behaviour. Cromwell himſelf repaired to Dover to encourage Blake and the ſeamen to do their duty, and to aſſure them that they ſhould want for nothing.

The Dutch ſoon perceived they had been miſtaken in the notions they had formed with regard to the Engliſh commonwealth; and Paw, their ambaſſador extraordinary at London, received orders to exert all his power, for putting a ſtop to hoſtilities; but all his endeavours were in vain. The parliament indeed behaved with politeneſs both towards Paw and his maſters; but at the ſame time redoubled their applications to increaſe the power of their navy. Sir George Aſcue received a commiſſion independent of that of Blake, and ſoon after deſtroyed about thirty ſail of the St. Ube's fleet; while Blake, in leſs than a month ſent upwards of forty ſail of rich prizes into the Thames. He now ſtood to the northward, in order to aſſert the right of his country to the Britiſh fiſhery. This ſervice he nobly performed; he took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, one only excepted that was fortunate enough to eſcape. He might alſo have deſtroyed all their fiſhing veſſels, but ſuffered them to continue their occupation on their promiſing never to return to the Engliſh coaſt without leave, and on their paying the tenth herring.

This expedition of Blake, though attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, had nearly proved fatal to the ſquadron of Sir George Aſcue, who was left in the Downs. For Van Tromp, whoſe fleet was far ſuperior to that of Aſcue, was then at ſea, and attempted to take advantage of Blake's abſence. He ſtood accordingly towards the Engliſh coaſts, but was overtaken by ſo dreadful a ſtorm, that he was obliged to return to Holland to repair the damages his ſhips had received. His fleet was now increaſed to one hundred and fifty ſail, and his appearance was ſo formidable, that it was thought neceſſary to erect a platform and mount it with cannon, between Deal and Sandown-caſtle, and to line the ſhore with militia. Aſcue lay as near as poſſible to the ſtrand, but his whole ſquadron, which conſiſted only of fifteen ſhips, muſt have been deſtroyed had not the wind immediately changed, and prevented the Dutch from reaching the Engliſh ſhore; and the Dutch merchant ſhips being impatient for a convoy to the northward, Van Tromp took them under his protection, hoping he ſhould be fortunate enough to meet with Blake in the north ſea. He was, however, diſappointed, but greatly diſtreſſed the Engliſh trade to Newcaſtle, while Blake took two of the Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips. The weather proving extremely tempeſtuous, Tromp found it impoſſible to keep the ſea, and accordingly returned once more to Holland with no more than forty ſhips, ſome being loſt, and the remainder not arriving in the Texel till ſome weeks after.

In the mean time Aſcue ſent ſome of his ſhips to convoy home a rich Eaſt India fleet, while he himſelf cruiſed between Dover and Calais, where he took ten Flemiſh ſhips, and forced twenty to run a-ſhore. The famous de Ruyter was now appointed to command a ſquadron of about fifty Dutch men of war, and ſent to convoy home a large fleet of merchantmen. Aſcue, whoſe ſquadron amounted only to thirty-eight ſhips, fell in with this convoy on the ſixteenth of Auguſt; and though his force was ſo far unequal, he attacked de Ruyter, and deſtroyed ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips: but ſome of his captains not ſeconding the attack of their leaders, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after the fight had continued with the utmoſt fury near four hours. Captain Peck, who acted as rear-admiral was mortally wounded, and moſt of the ſhips that charged the enemy were greatly ſhattered. Aſcue, however, renewed the attack in the morning, but with no better ſucceſs. He made another attempt on the third day, but his ſhips were now ſo ſhattered in their rigging that he was again obliged to deſiſt, and return to Plymouth to refit, and the Dutch continued their courſe to Holland.

The jealouſy which always attends a true republican ſpirit appeared eminently on this ocaſion. Aſcue had done the public more eminent ſervices at ſea, than even Blake himſelf had hitherto performed; but he had acted as a true Englihman; and when he reduced Barbadoes under the government of the commonwealth, he granted ſuch advantageous terms to lord Willoughby, colonel Waldrone, and other royaliſts in that iſland, that the council of ſtate ſuſpected his principles. And notwithſtanding his eminent ſervices, he was now laid aſide. He was, however, preſented with three hundred pounds in money, and three hundred pounds a year landed eſtate in Ireland.

The Engliſh parliament, though they parted with this able officer, were not ignorant that the Dutch were ſolliciting all the princes in Europe to join them againſt the Engliſh. At the ſame time, they knew the Dutch had above an hundred ſail of ſhips ready for the ſea, and reaſon to think the French would ſoon aſſiſt them; yet the imperious parliament would hearken to no reaſons for putting an end to hoſtilities. Elated with the numerous ſucceſſes they had obtained over their domeſtic enemies, they were perſuaded that nothing could ſtand before their victorious arms. Blake, who was now returned from the north, carried his fleet into different harbours to refit; and as ſoon as every thing could be got ready, he was ordered to put to ſea, and take or deſtroy all the Dutch or French veſſels he met with in his cruize.

The whole naval power of the Dutch was now at ſea, under the command of de Wit and de Ruyter, and Blake did all in his power to bring them to a deciſive engagement. But the Dutch admirals having a rich fleet of merchantmen under their convoy, avoided a battle, which they knew muſt be fatal to ſome of their ſhips. They had, however, no ſooner ſecured their convoy, than they ſtood towards the Engliſh, drawn up in a line of battle. Blake, though his fleet was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, advanced to engage them. He divided his ſhips into three ſquadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, in the Sovereign, the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy; the ſecond by Penn, and the third by Bourn. He began the battle himſelf; but there being a ſand-bank between the two fleets, the Sovereign, the Reſolution, and the St. Andrew, all firſt rates, ſtruck upon the ſhoal. Perſuaded that theſe three ſhips were now rendered unſerviceable, the Dutch admirals ſtood farther off to ſea, in order to bring on a cloſer engagement. The three ſhips got off the ſand with very little damage, and a furious battle enſued. The largeſt ſhip in the Dutch fleet, followed by two more, bore down upon the Sovereign, on board of which Blake's flag was hoiſted, and attacked her with the utmoſt fury. But they had ſoon cauſe to repent of their temerity. The firſt broadſide of the Sovereign ſent the headmoſt ſhip to the bottom; and the others, intimidated by the dreadful incident, retreated back to their fleet. Night at laſt put an end to the engagement, but not before the Dutch rear-admiral was taken. De Wit took the advantage of the night to bear away from the Engliſh, whoſe ſhips were ſo ſhattered in their rigging, that they could not follow him.

The ſame ſucceſs did not attend the Engliſh in the Mediterranean, where commodore Badily was ſtationed, with a ſmall ſquadron, to protect the Engliſh trade. Van Galen, the Dutch admiral, who was much ſuperior in force, defeated him; but he purchaſed the victory with the loſs of his life. Badily retired under the cannon of Porto Longone, where his ſhips were protected by the governor.

Sea-fights are hardly ever ſo deciſive, as to diſable the vanquiſhed from being, in a ſhort time, in a condition to face the victors. Van Tromp ſailed with a fleet ſufficiently numerous to recover the honour the Dutch had loſt in the late engagement. It conſiſted of one hundred and ten ſail of men of war, beſides ſeventeen which joined him, a few days after, from Zealand. It ſeems as if the Engliſh had placed too much confidence in the diviſions among the ſtates, with regard to Van Tromp, who had been laid aſide ſince his engagement with Blake, and it was thought would not be any more employed during the war, and that it would be impoſſible for the Dutch to fit out a fleet of any great ſtrength that ſeaſon. In conſequence of this opinion, Blake had detached twenty ſail of his ſhips to convoy the colliers from Newcaſtle; twelve were laid up at Plymouth, and fifteen ſent up the river Medway to refit. The admiral had, therefore, only thirty-ſeven ſail of ſhips with him in the Downs when Tromp appeared in the Engliſh channel. He had under his convoy three, ſome ſay five, hundred ſail of merchantmen. But he had no ſooner conducted them to a place of ſafety, than he ſtood directly for the Downs, with a fleet of eighty ſail of men of war. Blake perceived the Dutch admiral advancing towards him in the morning of the twenty-ninth of November; and though his ſquadron was ſo far inferior to that of the enemy, he determined not to refuſe the engagement. The fight accordingly began about eleven in the morning, and laſted till ſix in the evening, but with infinite diſadvantage to the Engliſh. The great force of the engagement fell upon Blake's own ſhip, the Triumph, and two others, the Victory and the Vanguard, which were attacked by twenty of the Dutch ſhips, and fought them all for a conſiderable time before any other ſhips could come to their aſſiſtance. Towards the evening, the Garland, commanded by captain Batton, and the Bonadventure, commanded by captain Hookſton, attacked Van Tromp's own ſhip, and would have taken her, had not ſeveral of the Dutch fleet come to her aſſiſtance. They, however, paid dear for their temerity; they were both killed, and their ſhips taken. Blake, deſirous of ſaving theſe two ſhips, puſhed forward, and by that means brought himſelf into ſo deſperate a ſituation, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was ſaved by the aſſiſtance of the Vanguard and the Sapphire. Fortunately for the Engliſh, night ſoon after put an end to the engagement: two hours longer of day-light would have proved the deſtruction of their whole fleet. Blake retired firſt to Dover, and then to the mouth of the Thames, having loſt, beſides the two ſhips already mentioned, the Hercules, and two merchantmen. Blake himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; and a great number of his men, and ſeveral of his officers, killed. Tromp was ſo elated with this victory, that he fixed a broom at his main-top-maſt-head, intimating, that he intended to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

A. D. 1653. This defeat only tended to animate the Engliſh to wipe off the diſgrace. The utmoſt efforts were made to fit out a fleet ſufficient to recover the loſſes ſuſtained in the late engagement. Among other encouragements, the pay of the ſeamen was increaſed; a larger ſhare of the prizes taken from the enemy was allotted them; and Monk, at Blake's particular requeſt, was ſent for from Scotland to aſſiſt him in the command. The true reaſon for this ſeems to have been the death of Popham, who was buried with a profuſion of honours, and the neceſſity of having a land officer on board the fleet to command the ſoldiers in time of action, but without any ſeparate command at other times. So much expediton was uſed, that by the eleventh of February, Blake was at ſea, with a fleet of ſixty ſail of men of war. Several of his ſhips were new, and all of them much better manned than before. That nothing might be wanting to encourage the ſeamen and ſoldiers, hoſpitals for the reception of their ſick and wounded were erected all along the coaſts; and Blake's fleet was ſo ſtationed off Portland, that Tromp, who had above one hundred and fifty merchantmen under his convoy, could not avoid an engagement on the eighteenth of February.

The fight was begun about eight in the morning, by Blake, in the Triumph, ſeconded with about twelve other ſhips; among which was the Fairfax, commanded by captain Lawſon, and the Vanguard, by captain Mildmay. The impetuous courage of Blake had its uſual conſequence; it expoſed him to the moſt imminent danger: for this ſmall ſquadron bore the whole fire and fury of the Dutch till the reſt of the fleet could come up to their aſſiſtance, which was not till ſome time after. This battle far exceeded all that had been hitherto fought between the two republics. Amazed and confounded with the ſtrength, the order, and the diſcipline of the Engliſh, the Dutch exerted all their force to deſtroy Blake's fleet; while Blake, ſtung with his late miſfortune, collected all his force to be revenged on the Dutch,

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CROMWELL *Diſsolving the Long* PARLIAMENT

Dutch. The ſea was covered with wrecks, and the fire from the ſhips ſo quick and violent, that, for ſome time, there was a dead calm. In the mean time, the fury of the combatants was aſtoniſhing; they bore down cloſe to one another, and received the whole of every broadſide: it ſeemed as if the diſpute had not been victory, but which ſhould firſt go to the bottom. The Triumph bore the whole fury of this dreadful fire; and muſt have been either ſunk or taken, had ſhe not been relieved by Lawſon. Blake was wounded in the thigh; Mildmay in the Vanguard, and Ball in the Triumph, were killed. The admiral's ſecretary was killed by his ſide. The Proſperous, a forty-four gun ſhip, was boarded by the Dutch, but ſaved by the Merlin frigate. The Aſſiſtance and the Advice were both diſabled, and obliged to put into Portſmouth. The Fairfax loſt a hundred men, the Triumph as many; and captain Batten, in the Sampſon, after ſinking one of the enemy's ſhips, found it impoſſible to keep his own above water, and was obliged to go, with his crew, on board other ſhips. But this was far from being equal to the loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch. Three days was the battle continued, with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, obtained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. He made ſo ſkilful a retreat, that he ſaved the greater part of his convoy, which was very large, thirty only of his merchantmen falling into the hands of the Engliſh. He, however, loſt eleven ſhips of war, had two thouſand men killed, and near fifteen hundred taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were dreadfully ſhattered, loſt only one. Their ſlain were not much inferior to that of the enemy; but they gained the immortal honour of filling their rival republic with the terrors of their power and valour.

This ſucceſs of the Engliſh was, in a great meaſure, owing to the ſize of their ſhips; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which their trade ſuffered from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off; even that with the Baltic ſuffered greatly by the Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. Above ſixteen hundred of their ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Nor was this diſtreſs ſuffered from any national intereſt or neceſſity, but from vain points of honour and national reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatiſfactory account to the people.

Cromwell was filled with ſentiments very different from thoſe of the public at theſe triumphs of the parliament. The remembrance of his exploits was now but faint, and one farther ſtep to glory muſt have placed the republicans ſuperior to every thing but envy. He knew not how ſoon his ſoldiers, infected with a paſſion for increaſing the glory of their country, might declare for the parliament; and ſhould that happen, one ſingle vote would be ſufficient to deſtroy at once his greatneſs and his power. No time had yet been fixed for the diſſolution of the parliament; and while he was a ſubject, and conſequently accountable, it was the ſame to him whether the preſiding power was a monarchy or a commonwealth. He indeed commanded the army, and the troops were at preſent at his devotion; but theſe triumphs at ſea ſeemed greatly to leſſen their regard for their favourite general; they deſired to ſhare in the honours of their countrymen. On the other hand, the zealous republicans ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated, with uncommon demonſtrations of joy, the ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They even ventured to urge the neceſſity of diminiſhing the number of the land forces, which they repreſented as no longer neceſſary to ſupport the domeſtic peace of the nation. Cromwell plainly perceived that they entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambitious deſigns, and were reſolved to render him ſubordinate to their authority. This he reſolved to prevent; and the only method of effecting it, was by diſſolving the parliament. He accordingly ſummoned a general council of officers, and ſoon found that they were ready to join him in any attempt he might think neceſſary. Moſt of them were indeed his creatures, owed their advancement entirely to his favour, and depended upon him for their future preferment. Some of them indeed were men of principle, but guided by notions ſo fanatically extravagant, that they were eaſily deluded into the moſt violent and moſt criminal meaſures.

Their firſt ſtep was to vote a remonſtrance to the parliament. It began with complaining of the arrears due to the army; and after applauding the parliament for their zeal and enterprize, repreſented to them, that it was now time to reſign their ſeats, and leave to other members of the commonwealth the cares of government; and that they would now, by eſtabliſhing a free and equal adminiſtration, perform the promiſe they had long ſince made to the people. The parliament was at once alarmed and exaſperated at the temerity of the army; and after a violent debate, a ſharp reply was returned to their remonſtrance.

Cromwell now found no difficulty to inſpire the council of officers with the ſentiments he deſired: they were ſufficiently exaſperated by the harſh anſwer returned by the parliament. Harriſon having aſſured the council, that the general's deſign was only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his ſaints, major Street replied, that it was neceſſary for Jeſus to come quickly; for if he delayed it till after Chriſtmas, he would find the ſeat of power occupied by another. While the officers were engaged in ſuch debates, colonel Ingoldſby entered, and informed Cromwell, that the parliament had juſt voted not to diſſolve themſelves, but to fill up the houſe by new elections; and that the manner of carrying this expedient into execution was the ſubject on which they were then deliberating. Exaſperated at this intelligence, Cromwell left the council of officers; and taking with him three hundred ſoldiers, repaired to the houſe, leaving ſome of his men at the foot of the ſtairs, ſome at the entrance of the lobby, and ſome at the door. He advanced to his ſeat, and told his friend St. John, that he was come to do an act which grieved his very ſoul, and had beſought the Lord, with prayers and tears, not to impoſe it upon him, but that the glory of God, and the good of the nation, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. He, however, ſat ſtill, and liſtened to the debates for ſome time; and then told colonel Harriſon, that he thought the parliament was now ſufficiently ripe for a diſſolution. Harriſon warned him of the danger that might attend a ſtep of that nature, and deſired him to conſider the conſequences before he attempted it. Cromwell accordingly ſat ſtill for ſome time longer; but when the ſpeaker was juſt going to put the queſtion, he ſtarted from his ſeat, accuſed the parliament, in the moſt opprobrious language, of tyranny, ambition, rapine, and injuſtice. Then ſtamping violently with his foot, the ſignal he had given the ſoldiers for entering the houſe, he cried out, "Get you gone for "ſhame; give place to honeſter men, to thoſe who "will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You are "no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no "longer a parliament; the Lord hath caſt you off; "he hath choſen other inſtruments for carrying on "his work." Then taking Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaſter," ſaid he. To a ſecond, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art "a drunkard and a glutton." And to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." The ſpeaker, fond of his power and dignity, ſeemed unwilling to leave the chair, and kept his ſeat till he was in a manner pulled out of it by Harriſon. Cromwell, pointing to the mace that lay on the table, ſaid to one of the ſoldiers, "Take away that fool's bauble." Then turning himſelf to the houſe, he ſaid, "It is you that have "forced me upon this. I have ſought the Lord, "night and day, with ſtrong prayers and tears, that "he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this "work; but he would not hear me." The ſoldiers ſoon cleared the houſe, and it was ſufficiently evident, from the furious manner in which Cromwell behaved, that he would, in caſe of oppoſition, have put every man of them to death. Sir Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Vane, were the only members that had the courage to upbraid him with his conduct, which they did in the ſevereſt terms, accuſing him of ingratitude and treachery. He took no notice of what was ſaid by the former, but interrupted the latter, by crying out with a terrible voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" As ſoon as the ſoldiers had cleared the houſe, Cromwell ſeized all the journals and public papers, ordered the doors to be locked, and carried the keys with him to Whitehall.

No circumſtance in the life of this remarkable man, conveys a juſter idea of his true character, than this memorable incident. It demonſtrates that he was a perſon of the profoundeſt ſubtilty blended with the moſt fiery intrepidity. Incapable of moderation, he often paſſed from the exceſſes of debauchery to thoſe of enthuſiaſm and religious auſterity. When at war with the king he made no ſcruple of ſaying, that if he met him in battle he would put him to death with the ſame facility as a common ſoldier; and there was no doubt but he would have carried his threat into execution, had an opportunity offered. But this ſudden diſſolution of the parliament exceeded all the reſt of his actions. He alone was capable of forming and executing ſo bold a deſign.

Perſuaded that heaven had inveſted him with the ſole adminiſtration of government, he at firſt intended to be the only diſpenſer of juſtice, and not to ſhare his power with another: but upon more mature reflection he determined to ſatisfy the expectations of the people by governing them under the appearance of a republic. Accordingly he ſummoned one hundred and twenty-eight Engliſhmen, ſix Iriſh and five Scots to meet at London, and delegated to them, during fifteen months, the legiſlative authority, and which they were afterwards to transfer to one hundred and thirty-four others, choſen by themſelves.

This aſſembly, ſelected from the fanatical dregs of the people, conſidered themſelves as a true parliament, and acted accordingly. They began "by ſeeking God in prayer." Some particular enthuſiaſts were charged with this office, and declared, "That never in their uſual tranſports of favour had they known the communication of the holy ſpirit in ſuch abundance." Cromwell's firſt ſpeech to this remarkable aſſembly is ſingular for that ridiculous myſtery, under which he always concealed his hypocriſy. "I own, ſaid he, that I never preſumed to expect, "nor you, perhaps, to ſee a day like unto this, when "Jeſus Chriſt is made known unto us even as at "this day. Jeſus Chriſt is at this day made known "by your vocation, and you make him known by "your zeal to appear for him, and do manifeſt, as "much as it is in the power of frail creatures, that "this day is the day of the power of Jeſus Chriſt. "I know you well remember, that ſcripture, he "maketh his people willing in the day of his power. "God manifeſts it to be the day of the power of "Chriſt, having through ſo much blood and ſo much "trial, as has been upon this nation, he maketh this "one of the greateſt mercies, next to his own ſon, "to have his people called to the ſupreme authority. "God hath owned his ſon, and hath owned you, "and hath made you to own him. I confeſs, I "never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day: I did not."

Animated by this ſpeech of the general, they thought themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of proceeding to a thorough reformation, both in civil and religious affairs; and accordingly began in a manner worthy of ſuch an aſſembly, and of the ſpirit with which it was acted. They took into conſideration the abolition of the eccleſiaſtical function, which they ſaid was a relict of popery; and of taking away tythes, which they termed a judiacal practice. They declared ſciences and univerſities to be heatheniſh inſtitutions, unworthy of protection in a chriſtian country. The common law of England they called the badge of Norman ſlavery: and formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing the law of Moſes, as the only ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence. In a word, a general reformation was projected; but, for want of time, the whole was reduced to the ſingle article of performing the marriage ceremony by the civil power without the intervention of the clergy.

The Dutch flattered themſelves that they ſhould now be able to ſucceed in their negotiations for a peace, as the haughty republican parliament was no more. And it muſt be owned that Cromwell was far from being averſe to put a period to hoſtilities. But ſeveral reaſons prevented him from carrying his deſign into execution. He knew that nothing could render him more popular than that of carrying on the Dutch war with vigour; the Engliſh being now more capable of diſputing the empire of the ſea with the enemy, than they had ever been before. This was, in a great meaſure owing to the friendſhip of Sweden, by which, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Dutch and Danes, the Engliſh had been furniſhed with materials for ſhip-building. On the other hand, the populace of Holland, who ſaw only the ſurface of things, were full of the higheſt expectations, that the diſſolution of the parliament muſt occaſion a civil war in England.

In the beginning of June a ſtrong fleet was aſſembled and ſailed from Holland under the command of Van Tromp, de Wit, and de Ruyter, and manned with the beſt ſeamen of their country. Blake with his diviſion of eighteen ſail of ſhips, had ſtood to the northward, and had not yet joined the fleet commanded by Monk and Dean. But his abſence did not prevent the Engliſh from advancing againſt the enemy. Their fleet conſiſted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ſhips; and the Dutch of ninety-eight men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips. The engagement began in the morning of the ſecond of June, and almoſt the firſt broadſide received from the enemy, Dean, one of the Engliſh admirals, was killed. Monk, with great prudence and preſence of mind, concealed this misfortune from the ſeamen, by immediately dropping his cloak over the dead body of that able officer. The fury of the contending fleets ſeemed to be increaſed in proportion as the officers had learned experience. Lawſon, the Engliſh rear-admiral, charged with the blue ſquadron, conſiſting of forty ſhips, through the whole Dutch fleet, with amazing execution, and would have taken de Ruyter's ſhip, had he not been relieved by Van Tromp, who, in his turn, was charged by Monk, and the battle continued to rage with the moſt violent fury till three in the afternoon, each party ignorant of the loſs they had ſuſtained, both fleets being involved in an impracticable cloud of ſmoke. At laſt the Dutch fury gave way to the well directed courage of the Engliſh. The faintneſs of their fire gave the firſt intimation of their loſs, and the wind being favourable they withdrew from the engagement; but were cannonaded in their retreat by the lighter ſhips of the Engliſh. Van Tromp performed all that could be expected from the braveſt and moſt experienced commander. He endeavoured to keep his ſhips in a line of battle; but three or four of them being ſunk, and one of his flag-ſhips blown up, his whole fleet was thrown into confuſion, and he was obliged to retire from the Engliſh. This engagement happened off the north Foreland, and during the night Blake joined Monk with his diviſion. The next morning the attack was renewed; but the Dutch were ſo diſheartened by the preceding engagement, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty their admirals could prevail upon their men to fight. But the conteſt was now unequal. Tromp was twice boarded by vice-admiral Penn, but diſengaged by de Ruyter and de Wit. Six capital Dutch ſhips were ſunk, two blown up by fire-ſhips, and eleven taken. The whole was now a diſorderly flight; nor could the Dutch captains, either by perſuaſions or menaces, be brought to face the Engliſh; and their whole fleet muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed, had they not taken ſhelter on the flats between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was dangerous for the Engliſh to follow them. The latter loſt not a ſingle ſhip in this deſperate engagement.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the conſternation into which the Dutch were thrown when the news of this defeat reached their country. They now ſaw that fleet, which, but a few days before, they thought invincible, blocked up in their harbours by a victorious enemy, which was every moment ruining their trade, on which their very being, as a maritime power, depended. Tromp, in his letters to the ſtates, complained bitterly that his ſhips were not ſufficiently ſupplied with powder and ball, and that his whole misfortune ought to be imputed to his want of ammunition. The common people, from whom theſe complaints were not long a ſecret, were enraged to the higheſt pitch of fury. They ſaid, that a deſign had been formed to betray their fleet into the hands of the enemy, that the republic might be under a neceſſity of making peace upon their own terms. The ſtates were alarmed, and purſued the only method in their power to ſilence the clamours of the people; they uſed the utmoſt diligence and expedition in repairing and refitting their fleet; they recalled their ſhips from their different ſtations, in order, if poſſible, to wipe off the diſgrace of the late defeat.

The ſpirits of the Engliſh were raiſed to ſuch a height by the late victory, that they would hear of no peace, unleſs the Dutch would agree to diſarm their ſhips, pay all the expences of the war, and make full ſatiſfaction for the damages the Engliſh merchants had ſuſtained. Cromwell, however, hinted to the Dutch ambaſſadors, that peace might be concluded on much eaſier terms, but did not think it prudent to explain himſelf farther at preſent on ſo delicate a ſubject. He was, however, perſuaded, that if the Dutch were totally ruined, he ſhould never be able to obtain the ſummit of his wiſhes, the ſupreme power in England, which, perhaps, he would have been glad to purchaſe even by a defeat at ſea. To this perſuaſion the Dutch owed their ſafety. The late victory, however complete, was not proſecuted with all the vigour that might have been expected. The enemy were incapable of ſending five men of war to ſea, their beſt admirals refuſed to act, and a rich Eaſt-India fleet was every day expected. Yet no advantages were taken of this diſtreſſed ſtate of the enemy. Blake, indeed, continued cruiſing on the coaſt of Holland; but he made no attempt on their harbours, and the Eaſt-India fleet arrived in ſafety.

While the Engliſh admiral triumphed in his ſuperiority, and continued the undiſputed maſter of the ocean, the Dutch were exerting all their efforts to repair and increaſe their navy. Nor were their attempts in vain; their fleet was ſoon in a better condition than ever, both with regard to the largeneſs of the ſhips and the number of ſeamen. Van Tromp, de Ruyter, and other famous admirals, had now no longer the leaſt pretence for abandoning the public ſervice. Young Tromp, who had taken an Engliſh man of war in the Streights, was ordered home with his ſquadron, and ſome very large Eaſt-India ſhips were converted into men of war; ſo that about the latter end of July, Van Tromp's ſquadron conſiſted of ninety ſtout ſhips, manned with able ſeamen, and well provided with ammunition and ſtores.

On the thirtieth of July, that celebrated admiral ſailed to the Texel, and joined de Ruyter and de Wit; and by this junction the whole fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty ſail. The Engliſh fleet, which was commanded by Monk, Lawſon, and Penn, amounted only to ninety ſail; but they were determined to give the enemy battle. The engagement accordingly began on the thirty-firſt of July, in the morning, with the utmoſt fury. The Dutch had now obviated all the diſadvantages under which they laboured in their former engagements: they worked their ſhips with wonderful addreſs, and fought with the moſt ſurpriſing reſolution. Monk, on the other hand, gave his orders with that calmneſs and preciſion which characterizes the conſummate commander. The battle continued to rage with the utmoſt violence till near noon, when the brave admiral Van Tromp was killed with a muſquet-ball, as he was encouraging his men. As ſoon as his death was known, the Dutch retired towards their own coaſts with great precipitation. They loſt in this engagement twenty-four of their men of war, about four thouſand of their men were killed, and a thouſand taken priſoners. The Engliſh loſt three men of war, ſix captains, and five hundred ſeamen. Eight hundred were dangerouſly wounded, and their whole fleet ſo dreadfully ſhattered, that they were obliged to leave the coaſt of Holland.

By this time Cromwell himſelf was aſhamed of his parliament, which had, for ſome time, been expoſed to the ridicule of the public. Among the fanatics that compoſed this motley aſſembly, was a very active member, remarkable for long prayers, ſermons, and harangues. He was a leather-ſeller in London, and known by the name of "Praiſe-God Barebone," a ridiculous appellation formed by ſome poet to expreſs the meagre figure of ſo ſtrange a perſon. The populace were pleaſed with the thought, and gave the aſſembly itſelf the name of Barebone's parliament. Though this aſſembly had received all their authority from Cromwell, they now began to pretend they had been favoured with power from the Lord, and to inſiſt on their divine commiſſion. The friends of the general perceived that they were on the point of acting contrary to his intereſt, and determined to put a period to this ridiculous parliament. Accordingly they met early at the houſe; and one of them moved, that the ſitting of this parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. The motion was carried, and they haſtened to Cromwell, with Rouſe, their ſpeaker, at their head; and by a formal deed, reſigned back into his hands that authority which they had ſo lately received from him. This reſolution was taken and carried into execution before many of the members came to the houſe; and that they might prevent the reign of the ſaints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up a proteſt againſt all that had been done in their abſence; but before they had finiſhed their deſign, colonel White came to the houſe with a party of ſoldiers, and put an end to their labours. On his entrance, he aſked them what they did there? "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you muſt go elſewhere," replied the colonel; "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here theſe ſeveral years."

This reſignation once more ſtopped the machine of government; and it was now propoſed, in a council of officers, to introduce a new ſcheme of adminiſtration, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be known under the appellation of Protector. Lambert accordingly produced the inſtrument of government, containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and as it was ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately agreed to by the council. Cromwell was now inſtalled, with great ſolemnity, in that high office. The ceremony was performed in the court of chancery, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the barons of the exchequer, the judges, the council of ſtate, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, attending.

The chief articles in this inſtrument of government were the following: A council of ſtate was appointed, which was not to conſiſt of more than twenty-one, nor leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life, or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, out of whom the protector was to chuſe one. The protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: in his name all juſtice was adminiſtered; from him all magiſtracy and all honours were derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treaſon; and to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war and alliance, was veſted in him; but with regard to theſe particulars, he was to act entirely by the conſent and with the advice of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills they paſſed were to be preſented to the protector for his conſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to have the force of laws by the authority of the parliament only. A ſtanding army for England and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; and funds were eſtabliſhed for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without the conſent of the protector, and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative voice. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the firſt meeting of the parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both benches, were to be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was to be filled by the council. Such was the inſtrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and ſworn to by Cromwell. Fifteen perſons were named in the inſtrument, as the firſt council of ſtate; theſe were all of them perſons entirely devoted to the protector; and, at the ſame time, ſo very oppoſite in their opinions with regard to the principles of civil and religious liberty, that there was not the leaſt danger of their uniting againſt the protector's power.

The government being thus ſettled, the following proclamation was publiſhed in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter. "Whereas the late parliament diſſolved themſelves, and reſigned their powers and authority; the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland in a lord protector, and ſucceſſive triennial parliaments, is now eſtabliſhed. And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord-protector of the ſaid nations, and hath accepted thereof: we have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command, all and every perſon or perſons, of what quality or condition ſoever, in any of the ſaid three nations to take notice hereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the government ſo eſtabliſhed. And all ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publiſh this proclamation, to the end that none may have cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf."

The ſituation of Cromwell, notwithſtanding the high office he had attained, was not to be envied. He was at once both hated and feared by all Europe; and on the latter was his ſeat of power eſtabliſhed. Cardinal Mazarine began, when it was too late, to dread his ambition, which he had hitherto conſidered as nothing more than the wild fever of an enthuſiaſtical brain; and which his civil policy, if ever he attained any, would render all his ſchemes and attempts abortive. Spain had been particularly cautious to afford neither aſſiſtance nor protection to the exiled royaliſts; and this had procured her the liberty of raiſing and tranſporting ſeveral battalions of Iriſh ſoldiers, who proved as fine troops as any in Europe. Perceiving that the princes of the Stuart family ſtill reſided in France, the Spaniſh miniſtry falſely imagined, that no government in England would enter into a treaty of peace with a power that protected the pretenders to the Engliſh crown. Hence they thought themſelves ſecure of Cromwell's friendſhip, eſpecially as the affairs of England were ſo much embarraſſed, that ſome foreign alliance would not only be convenient but even neceſſary to his preſervation. The two northern nations were ſtill more confident of the importance of their friendſhip to any government that could be eſtabliſhed in England. Both of them were at this time conſiderable maritime powers. The king of Denmark, ever ſince the rupture between England and the United Provinces, had been greatly careſſed by the Dutch, and was in arrears to England for the cargoes of twenty-five ſhips that had been ſtopped in his harbours, and their lading confiſcated to his own uſe. He concluded, however, that while he was cloſely united with the Dutch, it would be impoſſible for England to have any power in the Baltic, and that the ſtates-general never would make a peace without concluding him in the treaty. The queen of Sweden was ſtill fantaſtically fond of Cromwell's perſon and government; her romantic ſentiments correſponded exactly with the actions of that extraordinary man; but ſhe had a wiſe miniſtry, who endeavoured to take all advantages of his ſituation with regard to the Dutch and Danes, in order to acquire every poſſible emolument, with regard to commerce. They plainly perceived that as affairs were then ſituated, the friendſhip of Sweden was abſolutely neceſſary to England; a truth of which both Cromwell, and the late republican parliament were ſufficiently perſuaded. The lord viſcount Liſle had been ſent by the republicans as their ambaſſador to the Swediſh court; but Cromwell, either to remove Whitlock from the government, or from an opinion of his ſuperior abilities, recalled Liſle and ſent Whitlock in his room. He was charged to exert all his power to conclude an alliance offenſive and defenſive with that crown. The Engliſh court had ſent but few ambaſſadors of late to foreign princes. Every court of Europe was, however, full of their reſidents, agents, or ſpies.

Overwhelmed with the expences of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and mortified by their defeats, the Dutch now puſhed the negotiations for a peace with the utmoſt aſſiduity. It was known that the greateſt obſtacle to a pacification conſiſted not in any animoſity conceived by the Engliſh againſt the Dutch, but in a deſire of a cloſe union and confederacy. Cromwell had formed the chimerical ſcheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſts and councils. It is no wonder that a ſcheme built on ſo deluſive a foundation ſhould appear abſurd to the ſtates-general: they were aſtoniſhed that any man in his ſenſes ſhould entertain ſuch romantic notions, and abſolutely refuſed to enter into any negotiations on ſo impracticable a ſcheme of accommodation. At laſt, however, the peace was ſigned by Cromwell, and a defenſive league made between the two republics.

A. D. 1654. Cromwell had no reſpect of perſons, with regard to public juſtice; not even the interceſſion of monarchs was ſufficient to divert the blow. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, thinking himſelf affronted in the ſtreets of London, repaired the next day to the Exchange; and ſeeing a merchant, whom he thought reſembled the author of the injury, he immediately killed him, and took ſhelter in the houſe of his brother, who had connived at this baſe action. Cromwell paid no regard to his aſylum; he ſent a company of ſoldiers, who took Don Pantaleon from his brother's houſe, and committed him to priſon. He was ſoon after tried, and executed on Tower-hill, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office. Foreign nations could not help applauding this vigorous exertion of juſtice, notwithſtanding the laws of nations were violated in the perſon of the ambaſſador.

But with whatever firmneſs Cromwell proceeded in the government, and whatever awe his undaunted behaviour might have occaſioned in the Engliſh, his uſurpation excited a general diſcontent. The people, ſo jealous of their liberties, were exaſperated at finding the chains forged for them much heavier than thoſe they had broken. The protector ſaw that theſe complaints had affected even the army, and therefore thought it highly prudent to aſſemble a parliament, in order to eſtabliſh his authority on the baſis of law. They met on the third of September; and as the people were allowed an entire freedom in the election, it is no wonder that many members of principles very different from thoſe of the protector, were returned from ſeveral parts of England. They were no ſooner aſſembled, than they gave ſufficient indications of their refractory ſpirit. Cromwell was ſoon alarmed, and ordered the houſe to attend him in the painted chamber. There he made an elaborate ſpeech, delivered in his dark, perplexed manner. He began with obſerving, that the moſt ſhameful abuſes had been introduced into civil and religious liberty by the levellers, anabaptiſts, and fifth monarchy-men, whoſe principles tended to ſap the foundation of all government, civil and religious. He pathetically enlarged on the miſeries which had flowed from theſe abſurd notions, during the late domeſtic and foreign wars; and enumerated the methods he had taken to cure theſe diſorders in the ſtate. He recommended to their care the ſettlement of the nation, and promiſed to join them in ſo important and neceſſary a work.

The protector was undoubtedly perſuaded, that his power, and the ſucceſs that had conſtantly attended him, would be abundantly ſufficient to eſtabliſh his government, and induce the aſſembly to add the legiſlative ſanction to the power he had uſurped. He was miſtaken: many of the members inſiſted on the illegality of diſſolving the long parliament; and ſome even propoſed, that the preſent aſſembly ſhould declare themſelves the ſame parliament continued. They then entered on a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, aſſumed over the nation. The greateſt liberties were taken in arraigning this new dignity. Even the protector himſelf eſcaped not without cenſure. The utmoſt that could be done by the court party, was to protract the debate by arguments and long ſpeeches, and prevent the deciſion of a queſtion, which they were abundantly convinced would be carried againſt them by a great majority.

Surprized and enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, the protector commanded their attendance in the painted chamber, and inveighed in the moſt bitter terms againſt their conduct. He told them, and indeed very juſtly, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his authority, becauſe the ſame inſtrument of government that had conſtituted them a parliament, had made him protector; and conſequently, that the power of both muſt either ſtand or fall together: that ſome points of the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any account, to be altered or diſputed: that among theſe were the government of the nation by one perſon and a parliament; their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf no-wiſe entitled.

But unwilling to depend wholly upon the effect he imagined his ſpeech had made on the members, he obliged them to ſign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration of the government as it was ſettled in a ſingle perſon and a parliament. Had he exacted this promiſe from all the members before he opened the ſeſſion, it would have prevented him this trouble and mortification; for as many of the members did not attend him in the painted chamber, he was obliged to have recourſe to the unconſtitutional method of placing guards at the door of the houſe, with orders to ſuffer none to enter but thoſe who had ſubſcribed the protector's recognition. Many of them ſubmitted to this arbitrary condition, but thought themſelves ſtill at liberty to purſue the ſame courſe in their proceedings: they retained the ſame refractory ſpirit they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was examined, article by article, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy. The general approbation of the houſe was given thoſe who advanced the freeſt topics; and during their whole tranſactions, they neither took any notice of the protector, nor ſent him a ſingle bill for his approbation.

A. D. 1655. Cromwell was highly diſguſted at this behaviour; and being informed that many of the members had joined in a conſpiracy with the diſcontented officers of the army, he determined to diſſolve an aſſembly ſo dangerous to his power. According to the inſtrument of government, five months were allowed every parliament to ſit before it could be diſſolved; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days; and the full time, according to this method of reckoning, being elapſed, they were again ordered to attend the protector in the painted chamber, where, after a long and angry harangue, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

If the nation was diſcontented before the meeting of this parliament, the abrupt diſſolution of that aſſembly tended not to give them a better opinion of the government. The members returning to their reſpective counties and ſeats, propagated among the people that refractory and mutinous ſpirit, they had exerted in the houſe. The old republicans, with Sir Harry Vane at their head, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the long parliament, took every method in their power to encourage the murmurs of the people againſt the preſent uſurpation, but at the ſame time were ſo cautious in the methods they purſued for this purpoſe, that the protector could find nothing ſufficient to found a proſecution againſt them. Elated with this oppoſition to the protector's authority the royaliſts could be no longer retained in ſubjection. They were perſuaded that every one who was diſſatisfied with the preſent government, would join them in overthrowing an eſtabliſhment they deteſted. They never conſidered that the old parliamentary party, however exaſperated they might be at the protector's uſurpation, they were ſtill more prejudiced againſt the royal cauſe. They had only loſt their power by the former: ſhould the latter gain the aſcendent, they would be obnoxious to the ſevereſt puniſhments, for their former behaviour.

This deluſion proved fatal to many of the royal party. A conſpiracy was formed in various parts of England, and a day for a general riſing was appointed. In an undertaking ſo widely extended, it is almoſt impoſſible to keep the ſecret. Cromwell was informed of the deſign. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies in every quarter of the kingdom; and the protector's government was extremely vigilant. Many of the royaliſts were ſeized and thrown into priſon. Others, as the day appointed approached, were ſeized with terror, and abandoned the project. In one place only the conſpiracy broke out into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen in the weſt, entered Saliſbury with about two hundred horſe, at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners and proclaimed the king. But contrary to their expectations they received no acceſſion of force; the dread of Cromwell's power prevented the people from joining in an undertaking they wiſhed might ſucceed.

Confounded at this diſappointment, the men that had hitherto followed their ſtandard, deſerted by degrees, till a ſingle troop of horſe was ſufficient to put an end to the inſurrection. The leaders were moſt of them taken and put to death; and the reſt ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

The bad ſucceſs of this attempt of the royaliſts tended only to eſtabliſh the power of the protector; the people were fearful of oppoſing a man, who was ſo conſtantly attended with ſucceſs. Cromwell even regarded the inſurrection itſelf as a fortunate event; becauſe it demonſtrated the reality of theſe conſpiracies, which his enemies always repreſented as mere fictions, invented ſolely to varniſh over his ſeverities. It ſerved another purpoſe; it enabled him to extort large ſums from the royaliſts, under pretence of making them pay the expences incurred by their mutinous diſpoſitions. He iſſued an edict for exacting the tenth penny on all their eſtates: and in order to collect an impoſition at once ſo oppreſſive and iniquitous, he inſtituted ten major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom into ſo many military juriſdictions. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, were impowered to lay every perſon they pleaſed under the tax of decimation, to level all the impoſts ſettled by the protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon whom they ſhould ſuſpect to be enemies to the government. Nor was there any appeal from their arbitrary judgment but to the protector himſelf in council. Deſpotiſm now appeared openly to preſide over the Engliſh; the very maſk of liberty was thrown aſide. The people bewailed in ſecret the miſeries of their country; they ſaw the iron rod of Eaſtern tyranny held by the perſon who had ſeized the ſeat of power.

While England was thus obliged to ſubmit to the will of an illegal uſurper, the royal family ſuffered the utmoſt diſtreſs at Paris. The queen had, indeed, a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill paid, and her credit ſo low in that capital, that ſhe complained one morning to cardinal de Retz, that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to be a-bed for want of a fire to warm her. Cromwell, deſirous of humbling the pride and power of France, pretended to reſent the protection which the royal family received in that kingdom, though ſurely ſuch treatment deſerved not his anger: it muſt have excited pity in an ingenuous breaſt. Cromwell, however, thought otherwiſe; and the merchants having complained that ſome of their ſhips had been ſtopped and ſearched by the French, he iſſued letters of repriſal; and Blake ſeized a whole fleet of merchant ſhips, loaded with proviſions and ſtores for Dunkirk, then beſieged by the Spaniards.

Theſe hoſtile proceedings ſufficiently alarmed the court of France; and in order to remove every cauſe of complaint, they treated Charles with ſuch neglect, that he thought it prudent to withdraw, in order to prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He firſt retired to Spaw, and afterwards to Cologne, where he reſided two years on a ſmall penſion paid him by the king of France, and a few ſubſcriptions ſent him by his friends in England. His chief friends and confidents were Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond. This puſillanimous behaviour in the court of France produced at laſt the deſired effect, and the protector ſigned a peace with that kingdom.

The court of Spain had paid every ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh government, and even endeavoured to form an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the protector; but failing in the attempt, endeavours were uſed to make a breach between England and France. Cromwell was no ſtranger to theſe intrigues, but made no complaints to Cardenas, the Spaniſh miniſter. A powerful fleet was, however, fitted out, and all Europe were held in ſuſpence with regard to its deſtination. The Spaniards ſeemed not the leaſt alarmed; they never ſuſpected that it was intended to attack their ſettlements in the New World. At laſt two ſtrong ſquadrons ſailed from England, one commanded by Penn, and the other by Blake. The former was deſtined to the Weſt-Indies, the latter to act in the Mediterranean. And what is ſtill more remarkable, Blake had orders to aſſiſt the Spaniards in Europe, and Penn to diſtreſs them in America.

Blake, on his arrival in the bay of Cadiz, undertook to ſerve the Spaniards againſt the duke of Guiſe, who then threatened to make a deſcent on Naples, and was fortunate enough to eſcape the Engliſh fleet. Blake now directed his courſe towards Africa, in order to demand ſatisfaction from the pyratical ſtates of Barbary for the inſults and depredations they had committed on the Engliſh. On his arrival at Trepano, he detached ſeveral frigates to block up the Tuniſine ſhips at Porto Farino. Terrified at the appearance of Blake, the Dey of Algiers deſired to make a peace with the protector, and agreed to reſtrain his pyratical ſubjects from committing any farther violences on the Engliſh. But he was treated in a very different manner by the Dey of Tunis. On preſenting himſelf before that port, and making the ſame demands, the Dey, pointing to the caſtles of Porto Farino and Goletto, dared him to do his worſt. The courage of Blake needed not this bravado to rouze it into action: he laid the broadſides of his ſhips almoſt cloſe to the caſtles, and ſoon tore them in pieces with his artillery. While this furious attack was carrying on, he ſent a ſtrong detachment of ſeamen in their long boats up the harbour, and burnt every ſhip that lay there. Terrified and aſtoniſhed at an action hitherto conſidered as impoſſible, the Tuniſines were convinced that they had acted very imprudently; they agreed to make the required ſatisfaction, and courted the friendſhip of a man whoſe valour had filled the African ſtates with wonder and aſtoniſhment.

The expedition under Penn was leſs ſucceſsful. The fleet conſiſted of thirty ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, on board of which were five thouſand land forces, under the command of colonel Venables. They were joined by about five thouſand more at Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's. But the two commanders, though they both favoured monarchy, were of very different tempers. The troops were ill provided with arms, ammunition, and proviſions: they were the refuſe of the whole army, and thoſe inliſted in the Weſt-Indies the moſt profligate of mankind. Before the fleet and army ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's, a proclamation was publiſhed, by which it was declared, that neither the ſoldiers nor ſailors were to have any ſhare of the plunder; but, as an equivalent, to receive a fortnight's pay. Perhaps a more imprudent meaſure could not have been taken: the men were deprived of the only incentive to valour among ſuch people.

On the twentieth of April, the fleet arrived at the iſland of Hiſpaniola; and it was determined by the admiral and general to attack St. Domingo, the capital, and indeed the only place of ſtrength in the iſland; but this was over-ruled by the commiſſioners whom the protector had ſent on board the fleet, to regulate its operations, and act as ſpies on the conduct of both commanders. This oppoſition of the commiſſioners proved the ruin of the expedition. A ſmall part of the fleet was ordered to lie before the capital, to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the forces were landed at Baſſado-bay, where the proclamation againſt plundering was again renewed. This threw ſuch a damp upon the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, that all the courage and intrepidity of their officers could not remove. In the mean time, colonel Buller had landed about ten miles from St. Domingo, at the head of the troops that had been left on board the ſhips to amuſe the enemy. It had been agreed, that Buller ſhould wait till he was joined by Venables, in order to attack a fort ſituated between them and the capital. But the enemy abandoning the fortreſs at the appearance of the Engliſh, Buller purſued his march towards St. Domingo, and encamped at ſome diſtance from a ſtrong fort, which formed the principal defence of the place. While Buller continued in his camp, Venables was obliged, during four days, to purſue a very fatiguing and diſcouraging march of near forty miles through an unknown and deſart country, where his men were every moment fainting with heat and thirſt.

During this delay, the Spaniards recovered from their conſternation; and having drawn together a conſiderable body of forces, lined the woods with ſtrong ambuſcades, by whom great numbers of the Engliſh were cut off in their march. Notwithſtanding this, the Engliſh attacked them with ſuch intrepidity, that they were driven from their faſtneſſes into the fort; and had not the Engliſh, through thirſt and faintneſs, been obliged to defer the attack of the fort, both that and the town itſelf muſt have fallen that very night into their hands. Nor could they continue on the ſpot where Buller was encamped for want of water; but were obliged to march to the place where that commander landed, where they continued till the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, under inexpreſſible hardſhips. Captain Cox, their principal guide, was ſlain; their bread was mouldy and ſcarce; their proviſions ſalt and rotten; their arms in very bad condition; one of their regiments gave evident ſigns of mutiny; no harmony ſubſiſted between their two principal commanders; and a peſtilential diſeaſe raged both in their fleet and camp. They, however, marched, on the twenty-ſixth of April, to attack the fort. Captain Jackſon, who commanded the van, led his men, either incautiouſly or treacherouſly, into a defile, lined on each ſide by the enemy's troops. The Engliſh had advanced ſo far before they perceived their danger, that they were expoſed to the whole fire of the Spaniards, without being able to return it with any effect; and every man of them muſt have been cut off, had not colonel Haynes, at the head of a detachment of his regiment, puſhed into the wood, and diſlodged the enemy, by attacking them in flank. Haynes himſelf was killed, after diſplaying amazing efforts of valour, together with moſt of the officers, and five hundred ſoldiers. The diverſion of Haynes enabled Venables to attack the enemy with advantage, and drive them into the fort. But the next morning it was found, that the only mortar-piece in the army was unfit for ſervice, and without a bombardment there were no hopes of ſucceſs. It was therefore determined to abandon the enterprize, and re-embark the forces.

In order to atone, if poſſible, for this miſcarriage, it was propoſed to make an attempt upon Jamaica, which ſurrendered to the Engliſh without making the leaſt reſiſtance. On their return, both the commanders were ſent to the Tower, though they had made a conqueſt of much greater importance to their country than that of Hiſpaniola itſelf. The protector immediately iſſued orders for ſending both men and money to his new conqueſt, and that iſland has ever ſince continued in the hands of the Engliſh.

The whole government being at this time veſted in the hands of the protector, whoſe deſignation and authority were entirely unknown in the Engliſh conſtitution, ſuch diſputes happened every day in the courts at Weſtminſter, concerning the foundation of his power, that they ſeemed to threaten to put a final ſtop to the courſe of juſtice itſelf: nor would the complicated affairs of government allow ſufficient leiſure for Cromwell to ſtudy a plan of civil government that might ſupply theſe defects. Conſcious that his preſent power reſted wholly on a military foundation, he determined to ſet up the military over the civil power: but before he could accompliſh his deſign, his attention was diverted from domeſtic to foreign affairs.

A. D. 1656. The Spaniards were no ſooner informed of the proceedings of Penn and Venables in the Weſt-Indies, than they declared war againſt the protector, and ſeized all the goods and ſhipping belonging to the Engliſh merchants in the territories of Spain. The commerce with that kingdom, ſo advantageous to the nation, was entirely at an end, and near fifteen hundred merchantmen fell into the hands of the enemy. Blake received orders to begin hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, and exert all his abilities to intercept their Plate fleet. But many of his officers, perſuaded that the war carried on againſt Spain was unjuſt, and contrary to the principles of the law of nature, threw up their commiſſions, returned to their country, and lived retired.

This, however, did not diſpirit Blake; he reſolved to do his duty as an honeſt man. He cruized, for ſome time, off Cadiz, in expectation of falling in with the Plate fleet; but being at laſt diſtreſſed for want of water, he was obliged to ſail towards Portugal, in order to procure a ſupply. Soon after his departure, captain Stayner, whom he had left on the Spaniſh coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, came in ſight of the galleons, and crowded all the ſail he could carry, in order to come up with them; but before this could be effected, the Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore, and was followed by two others. The reſt were following the example, but were taken by the Engliſh, and valued at near two million of pieces of eight. The two galleons on ſhore were ſet on fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter, periſhed in the flames.

This ſucceſs added ſome ſhare of popularity to Cromwell's government; and he took care to diſplay all the advantages of this acquiſition, by ordering the treaſure taken in the galleons to be brought up from Portſmouth to London by land. Before this welcome ſupply arrived, Cromwell had been reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of money, and ſeverely laſhed in ſeveral pamphlets by ſome of the members of the long parliament. He had, indeed, laid exceſſive impoſitions on the royaliſts, and publiſhed ſeveral rigorous edicts for collecting the public taxes; but all theſe reſources were not ſufficient to defray the expences of government.

The next action that happened between the Engliſh and the Spaniards acquired much greater glory to the Engliſh arms, though far from being attended with ſuch emoluments to the nation. Blake had not been long returned from the coaſt of Portugal, before he received advice that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the bay of Santa Cruz, in one of the Canary iſlands. Blake immediately ſailed thither, and ſoon found that his intelligence had not deceived him; but he perceived that every precaution had been taken to render any attempt upon the galleons abortive. Their ſmaller ſhips were moored cloſe to the ſhore, under the numerous cannon of a ſtrong caſtle, and ſeven ſmaller batteries well mounted with artillery, and a line of communication running between them all. Six large galleons lay near the entrance of the harbour, a ſtrong boom being drawn acroſs its mouth, fitted up like floating batteries, with their broadſides towards the Engliſh.

Blake ſurveyed theſe batteries with the cloſeſt attention, but was rather animated than daunted by the danger. He called a council of war, and it was unanimouſly determined to burn the Spaniſh galleons. Blake himſelf undertook the attack of the large ſhips and forts, while Stayner attempted to force his way into the harbour. Accordingly, as ſoon as the morning appeared, Stayner, in the Speaker frigate, ſtood into the bay with his ſquadron, while Blake attacked the forts and galleons. The dreadful ſcene that followed is eaſier imagined than deſcribed. The Spaniards themſelves believed it to be the effect of fiends rather than of men, and thanked heaven they could loſe no part of their honour in the action, as they were born to fight with men, and not with devils. Every circumſtance tended to confirm them in that deluſion. The thundering of Blake's cannon; the fury of his ſailors, who ruſhed amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, as if they had been invulnerable, and ſeemed to ſeek their ſafety in the mouth of danger; the ſhouts of the aſſailants, and the groans of the wounded, heard in the ſhort intervals between the roaring of the artillery; and, at laſt, the flames of their own ſhips, burſting through the clouds of ſmoke, and lighting up the dreadful ſcene of death and ruin, convinced the Spaniards that all oppoſition was in vain; they thought it would be madneſs to oppoſe force and courage to a ſupernatural power. The fire from their forts abated; their troops were driven from their intrenchments; their harbour was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and their ſhips totally abandoned; ſo that not one of them eſcaped the flames, except two which had been ſunk in the action.

This battle aſtoniſhed all Europe. It ſeemed beyond the power of a few ſhips to attack and ſilence a ſtrong caſtle, numerous forts, and a large fleet, well furniſhed with men and artillery, and aſſiſted by every requiſite, either for offence or defence, that human prudence could deviſe. A greater danger ſtill attended the Engliſh; the wind blew right into the bay; and their eagerneſs had carried them ſo near the ſhore, that their ſhips muſt have been deſtroyed, had not the wind, by ſuddenly ſhifting, removed all their fears, and carried them beyond the reach of danger. Though this action was remarkably ſevere, and though the Engliſh expoſed themſelves to the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, they had only forty-eight men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. The loſs of the Spaniards, both in men and ſhips, was very great; and the latter, for ſome time, irrepairable. A very conſiderable part of the rich lading of the galleons, being too bulky to be carried off, periſhed in the flames.

This was at once the greateſt and laſt action of the intrepid Blake. His health had been, for ſome time, declining, and he now obtained permiſſion to return; but he lived not to land in his native country. He died in his paſſage, and has always been conſidered as one of the greateſt men this country has ever produced. Though a ſtrict republican in principles, he always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. "We ſhould fight for our country," ſaid he, "into whatever hands the government may fall." The ſtrongeſt proof of his merit is, that, in the midſt of ſo many jarring, and even hoſtile factions, he was eſteemed by them all.

If Cromwell was at once both loved and reſpected abroad, his adminiſtration was not leſs calculated to maintain his authority at home. A ſtrict obſerver of juſtice and the laws, as far as his uſurped authority would admit, he ſupported both with equal vigour. He had quelled a late inſurrection of the royaliſts, but he refuſed, with indignation, the counſel of his officers to maſſacre all the inſurgents. The army continued faithful to him, notwithſtanding the dangerous enthuſiaſm that ſtill prevailed among the officers and ſoldiers. The militia, kept up and exerciſed with care in the ſeveral counties, was always ready, on the firſt ſignal, to lend him very powerful aſſiſtance. As religion, or rather fanaticiſm directed the multitude, one of his principal cares was to manage the fiery preſbyterians, by gaining over their adverſaries, which he accompliſhed by means of a general telleration, from which none but papiſts and the partizans of epiſcopacy were excluded. Attentive to the ſmalleſt particular, he had ſpies in almoſt every place, where any intelligence was likely to be procured; it is ſaid that theſe coſt him ſixty thouſand pounds a year. He was apprehenſive of nothing but aſſaſſination, againſt which neither prudence nor vigilance could avail. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, wrote a very ſpirited pamphlet, exhorting every one who wiſhed well to his country, to embrace this method of vengeance, the only one in their power to put a period to the uſurpation of a tyrant. This publication alarmed Cromwell: he knew that the minds of the royal party were ſufficiently inflamed to put ſo obvious a method in practice. He therefore declared openly, that he looked upon all attempts of that kind as baſe and odious, and would never begin hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but if the firſt attempt came from them he would retaliate the injury by every method in his power; that he did not want agents ſufficient to execute his purpoſe, and that he would employ them to the utter extinction of the royal family. This menace probably ſaved him from the dagger of the aſſaſſin.

A. D. 1657 Cromwell had always been deſirous of giving the power he had uſurped the ſanction of a legal eſtabliſhment, and now determined to make another attempt to effect it. He accordingly aſſembled a parliament compoſed of the repreſentatives of the three kingdoms. Ireland and Scotland, reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, nominated ſuch members as were conformable to his wiſhes. But the ſpirit of the Engliſh was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued to ſubmit to his arbitrary directions. He ſoon perceived that many of the diſſatisfied members in the laſt parliament were again returned, and began to fear they would be too powerful for his friends. In order therefore to ſecure a majority, he excluded a hundred ſuſpected members, and thus made himſelf maſter of the parliament. This being effected, every thing followed of courſe; for though there was ſtill a ſtrong oppoſition, the majority was on the ſide of the protector's friends. They began with abrogating all the titles of Charles Stuart and his family. This being effected it was moved that the protector ſhould have the title of king; and after a very warm debate it was carried that a bill ſhould be brought in for that purpoſe. It was urged that the Engliſh conſtitution neceſſarily ſuppoſed a royal authority; that the laws admitted not of a protector except during a minitory, and had not fixed the prerogatives of the functions of that office; that to remove all appearance of arbitrary power, the only method was to have recourſe to a title which the nation had always reſpected; and that this was the more practicable, as an expreſs law of Henry VII. had provided for the ſecurity of thoſe who defended the reigning prince; a ſufficient proof that the legiſlation depended more on the form of government, than on the birthright of the ſupreme magiſtrate. The bill was violently oppoſed by Lambert, the major-generals, and all the republican party. But being unable to anſwer the above arguments, they had recourſe to a very tumultuous behaviour, which ſufficiently convinced Cromwell, that unleſs he could prevail with the officers of the army to join with the majority in parliament, he muſt renounce the honour he ſo ardently wiſhed to obtain. No arts were left untried to bring Lambert over to his purpoſe, but in vain. Fleetwood and Deſborough were alſo averſe to his accepting the title of king; and declared, if the bill paſſed, and received the aſſent of the protector, they would immediately reſign their commiſſions, though they would make no efforts to diſturb the government.

The houſe, however, proceeded in their deſign; and at laſt, after a long and violent debate, it was voted, "That his highneſs will be pleaſed to aſſume the name, ſtile, title, dignity, and office of king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the reſpective dominions thereunto belonging, and to exerciſe the ſame according to the laws of theſe nations." A committee was now appointed to reaſon with the protector, and, if poſſible, overcome thoſe ſcruples, which he pretended he entertained againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer.

Cromwell ſtrongly oppoſed all their reaſons, which were urged with great ſtrength and eloquence. But his oppoſition proceeded not from the reaſonableneſs of his accepting the offer. He was well convinced of the ſolidity of their arguments; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the ſide of the committee. But the oppoſition of his friends, and that of the army, terrified him. He knew the office of king had been painted in ſuch horrid colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling the ſoldiers to it ſuddenly, even though beſtowed upon their general, to whom they were ſo remarkably devoted. He knew that the tranſition between coldneſs and averſion was very ſmall; that they who had loved with the greateſt affection, hated with the moſt deadly rancour; and it was impoſſible to foreſee what diſappointment and deſpair might occaſion. Some already talked of dividing England into a new heptarchy, to be governed by the chief officers of the army. Even this ſtrange deſign the republicans would rather have adopted, than agree to Cromwell's accepting of the royal dignity. He was alſo fearful, that when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble perſon, who had waded to the throne through a torrent of blood. Suſpended between theſe fears and his own ardent deſires, Cromwell protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſons of the committee, hoping that he might be able, by artifice, to reconcile the minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity. His elocution was always confuſed; but now, when he reaſoned in contradiction to his own judgment and inclination, it was involved in tenfold darkneſs; it was deſtitute both of reaſon and common ſenſe.

At laſt, after an agony of perplexity, occaſioned by a long and tedious ſeries of doubts, the protector was obliged to refuſe that crown which he ſo ardently wiſhed to receive, and which the repreſentatives of the nation had tendered him in the moſt ſolemn manner. Upon this refuſal, the parliament found it neceſſary to retain the name of Commonwealth and Protector; but as the government had hitherto been a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought neceſſary to give it a parliamentary ſanction.

In order to this, it was proper to ſet aſide the inſtrument of government, which had been drawn up by the general officers only, and ſubſtitute another in its room. This was accordingly done, and a new inſtrument of government was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament, under the title of "An humble petition and advice." This act of the legiſlature formed the baſis of the republican government; by it the powers of each member of the conſtitution was regulated and limited, in order to place the liberty of the people on a more ſolid foundation. In ſome particulars, the authority of the protector was enlarged, and in others diminiſhed, by this deed. He had the power of naming his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue aſſigned him, a million a year for the fleet and the army, and three hundred thouſand pounds for the civil government. He had the power of eſtabliſhing another houſe of parliament, the members of which were to hold their ſeats during life, and to exerciſe many of the functions of the former houſe of peers. On the other hand, his power of framing laws with the conſent of his council, during the receſs of parliament, was abrogated: and it was eſtabliſhed, that no member of either houſe ſhould be excluded, but by the conſent of that houſe of which he was a member. The other articles received very little alteration, remaining the ſame in ſubſtance as in the firſt inſtrument of government. This parliamentary ſanction being obtained, Cromwell was again inaugurated, with the utmoſt pomp and ceremony, in Weſtminſter-hall; and on the twenty-ſixth of June, he put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament.

The ſituation of the protector was now very critical in England. He had indeed obtained the diſpoſal of a very large revenue; but great difficulties attended it. His acceptance of the office and title of protector, had not leſſened them, and the force he had put upon the parliament by excluding ſo many of the members was univerſally condemned. Even thoſe who were moſt deſirous of a ſettlement, upon almoſt any terms, and would have been contented, for the ſake of a permanent government, to have ſubmitted to his authority, either as king or protector, entertained many ſcruples with regard to the legality of the proceedings of a parliament, which ſat under a viſible force. Cromwell found that theſe ſcruples were invincible; and his enemies having already felt his ſeverity, he was now determined they ſhould taſte his clemency. Lambert was allowed a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year. Ludlow was ſuffered to reſide in his own houſe, Sir Harry Vane was releaſed from his confinement in Cariſbrook-caſtle, and he determined to ſuffer the ſecluded members to take their ſeats the next ſeſſion of parliament. In the mean time Cromwell applied himſelf cloſely to the formation of his upper houſe of parliament, which was to conſiſt of ſixty members, among whom were five or ſix ancient peers, and ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction; the reſt were officers of the army, who had riſen from the dregs of the people. All the ancient peers, however, refuſed to accept a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them.

A. D. 1658. On the twentieth of January the parliament met, purſuant to their prorogation, and the protector, in order to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate, removed the guards from the doors of both houſes. The firſt ſubject of deliberation among the commons was the illegality of excluding ſo many of their members during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. In this debate it was confidently affirmed, that there could be no free parliament under ſuch a force, and therefore, that the humble petition and advice, together with all that had been done in conſequence of it, were invalid; nor were they obliged to take any notice of the other houſe. Cromwell, by taking ſo many of his friends and adherents from the lower houſe, in order to form the upper, had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. The enemies of the protector were ſoon ſenſible of their power; they made and carried a motion not to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the other houſe which Cromwell had eſtabliſhed.

While the commons were thus oppoſing the arbitrary proceedings of the government, a petition was preparing in the city for taking the power of the militia out of the protector's hands. Exaſperated at theſe meaſures, Cromwell ſent a very ſharp meſſage to the commons, acquainting them that he expected they would give the ſame appellation, and pay the ſame attention to the lords, as had been given or paid to any houſe of peers in England. But the commons, inſtigated by Lambert and Haſlerigg within doors, and by Harriſon and the fifth monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his threat, or his authority. Cromwell was now ſufficiently exaſperated, and without conſulting any perſon, flung himſelf into a common coach, and with no more than four or five of his guards, and attended by his nephew and a lieutenant-colonel, hurried to the houſe of peers, where he whiſpered Fleetwood, that he was come to diſſolve the parliament. Fleetwood, who ſeems to have acted in concert with the malecontents, uſed every argument in his power to diſſuade Cromwell from his purpoſe. He deſired him to reflect a moment on the dreadful conſequences that had generally attended a haſty diſſolution of the parliament. But Cromwell, without paying any attention to his arguments, laid his hand upon his breaſt, and ſwore by the living God they ſhould not ſit a moment longer. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to the commons commanding their attendance in the houſe of peers, where, after a very reproachful ſpeech, he diſſolved the parliament.

This precipitate action, which in any other perſon, would have been conſidered as an indication of madneſs, was in this extraordinary man, a meaſure at once both bold and neceſſary, and prompted by that genius which ſeldom or never forſook him. But notwithſtanding all his power, his abilities, and the terror of his name, he was now ſurrounded with dangers both open and ſecret. The fifth monarchy-men had long been his avowed enemies. They pretended to aboliſh all taxes, cuſtoms, tythes, and every other burthen laid upon the people. They held their meetings at Mile-end, and though they were in general perſons of the loweſt condition, they were bold, bloody and deſperate. They depended greatly upon major-general Harriſon, admiral Lawſon, and the colonels Rich, Danvers and Okey to head them. They had even their cabals and correſpondents in every part of the kingdom. But Cromwell's intrepidity, and Thurloe's excellent intelligence, rendered all their ſchemes abortive; and about ten of the moſt deſperate among them were ſeized in the midſt of their conſultations, together with the ſtandard they intended to erect, as the ſignal of the commencement of the reign of the ſaints upon earth.

This well-timed action did not, however, put an end to their cabals. Cromwell perceived that the poiſon had reached much farther than he expected. Several of the officers of the army, and even ſome of them who ſerved about his perſon, became ſullen and gloomy; a ſure indication that they were forming ſome dangerous deſign. The protector therefore aſſembled all the officers near London, among whom major Packer, and moſt of the captains of his own regiment were chiefly ſuſpected. Cromwell repaired to the meeting, and in a very authoritative tone of voice, demanded whether they were willing to ſerve him againſt his enemies? Over-awed by the preſence of their general, they continued ſilent for ſome time; at laſt they ſaid, they were ready to ſerve him upon the footing of "the good old cauſe." Cromwell treated that expreſſion with great contempt, and after aſking what they meant by uſing it now, he immediately diſmiſſed them from their poſts in the army, and gave their commiſſions to others whom he knew he could truſt. This inſtance of firmneſs and ſeverity produced the deſired effect; the reſt of the officers promiſing to obey him with great alacrity.

The daring ſpirit of Cromwell only was capable of diſcharging men, who had been the principal inſtruments of his greatneſs. But it ſeems to have given him no diſquiet. He was perſuaded they could never join with the royaliſts, from whom alone he was apprehenſive of danger: He did not indeed think it prudent to treat the chief officers, who were equally diſcontented, in ſo deſpotic a manner: he endeavoured to regain their favour by careſſes; but was never able to remove the hatred they had conceived againſt the government. The wiſeſt and richeſt of the royaliſts, lived upon their eſtates, pleaſed with obſerving the deſpotiſm which Cromwell had exerciſed over a parliament, who had treated them in ſo tyrannical a manner. They ſaw with delight the perpetual commotions of the public, from a perſuaſion that out of confuſion order muſt at laſt ariſe. Their retirements, their ſtudies, their reflections, tended happily to promote the good of their country. They had now ſufficient leiſure to reflect on the errors of the late king, and comparing them with the diſtractions of the government that ſucceeded. Theſe they ſaw evidently were the extremes of legiſlation, and that in the mean between them true liberty was to be found.

The Spaniards, deſirous of diſtreſſing the Engliſh government, had invited Charles to Bruges, where he appeared at the head of four thouſand men, chiefly Engliſh, formed into four regiments. This revived the hopes of the royaliſts, and a general inſurrection was projected. Ormond was ſecretly diſpatched to England, in order to concert meaſures for the execution of this deſign. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and ſeveral more of the leaders of the preſbyterian party had ſecretly entered into the engagement. The army was ſtill infected with the general ſpirit of diſcontent; and, after the protector's violent breach with the late parliament, no hopes remained of founding his power on the baſis of legiſlative authority. His adminiſtration, ſo expenſive both in military enterprizes and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his treaſury, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. All his arts of policy were exhauſted; and having ſo often deceived every party by proud and falſe pretences, he could no longer hope that the ſame arts would be attended with the ſame ſucceſs.

But notwithſtanding all theſe promiſing circumſtances, the conſpiracy of the royaliſts was rendered abortive. Cromwell was informed of their deſign before it was ripe for execution. The marquis of Ormond was obliged to fly to the continent; and great numbers of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Sir Henry Slingſby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded; and Mordant, brother to the earl of Peterborough, eſcaped the ſame fate merely by the accident of colonel Pride's being abſent, till the ſentence was pronounced in his favour. For the numbers were equal, and Pride, who was his declared enemy, entered the court juſt as the preſident had finiſhed his determination.

Nor was the protector free from the fears of aſſaſſination; Sindercombe, one of the fifth monarchy-men, had undertaken to murder him, and it was only by the intervention of the moſt unaccountable accidents that he was prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe. His deſign was at laſt diſcovered; but though the cleareſt proof of his guilt was apparent to the jury, and though every man held the crime of which he was accuſed in the utmoſt deteſtation, it was not without the greateſt difficulty they could be prevailed upon to find him guilty; ſo greatly were they diſſatisfied with the protector's right of ſupreme government of the nation. This incident could not fail of giving Cromwell the utmoſt uneaſineſs; and which was greatly increaſed by the firmneſs of Sindercombe, who refuſed to diſcover any of his accomplices.

Mrs. Claypole, Cromwell's beloved daughter, a lady endued with every humane virtue, and the moſt amiable accompliſhments, had entertained the higheſt regard for Dr. Huet, and made the moſt preſſing inſtances to her father to ſave his life; but being refuſed his pardon, her temper, which was always enclined to melancholy, preyed upon her health; and after uſing the moſt preſſing remonſtrances to awaken the protector into a compunction for the heinous crimes into which his ambition had betrayed him, ſhe paid the debt of nature amidſt the tears of all who were friends to virtue. Her death greatly affected Cromwell. And her words now obtained their full force; they embittered the ſmall remainder of his life. His old friend, the earl of Warwick died alſo about the ſame time, which greatly affected him, and he began to perceive, when it was too late, that the purſuits of ambition are not the purſuits of peace.

His compoſure and tranquillity of mind were now fled for ever. He ſaw that all his neareſt and moſt beloved friends, Fleetwood, Deſborough, Claypole, and Falconbridge, abhorred his principles; and he who had ſo lately the whole army at his call, could now hardly find five men in the whole nation to ſecond his favourite deſigns. He was become a bankrupt both in his government and his private fortune; and notwithſtanding all the mighty things he had done, he found himſelf no better than a ſplendid wretch ſurrounded with misfortunes, which the ſmalleſt grain of genuine virtue in his former career of glory, might either have prevented or removed. His diſſimulation was at once ſo groſs and odious, that had he now actually returned to the paths of virtue, not a man in England would have thought him ſincere; even his profeſſing it muſt only have tended to have increaſed the public deteſtation of his hypocriſy.

Amidſt all theſe diſtreſſes of mind, he was ſeized, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, with a ſlow fever, which ſoon after changed into a tertian ague. No dangerous ſymptoms, however, appeared for ſome time, and he was even able to walk abroad during the intervals between the fits. But the fever, as well as the force of the paroxyſm of the diſeaſe, increaſing at every return, Cromwell himſelf began to be apprehenſive that his end was approaching. His thoughts were now turned towards a future ſtate, which had formerly been the conſtant ſubject of his contemplations; but which the continual wars and affairs of government, had for ſome time totally interrupted. Goodwin, one of his enthuſiaſtic preachers, conſtantly attended him, and endeavoured to remove from his mind that deſpondency in which he was now involved. One day, when he was cloſely engaged in this pious converſation, Cromwell aſked him, with great emotion, "whether it was poſſible for the elect to fall, or ſuffer a final reprobation?" "It is impoſſible," replied the preacher. "Then," cried Cromwell, with an air of ſatisfaction, "I am ſafe; for I am ſure I was once in a ſtate of grace."

Fully ſenſible of the dangerous condition of the protector, the phyſicians were continually intimating to thoſe about him, and even often to himſelf, that they thought it highly prudent to ſettle the affairs of government. On the other hand, his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, inſpired him with ſuch hopes, that he believed he was no longer in danger. "I ſhall not die of this diſtemper," ſaid he one day to his phyſicians; "I am well aſſured of my recovery. My ſupplications have prevailed; I am promiſed it from the Lord." Thoſe ſtrange enthuſiaſtic notions ſeem to have prevailed among all his friends. "The lord," ſaid Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, "will ſoon reſtore him, and bring him forth with more vigour, life and zeal. His highneſs has himſelf had very great diſcoveries from the Lord. He hath received aſſurances of his being reſtored, and of being farther ſerviceable in the great work he hath begun." Goodwin was ſo thoroughly convinced of his being in no danger of death, that he uſed the following expreſſion in his prayer: "Lord we beg not for his recovery, for that thou haſt already granted and aſſured us of, but for his ſpeedy recovery." Even when the phyſicians abſolutely deſpaired of his being able to ſupport the next fit of his diſeaſe, Thurloe has the following expreſſion in his diſpatch to Henry Cromwell, "That which is ſome ground of hope is, that the Lord has, as on ſome former occaſions, given to himſelf a particular aſſurance, that he ſhall yet live to ſerve him, and to carry on the great work he hath put into his hands."

At laſt the phyſicians were obliged to declare that all hopes were over. The council was now ſufficiently alarmed; and a deputation was ſent to know his pleaſure with regard to a ſucceſſion. But before they reached his apartment, he was ſpeechleſs and almoſt inſenſible. They aſked whether he did not intend that his eldeſt ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him; and a ſimple affirmation was, or ſeemed to be, extorted from him. He lived only a few minutes after, paying the debt of nature on the third of September, in the ſixtieth year of his age, amidſt a ſtorm ſo dreadful all over Europe, that it ſeemed a general wreck of nature. This tempeſt happening at ſo critical a moment, gave occaſion to many reflections both of his friends and enemies. The day on which he died was alſo much taken notice of, it being the anniverſary of his moſt glorious ſucceſſes at Dunbar and Worceſter, which he always conſidered as the moſt fortunate events of his whole life.

The character of Cromwell has been often drawn both by his friends and enemies. The former ſeems dictated by panegyric, and the latter by invective. It muſt be owned, however, that both carry the ſtrongeſt air of probability, becauſe they are ſupported by ſtriking circumſtances in his conduct and fortune. "What, ſay his friends, can be more extraordinary, than that a perſon, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have ſometimes, nor ſhining talents of mind, which have often raiſed men to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute ſo extraordinary a deſign as the ſubverting one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world? That he ſhould have the power and boldneſs to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave him ground for diſſatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the ſaints, and give reality to the moſt viſionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppreſs that monſter in its infancy, and openly ſet up himſelf above all that ever attained the appellation of ſovereign in England! Overcome firſt his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Served all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriouſly at laſt? Over-run each corner of the three nations, and ſubdue with equal facility, both the riches of the ſouth and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to gods upon earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and ſcatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of ſeditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of milions a year, to be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of three nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no end of enumerating his glory) with one word bequeath all his power and ſplendor to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal ſolemnity? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world; which, as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo it might have ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns?"

On the other hand his enemies have placed the actions of this extraordinary man in the moſt odious point of light. "What, ſay they, can be more ſuperlatively wicked than for a perſon to endeavour not only to exalt himſelf above, but to trample upon all his equals and ſuperiors? To pretend freedom for all men, and under the cloak of that pretence, to make all men his ſervants? To take up arms againſt taxes amounting to ſcarce two hundred thouſand pounds a year, and to lay himſelf upon the nation the enormous load of above two millions? To quarrel for the loſs of three or four ears, and ſtrike off three or four thouſand heads? To fight againſt an imaginary ſuſpicion of two thouſand guards for the king to be fetched from no body knew were, and keep up for himſelf no leſs than forty thouſand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to diſſolve all, even thoſe of his own calling, and almoſt of his own chuſing? To undertake the reformation of religion, and on that pretence to ſtrip to the ſkin, and then to expoſe it naked to the rage of every ſect? To eſtabliſh councils of rapine and courts of murder? To fight againſt the king under a commiſſion for him? To take him out of the hands of thoſe for whom he had conquered him? To deceive him by proteſtations and vows of fidelity and when he had effected his purpoſe, to put him to death, in the face of the world? To receive a commiſſion from the king and parliament, and murder the one and deſtroy the other? To fight againſt monarchy, when he declared for it, “and to declare againſt it, when he wiſhed to acquire it in his own perſon? To defame preſidiouſly, and ſupplant ungratefully his own general, and afterwards moſt of thoſe officers, who with the loſs of their honour, had raiſed him to the ſummit of his unreaſonable ambition? To break his faith equally with his enemies and with his friends? To make as frequent uſe of the moſt ſolemn perjuries, as the common people of cuſtomary oaths? To uſurp three kingdoms without the leaſt ſhadow of pretenſions, and govern them as unjuſtly as they were acquired? To ſet himſelf up as an idol, and make the ſtreets of London reſemble the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men, as a ſacrifice to himſelf? To endeavour to entail this uſurpation upon poſterity, and with it an endleſs war upon the nation? And laſtly, by the ſevereſt judgment of the Almighty, to die hardened, mad, and without repentance, with the curſes of the preſent, and the deteſtation of all ſucceeding ages?”

Such are the different characters given of Cromwell, and both are founded on facts and circumſtances that cannot be controverted. But from the whole we may ſafely conclude, that he wanted nothing but honeſty, to make him one of the greateſt men in the world.

Cromwell was married to Elizabeth, daughter to Sir James Bouchier, by whom he had two ſons, Richard who ſucceeded him, and Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and four daughters, Bridget, married to general Fleetwood; Elizabeth, to John Claypole, of Northamptonſhire, eſq; Mary, to lord Falconbridge; and Frances, to lord Rich.

The powerful, the dreaded Cromwell being now no more, ſome ſudden revolution in the ſtate, which muſt deſtroy the preſent ill-conſtructed fabric of government, was immediately expected. But this was not the caſe. The council, the army, the navy, even the whole country at once, acknowledged Richard Cromwell protector of the commonwealth. He was a plain, indolent, good-natured young man, brought up in the country, at a diſtance from buſineſs and intrigue, and neither formed by inclination, inured by habit, nor aſſiſted by talents ſufficient to enable him to ſupply the place of his father. Henry Cromwell, who governed Ireland with great popularity and applauſe, inſured to his brother the obedience of that kingdom. General Monk, whoſe authority was well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, proclaimed the new protector in the principal towns of that kingdom. Addreſſes flowed from every part of the kingdom, and Richard was treated with the ſame reſpect as his father.

But this external complaiſance among the fanatical leaders of the different parties, was nothing better than a deceitful calm which ſuited the views of all, as a breathing time for concerting plans to promote their own intereſts. No perſon could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpoſe than Richard. The republicans did not fear him, nor the royaliſts hate him; and his advancement was of the utmoſt conſequence to thoſe who were in the preſent poſſeſſion of the government. But a queſtion was ſoon ſtarted in the council, whether Richard, according to the tenor of the humble petition and advice, was to be conſidered as general of the army. This was ſtriking at the very baſis of all his power, and the ſecret cabals againſt him were indefatigable in forming plans for his ruin.

A. D. 1659. But as ſupplies were wanting for the affairs of government it was thought neceſſary to call a parliament. The upper houſe, or houſe of peers, conſiſted of the ſame perſons who had been nominated by Oliver himſelf, and thence conſidered as friends to his family. And in order to inſure a majority in the commons, it was thought neceſſary to reſtore to the old boroughs their former right of ſending members to parliament; while the counties were allowed no more than their accuſtomed members. By this means the miniſtry procured a majority in the lower as well as in the upper houſe, and all the members ſigned, without heſitation, an engagement not to alter the preſent government.

On the firſt of February, ſecretary Thurloe preſented to the commons, “An act of recognition of his highneſs's right and title to be protector and chief magiſtrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging.” This act was very artfully drawn, the recognitory part being expreſſed in general terms; but it contained a very particular and ample abjuration of the royal family. A ſmall debate only enſued on the firſt reading, but the republicans determined to oppoſe it with all their power when it came to be read a ſecond time. They ſaw that it virtually contained a recognition of the petition and advice, which they were determined, if poſſible, to ſet aſide, and conſequently deſtroy the baſis of the protector's government. Beſides the republican and miniſterial parties, there were two others in the houſe, who had views of their own, and though directly oppoſite to each other, agreed in one point, that of embarraſſing both the others. The firſt was compoſed of men of deſperate fortunes, and who wiſhed to ſee Fleetwood commander in chief of the army, hoping that the government would once more fall into the hands of the military, and both king and protector be excluded. The miniſterial party had, however, ſtill a majority in the houſe. But the proceedings of this parliament afford a memorable inſtance, that a dead majority in an Engliſh houſe of commons, may carry their queſtions, and yet loſe their purpoſes. The republicans were much bolder and far better ſpeakers than their antagoniſts. In oppoſing this bill, they founded their arguments on the conſtitution ſettled immediately after the death of the late king, and Sir Harry Vane very pertinently obſerved, that if the government founded at that period was illegal, they were guilty of the blood of their late prince. The miniſterial party, on the other hand, went no farther back than the inſtrument of petition and advice, which they contended to be the laſt, and only legal conſtitution of government. But even admitting that poſition, they found themſelves embarraſſed with another difficulty, that of proving that the privileges and authority granted by that inſtrument to the protector were not perſonal, and terminated with his life. Even if they did not, the republicans contended, that a free parliament ought to have no regard to the whole, or any part of that inſtrument, becauſe it was voted by a power deſtructive of that conſtitution, which gave their aſſembly an exiſtence as a parliament. Their arguments had great effect upon the people, eſpecially as the anſwers given to them, by the miniſterial party were far from being thought ſufficient.

Fleetwood, who had concealed his ambition under the veil of an obſequious behaviour to the new protector, could not help obſerving, that the army, by joining the republicans, might retrieve at once their power and popularity. But the greateſt art was neceſſary to form this connection, as the protector's influence among the troops was very powerful. It was therefore contrived between him and Deſborough, to introduce Lambert once more on the ſtage. That general ever ſince he had been deprived of his commiſſion, had lived retired at Wimbleton in Surry; but he no ſooner ſaw a proſpect of regaining his former authority, than he reſumed all his ambitious proſpects. Many of the principal officers in the army thought he had been ungenerouſly treated by the late protector, and his ſufferings had, in ſome meaſure, rendered him popular. Fleetwood therefore ſecretly made uſe of Lambert to ſtrengthen the diſcontented party among the officers, while Deſborough declared openly and violently for a republic. The meetings for carrying on their deſtructive ſchemes were held at Wallingford-houſe, where Fleetwood reſided, and hence the aſſembly was called the cabal of Wallingford-houſe.

While the officers of the army were employed in theſe conſultations, the debates in parliament were carried on with great vehemence by both parties. The republicans exerted all their power to have the militia and negative voice ſettled in the repreſentatives of the people, while the miniſterial party ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on recognizing the protector. Many expedients were propoſed for reconciling the two parties, but in vain; both continued firm to their principles. After the queſtion had been debated for ſeveral days, with the utmoſt warmth and freedom, the miniſterial party carried their point, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-one, againſt one hundred and ſixty-eight. The republicans were not, however, diſcouraged. They procured the following reſolution to be taken by the houſe, viz. "That before the bill of recognition be committed, this houſe doth declare ſuch additional clauſe to be part of the bill, as may limit the power of the chief magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the right and privileges of parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people; and that neither this, nor any other previous vote, that is, or ſhall be paſſed, in order to this bill, ſhall be of force or binding to the people, till the whole bill is paſſed."

The carrying this reſolution, ruined the republicans: they fancied they were now a match for their opponents, and had recourſe to methods that leſſened their intereſt. They reſumed the deſign of preſenting a petition in favour of a republic, which was in great forwardneſs when Oliver Cromwell diſſolved the parliament; and accordingly it was brought to the houſe a few days after, by a formidable body of citizens. Fleetwood's party had hitherto joined the republicans, in order to diſtreſs the government, being no friends to this petition, they joined the miniſterial party; and it was voted by a great majority that no notice ſhould be taken of it. The petitioners were told, that it was expected they ſhould acquieſce quietly in whatever was done by the parliament.

By this time Fleetwood had ſo far reconciled the differences that ſubſiſted between Lambert and Deſborough, that it was reſolved to preſent a remonſtrance to the protector, on the preſent ſtate of affairs. The inſtrument was accordingly preſented under the title of "The humble repreſentation and petition of the general council of officers of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland." Richard referred it immediately to the commons, who ſeemed not to regard it with the attention the officers expected. In this remonſtrance the army complained "that large arrears of pay were due to the ſoldiers, by which they were reduced to neceſſity; that they who had borne the burden of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers attending it, were now diſregarded, divided and laid aſide. That the good old cauſe was treated with contempt, and traduced by malignant and diſaffected perſons, who grew every day more inſolent, becauſe their numbers were every moment increaſing, by the return of their friends from foreign parts, and had now ſeveral meetings in the city of London: that the names of all thoſe who ſat as judges upon the late king, had been printed and ſcattered in different parts of the kingdom, intimating that they were all conſigned to deſtruction; that many ſuits were commenced at common law againſt honeſt men, for what they had tranſacted in the wars as ſoldiers: that thoſe famous acts which had been performed by the long parliament, and the late protector, were cenſured, railed at, and vilified. By theſe means, they ſaid, the good old cauſe, which they were reſolved to ſupport, was viſibly declined. And therefore they beſought his highneſs to repreſent their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and ſpeedy remedies."

The commons affected to treat this petition with great contempt. They imagined that while they continued united with the protector, their joint intereſt in the army would be abundantly ſufficient to ſilence the factious officers; but the puſillanimity of Richard rendered all their hopes abortive. For ſome time they took no notice of the petition; but upon receiving repeated accounts that the officers continued their meetings, and that it had been propoſed to ſeparate the military from the civil power, the commons voted "that during the ſitting of parliament, there ſhall be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army, without the direction, leave and authority of his highneſs the lord protector, and both houſes of parliament. That no perſon ſhall have or continue any command or truſt in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any of the dominions and territories thereto belonging, who ſhall refuſe to ſubſcribe, that he will not diſturb or interrupt the free meetings of parliament, of any of the members of either houſe, or their freedom in their debates or councils."

This reſolution of the commons excited the reſentment of the cabal at Wallingford-houſe, and they ſeemed determined to carry things to extremity. Lord Broghill, aware of the conſequence, prevailed upon Richard to repair to one of their meetings, and command them to diſſolve. Surprized at this unexpected exertion of power in Richard, they immediately withdrew, but did not diſſolve. Fleetwood and Deſborough were now ſufficiently alarmed, and upbraided lord Broghill with his conduct in the houſe of peers, and even threatened him with an impeachment. This threat did not in the leaſt intimidate Broghill; he threatened to move the houſe to know who had conſented to the calling of a council of war, without the knowledge and conſent of parliament. His ſpeech was ſo well received by the houſe, that the officers deſpaired of carrying any thing in parliament, and renewed their ſecret conſultations.

Their deſigns were, however, known to thoſe officers who were attached to the protector; and they offered, if Richard would promiſe to ſupport them, to anſwer with their heads for the ſucceſs; and to bring before him Fleetwood, Deſborough, Vane, and other leaders of the oppoſition, dead or alive. Howard, who was one of Oliver's diſtinguiſhed favourites, was among the foremoſt to puſh Richard to take this vigorous reſolution, which might have been eaſily effected. But he declined the offer, and choſe rather to purſue peaceable than violent meaſures. Nor did he poſſeſs any of thoſe arts which were neceſſary to gain the love of an enthuſiaſtic army. Some diſguſt being taken at the promotions he had made, he anſwered, "Would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach, yet I will truſt him before you all." The pretended ſaints were highly offended at this imprudent ſpeech, and vowed the protector's deſtruction.

The council of officers aſſembled, repaired to the protector in a tumultuous manner, and demanded the diſſolution of the parliament. Richard wanted fortitude to deny, nor had he indeed the ability to reſiſt. The parliament was diſſolved, and by the ſame act the protector was effectually dethroned. A few days after, he ſigned his diſmiſſion in form. His brother Henry, governor of Ireland, a man of much better parts, but not greater ambition, reſigned his power at the ſame time. Such was the fate of Cromwell's family! That edifice of grandeur, erected at the expence of ſo much guilt and labour, diſappeared in a moment. Richard retired into the country, where he poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, and where he remained unmoleſted: his peaceable diſpoſition defended him againſt the malignancy of every party. After the reſtoration of monarchy, Richard travelled for ſome years. The prince of Conti, governor of Languedoc, ſaw him at Prezenaz, without knowing him. They were ſpeaking of Engliſh affairs, and the prince highly extolled the courage and talents of Oliver Cromwell. "But the poor, weak Richard," added he, "what is become of him? How could he be ſo great a blockhead as not to profit more by the crimes and fortunes of his father?" The poor, weak Richard, however, lived happy in a middle ſtation, to a good old age: and ſurely a man of common ſenſe would hardly heſitate which ſtate to chuſe, his calm condition, or his father's haraſſed and hated fortunes. He died about the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The military council being thus poſſeſſed of the ſupreme command, applied themſelves to the eſtabliſhment of ſome form of government; and, after many deliberations, it was determined to recall the long parliament, which had dethroned Charles, and was afterwards diſmiſſed, with diſgrace, by Oliver Cromwell. That aſſembly, it was aſſerted, could only be diſſolved by their own conſent; and though violence had interrupted, it could not deſtroy their rights to government. This parliament now conſiſted of no more than forty members, who, with their old ſpeaker Lenthal at their head, proceeded immediately to buſineſs. The officers were perſuaded that this parliament would govern wholly by their directions, and act in ſubordination to the general council of the army. They were miſtaken; their firſt votes ſufficiently ſhewed that they were reſolved to exert themſelves the ſupreme authority. They were, however, held in the higheſt contempt, both by the royaliſts and preſbyterians, and ſtiled the Rump, by way of reproach. A ſecret reconciliation therefore took place between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, laying aſide former enmities, every effort ſhould be uſed for the overthrow of the Rump parliament. The preſbyterians, notwithſtanding their religious prejudices, repented of that violent zeal by which they had been hurried away. They ſaw, that by carrying the love of liberty too far, they were brought into ſlavery; and were now as deſirous as others to reſtore that crown to the royal family, which they had ſnatched from it, without increaſing their own happineſs. The nobility and gentry concurred in the ſame deſign; and a general conſpiracy was formed in the nation, the ſucceſs of which ſeemed infallible, had not Sir Richard Willis betrayed the common intereſt before the deſign was ripe for execution. The republican parliament was no ſooner informed of the deſign, than they ordered Lambert to prevent its execution. He was remarkably active in obeying their commands, and the gaols were ſoon filled with priſoners of birth and fortune.

But this ſucceſs proved the ruin of the parliament. The officers, at the inſtigation of Lambert, preſented a petition concerning wounded ſoldiers, and the widows of thoſe who had periſhed in the ſervice. They alſo complained that they themſelves were greatly neglected, notwithſtanding the ſervices they had done their country; and deſired that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Monk major-general of the foot. They likewiſe preſſed for the puniſhment of thoſe who had been concerned in the late inſurrection; and that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his employment but by the ſentence of a court-martial.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the republicans determined to make one bold attempt in ſupport of their power: they voted that Lambert, Deſborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey, and Corbet, ſhould be caſhiered; that Fleetwood's commiſſion ſhould be vacated, and the command of the army veſted in ſeven perſons, viz. Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monk, Haſlerigg, Walton, Morley, and Overton, with powers to diſpoſe of the forces in ſuch a manner, that they might preſerve the peace of the commonwealth, and the ſafety of the parliament. They alſo declared it high-treaſon to levy any money without conſent of parliament. Sir Arthur Haſlerigg moved, that Lambert ſhould be impeached, but his motion was not ſeconded.

It was now evident, that either the power of the parliament or army muſt fall, and it required no great degree of penetration to foretel which would obtain the victory. Lambert led a party of his ſoldiers into the ſtreets of Weſtminſter, leading to the parliament-houſe; and when the ſpeaker came in his coach, they very civilly turned his horſes, and conducted him back to his home. The other members were intercepted in the ſame manner, and the Rump parliament diſſolved with as much eaſe by Lambert, as it had been before by Cromwell.

The diſſolution of the parliament deſtroyed all government in England; and there was now a neceſſity of ſettling a new one, though it was not eaſy to determine of what ſpecies it ſhould be. The conſequence of this unſettled ſtate was an univerſal anarchy over all England: both the magiſtrates and officers of the revenue refuſed to act; and the ſoldiers were under a neceſſity of returning to their former occupations, or procuring themſelves ſubſiſtence by their ſwords. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, the eyes of the whole kingdom were directed to Monk, who, it was now foreſeen, muſt be the arbiter of the fate of England.

That general, at firſt attached to the royal party, afterwards employed by Cromwell, and appointed governor of Scotland, had now, by his politeneſs, his integrity, and other virtues, obtained the love of the ſoldiers, and the confidence of the people. Whether he meant only to oppoſe the views of the ambitious Lambert, or ſecretly meditated the reſtoration of the king, is not known; but he declared in favour of the parliament againſt thoſe who had diſmiſſed it. His prudence, however, kept his intentions an impenetrable ſecret; but deeper deſigns, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions.

In the mean time, the council of officers, in order to preſerve ſome appearance of government, elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with the ſupreme authority, and called them a committee of ſafety. They promiſed to ſummon a free parliament, but took no ſteps to carry it into execution. On the contrary, they made ſome progreſs towards aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed wholly of officers, elected from every regiment in the ſervice. Nothing but a dreadful proſpect of ruin and ſlavery preſented itſelf to the people. They were ſufficiently convinced that the diviſions or union of theſe ſanctified robbers tended equally to extirpate from the Britiſh dominions all private morality, as well as civil law and juſtice.

The late ſuppreſſion of the conſpiracy ſeemed to have put a final period to all the hopes and expectations of Charles. Deſtitute of reſources from his friends, he ſought to intereſt foreign powers in his favour. He repaired to Fontarabia, where Mazarine was carrying on the negotiations for a peace with Spain. The cardinal even refuſed to ſee him; and Don Louis de Haro, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſhewed him barely common civilities. This was not a time, from a mere motive of generoſity, to arm a powerful monarch in the cauſe of a prince who had been unfortunate. The treaty of the Pyrannees was concluded without the leaſt mention of Charles. But fortune is always capricious; Charles paſſed, ſoon after, from this abject ſtate, to the poſſeſſion of a throne.

Deſirous of diſcovering the real ſentiments of Monk, whoſe deſigns were ſtill impenetrable, Charles ſent Dr. Monk, that general's brother, to ſollicit his ſervices. The general aſked him if he had truſted any perſon with the ſecret of his commiſſion. "Nobody," replied the doctor, "but Brice your chaplain, in whom I know you confide." Brice was worthy of the higheſt confidence, and a zealous loyaliſt. But Monk thought proper to break off the converſation, and diſmiſſed his brother, without diſcovering his intentions; perſuaded, that in an affair of ſuch importance, a ſecret intruſted to a third perſon is no longer a ſecret.

His conduct in every other particular was directed by the ſame prudence and reſerve. Corbet, who had been ſent by the committee of ſafety, under pretence of communicating their reſolutions to Monk, but in reality to debauch his army, was put under arreſt, and all the officers who ſeemed inclined to favour Lambert and his party were caſhiered.

It was no ſooner known that the governor of Scotland had declared for the parliament, than many of the Engliſh followed the example. Whole regiments revolted. Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Walton and Morley, ſeized Portſmouth for the parliament. Theſe circumſtances ſerved only to increaſe the public diſtractions, and confirm the anarchy in which the whole kingdom was involved. Fleetwood, the general, a man equally weak and enthuſiaſtic, ſought thoſe reſources in prayer, which his poverty of genius could not afford him. He would frequently fall on his knees in the midſt of a council of war; and when he was exhorted to vigorous meaſures, he anſwered, that the Lord had ſpit in his face, and would no longer hear him. He became jealous of Lambert; he could not truſt either Haſlerigg or Vane; and would willingly have joined Monk, had not Ludlow, Whitlock, and others of great parts and experience, prevented him, by laying before him the danger that might attend ſo precipitate a ſtep. They obſerved, that the unaccountable manner in which Monk had left Scotland, as well as his ſubſequent conduct, ſtrongly indicated that his real intention was to re-eſtabliſh monarchy. In this hour of dreadful perplexity, Lambert offered to march againſt Monk, and put the whole to the deciſion of a general engagement; and could Lambert have been truſted, Monk might poſſibly have been defeated. But the republican party, who formed the majority of the committee of ſafety, choſe rather to be ſubdued by Monk than ſaved by Lambert. Under the ſpecious pretence, therefore, of an accommodation, they procured letters from the city of London, the officers of the navy and army in England and Ireland, perſuading Monk to join with the committee of ſafety in their endeavours to reſtore at once the parliament and the peace of the kingdom. Monk was pleaſed with theſe invitations: he knew that a negotiation, however ſhort, muſt be the ruin of Lambert, who was deſtitute of money for the payment of his forces. Clerges was accordingly diſpatched to Monk with propoſals from the committee of ſafety. Monk, to gain time, agreed to ſend three of his colonels, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to treat of an accommodation. The two latter employed this opportunity in forming connections with the royaliſts, particularly with Redman, one of the ableſt officers in the army; and by that means ſecured the Iriſh regiments, who had received orders to ſerve under Lambert againſt Monk. Wilks, therefore, was chiefly intruſted with the negotiation. A treaty was ſoon concluded, but Monk refuſed to ratify it, declaring his officers had exceeded their commiſſion. He deſired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcaſtle; and the committee readily accepted his fallacious offer.

While Monk amuſed the committee of ſafety with the hopes of an agreement, theſe military ſovereigns were ſurrounded with diſtreſs. Anarchy prevailed in every part of the nation; and the people having refuſed the payment of all taxes, there was no money to pay the ſoldiers. Lambert had loſt his time and his credit, both with the committee of ſafety and his own ſoldiers. Whitlock ſaw their danger, and propoſed to Fleetwood two expedients; either to draw together all his forces, take poſſeſſion of the Tower, and join with the city of London in their declaration for a free parliament; or to reſtore the king upon the beſt terms he could procure. Fleetwood would willingly have embraced the latter, but he was weak enough, even after he had given his conſent, to be diſſuaded from it by Sir Harry Vane, Deſborough and Berry, all of them implacable enemies to the royal family.

Theſe different cabals placed the ſettlement of government, which was conſidered as an indiſpenſable preliminary to whatever reſolution ſhould be taken, at a greater diſtance than ever. Vane had employed all his abilities in a noble ſcheme for reforming the practice of the law; and was ſo earneſt in the cauſe, that he inſiſted on its being adopted in the new plan of government. He was obſtinately oppoſed in this deſign by Whitlock, St. John, and all the lawyers whom they conſulted. For Vane, Lambert, and other leaders of the independents, propoſed a coalition with the papiſts, and hence they conſidered a general liberty of conſcience as an indiſpenſable preliminary to the new ſettlement. All the preſbyterian clergy violently oppoſed this comprehenſion, and thus all the deep ſchemes of Vane were rendered abortive. Theſe debates were carried on with ſo much acrimony and perſonal invectives were ſo generally known, and ſo generally condemned, that the committee of ſafety found it abſolutely neceſſary to releaſe the impriſoned royaliſts, to ſcreen them from the fury of the people. This did not, however, prevent freſh plots and freſh inſurrections of the royaliſts from breaking out almoſt every night in the city. They were, indeed, generally diſcovered and quelled by the army, before they arrived at any alarming height; but they ſufficiently ſhewed that the people ſeemed determined to free themſelves from the yoke of a military committee, whom they deteſted. Colonel Hewſon, who, from the profeſſion of a cobler, had riſen to a high rank in the army, was very active in this ſervice, and had more than once entered London at the head of his regiment. In one of theſe expeditions, he fired upon and killed ſeveral of the city apprentices, who had aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and declared for a free parliament. The magiſtrates of London were not, however, intimidated; they eſtabliſhed a ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within the city. Admiral Lawſon brought his fleet up the river, and declared for a free parliament. Haſlerigg and Morley, informed of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near the capital, being ſollicited by their old officers who had been caſhiered by the committee of ſafety, revolted to the parliament. Deſborough's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner reached St. Alban's, than they declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Theſe events, the diſſentions among the members of the cabal at Wallingford-houſe, and particularly the want of money, threw ſuch a damp upon Lambert's army, that from being far ſuperior, in all reſpects, to that of Monk, it was dwindled into a mere handful of men, when a reſolution was taken to reſtore the parliament.

A. D. 1660. Lenthal, the ſpeaker, being invited by the officers, again aſſumed his former authority, and ſummoned the parliament, which met on the ſixth of January. The authority of Fleetwood was now ſo entirely loſt, that not a ſingle company or troop would obey his orders. His hand was too weak to ſupport this ill-founded fabric of government, which was now every where falling into ruins. Lenthal, on this occaſion, acted as general of the army; and both officers and ſoldiers were ſo ſubmiſſive to his orders, that he diſcharged Fleetwood's lieutenant of the Tower, and put Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper in his room. He alſo ordered a general rendezvous of all the troops in and about London to be held in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where they gave him all the military honours due to a general.

The firſt act of the parliament was to repeal the bill againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms. They appointed commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the army; and, without taking the leaſt notice of Lambert himſelf, they ſent orders to his troops to repair immediately to the quarters aſſigned them. This had the deſired effect. His ſoldiers obeyed the orders of the parliament, and he was left without more than an hundred horſe about him. He himſelf was ſoon after ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the Tower. Sir Harry Vane, and the other members who had concurred with the committee of ſafety, were confined to their own houſes; and the officers who had joined in ſubduing the parliament, were caſhiered, and ordered into a like confinement. By theſe exertions of authority, the power of the parliament ſeemed built on a firmer foundation than ever.

The reſtoration of the Rump parliament did not, however, ſatisfy Monk, who ſtill kept his army on the borders of England. Lord Fairfax had taken arms, and declared for a free parliament. This was going a ſtep farther than Monk had yet propoſed, notwithſtanding he had made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching to the capital before contrary orders ſhould be ſent from the parliament. Though the reaſons he gave for this march were very plauſible, yet it tended to confirm the ſuſpicions of the public, that he really intended to reſtore the king. He left major-general Morgan to command the troops neceſſary to preſerve the peace of Scotland; and was received with open arms by lord Fairfax and his friends, who had actually taken poſſeſſion of York for the uſe of a free parliament. The Rump parliament was now held in greater deteſtation than ever: and the general received, as he advanced to the ſouthward, continual accounts of ſome freſh declaration or aſſociation of the counties for a free parliament.

Alarmed at theſe declarations, and deſirous of keeping the power they had obtained, the parliament made ſome attempts to bring about a reconciliation between themſelves and the cabal of Wallingford-houſe. They paſſed a vote, "That all officers who were in commiſſion on the eleventh of October 1659, and all other officers and ſoldiers in the late defection and rebellion, who have already ſubmitted, or may hereafter ſubmit themſelves, and return to their duty and obedience to the parliament, ſhall be pardoned, and indemnified for life and eſtate." Lambert was comprehended in this reſolution; and both he, and all his officers, among whom was colonel Hewſon, who had been ſo active againſt the city of London, made their ſubmiſſions, but were ordered to be confined in their own houſes.

The next buſineſs of the parliament was to paſs a vote to juſtify Monk's marching into England. They alſo voted, that one thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on him; and that Scot and Robinſon ſhould be ſent to compliment him on his arrival. Theſe emiſſaries were ſoon convinced, from the univerſal wiſhes of the people for a free parliament, that the preſent aſſembly could not long ſubſiſt. Their diſcoveries occaſioned great uneaſineſs to the heads of the faction.

Monk's army did not amount to more than ſix thouſand men; but this force was ſufficient to deſtroy a faction divided againſt itſelf; and the city of London was ſo confident of his declaring for a free parliament, that they ſent a committee of the council to congratulate him on his approach to the capital. On his arrival at St. Albans, he was informed that near nine thouſand ſoldiers were then in London, diſpoſed in different regiments; but that moſt of their officers were confined by the parliament. He therefore imagined there would be no great difficulty in removing theſe troops; and accordingly wrote a very preſſing letter to the houſe, that room might be made for his regiments. Had the members of parliament been united among themſelves, or dared to truſt the experienced officers that ſerved under them, they would not, probably, have ſubmitted to Monk's requeſt; but their power was ſo precarious by their diviſions, that they made no difficulty of complying, and orders were given for their own regiments to retire. Four of them, however, ſcrupled to obey: a mutiny enſued; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they were prevented, either from joining with the royaliſts in the city, or marching out againſt the army of Monk. This mutiny being conſidered as a freſh inſult upon their authority, the parliament preſſed Monk to haſten his march, and he accordingly entered London on the fourth of February.

Two days after the general was introduced to the houſe, and thanks were given him by Lenthal, for the eminent ſervices he had done his country. Monk who was a prudent, though not an elegant ſpeaker anſwered with great modeſty. He told the houſe; that the ſervices he had performed merited not ſuch encomiums, he had done no more than his duty: that among many perſons of greater worth who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of Providence for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered their ſervice only as a ſtep to more important ones, which it was their part to render to the nation: that as he marched along he obſerved all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earneſt expectations of a ſettlement after the violent convulſions to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of ſuch a bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and the ſummoning a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had always told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free, and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all thoſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: that though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehenſive their plan would prove, and the more ſatisfaction it would give to the nation: and that it was ſufficient for the public ſecurity, if the fanatical party and the royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

The parliament were now convinced that ſome meaſures muſt be purſued in order to ſettle the tranquillity of the nation. It was indeed impoſſible that things could continue any length of time in their preſent ſituation. Every thing tended to bring on a criſis, which muſt be deciſive. The people paid ſo very little regard to the orders of the parliament, that a ſmall part only of the revenues could be collected. The common council of London abſolutely refuſed to pay any obedience to their commands, and openly declared they would pay no aſſeſſment till it ſhould be impoſed by a free and lawful parliament, and then they ſhould think it their duty to ſubmit.

Determined to make at leaſt one effort for ſupporting their power, the parliament ſent orders to Monk to march immediately into the city and ſeize twelve of the magiſtrates whom they ſuppoſed to have been the cauſe of this alarming reſolution, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to demoliſh both the portcullices and gates of the city. Monk, to the aſtoniſhment of all men, obeyed the order. He apprehended many of the obnoxious perſons and ſent them to the tower; and notwithſtanding the interpoſition of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, and the cries of the people, he broke down the gates and portcullices of the city, and returned to his lodgings at Weſtminſter in triumph.

A moment's reflection convinced him he had gone too far. Inſtead of ſupporting that cautious ambiguity he had hitherto maintained, his late conduct had ſufficiently indicated that he had joined the parliamentary party, and that his deſign was to ſubject the whole nation to the arbitrary deciſions of that contemptible aſſembly. Theſe conſiderations determined him to alter his conduct, and to recover the good opinion of the citizens, which he ſeemed to have forfeited by his late precipitate conduct. He could not bear the thought of being conſidered as the miniſter of violence and uſurpation. He repaired to the houſe and complained in the bittereſt terms of the odious ſervice he had been obliged to execute in obedience to their orders. But this was only part of the plan he had formed for retrieving his character. He wrote a letter to the parliament, in which he reproached them in the ſevereſt terms of tyranny and oppreſſion; of their forming new cabals with Lambert and Vane; and of giving encouragement to a fanatical petition preſented by Barebone. He concluded with requiring them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and people, to iſſue writs immediately for filling up their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution, that a new and free parliament might be aſſembled.

Monk waited not for an anſwer to this letter: he marched immediately into the city, at the head of his army, and ordered Allen, the lord-mayor, to ſummon a common-council to meet at Guildhall. As ſoon as the citizens were aſſembled, he repaired thither, and aſſured them that he was extremely ſorry for the indignity he had ſo lately put upon the city, in complying with the orders of the parliament, and was now come to make them all the reparation in his power. He declared that he would always perſevere in the meaſures he had adopted; and wiſhed a firm union might be eſtabliſhed between the city and army for their mutual defence, and for promoting the happineſs and ſettlement of the kingdom.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the applauſe and exultation with which this ſpeech of the general was received. The news of this happy event was ſoon ſpread through the whole city, and excited the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy. Every individual promiſed himſelf that the dreadful ſcenes of horror and confuſion were over, and thoſe of happineſs and tranquillity would ſoon ſucceed. Even the rage of party was forgotten; the royaliſts and the preſbyterians joined in the common joy. The populace, who in the gratification of their paſſions regard neither honour nor decency, roaſted rumps at every bonfire, and where theſe could not be procured, pieces of fleſh cut into the ſame ſhape were uſed as ſubſtitutes; in order, as the people expreſſed it, to celebrate by thoſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion, the funeral of the rump parliament.

The diſpirited parliament exerted all their power to reconcile themſelves to Monk and his officers; but he refuſed to truſt them. He formed, in conjunction with his new friends in the city, a well-regulated militia, which were intruſted to men whoſe fidelity could be relied on; and the moſt proper meaſures were purſued for ſettling the nation. Several perſons, equally deſperate from guilt and fanaticiſm, offered to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate, and to ſupport his government; but he rejected their offers with contempt.

A declaration of the general's deſire that the ſecluded members ſhould reſume their ſeats being publiſhed, they repaired in ſuch numbers to the houſe, that they ſoon became the majority. Upon which moſt of the independent members retired. They immediately repealed all the votes that had been paſſed for their excluſion; releaſed the royaliſts from their confinement, and reſtored them to their eſtates; renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion; and fixed an aſſeſſment neceſſary for the ſupport of the fleet and army. Theſe votes being paſſed, they ordered writs to be iſſued for the immediate aſſembling a new, full, and free parliament, and then diſſolved themſelves. Theſe proceedings gave the higheſt ſatisfaction. The long parliament had for ſome time been the general object of deteſtation, and their diſſolution occaſioned a general joy throughout the kingdom.

A new council of ſtate was choſen and obtained the approbation of the people, as it conſiſted of men of dignity, moderation, and virtue. Their credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the city of London immediately advanced them ſixty thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army. Though every perſon of the leaſt penetration perceived that the reſtoration of the king muſt be the conſequence of a free parliament, yet no declaration of that kind had hitherto been made; the general's intentions were ſtill impenetrable. But in the private meetings of the royaliſts, a queſtion was ſtarted with regard to the conceſſions that ought to be made by the king; and the treaty entered into with his late majeſty during his reſidence in the Iſle of Wight was propoſed as a proper baſis for the negotiation. This queſtion would certainly have been carried could the perſons have agreed with regard to the limitations; but that was far from being the caſe; and Monk ſtill continuing to declare only for a free parliament, none had the courage to offer any thing upon that head to the public. The limitations were, therefore, neglected, and ſeveral writers have been very ſevere upon the memory of Monk, and other leaders of the royaliſts, on account of that omiſſion. But when we conſider the conſtitution of the Engliſh monarchy, the little regard paid by either party to conceſſions, when it is in their power to revoke them, the difficulties attending ſuch limitations, the ſalutary authority of parliament when virtuous, its pernicious power when corrupted, and that it was in the breaſt of the members to bind the prerogative even after the king was reſtored, we ſhall perhaps be inclined to think that theſe clamours have no foundation. The wiſe and the virtuous part of the nation were placed between the two extremes of frenzy; that of fanaticiſm, which diſclaimed even the ſhadow of monarchy, on one hand, and that of loyalty, which adopted all the abſurdities of government, on the other. No terms could be invented rigorous enough to pleaſe the former, nor any mild enough to content the latter. And thus the deſign of the reſtoration, by an obſtinate perſiſtance in limitations, might have miſcarried.

Unmoved by all the offers of faction, Monk purſued the plan he had formed with equal prudence and firmneſs. Among the friends of that prudent general, was Mr. Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, remarkable for a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, and a ſound judgment. With this friend only Monk deliberated concerning the great enterprize he had formed, and hitherto conducted with ſo much ſucceſs. Sir John Granville, who was ſent with a commiſſion from the king to Monk, applied to Morrice, in order to obtain acceſs to the general. He was deſired to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice; but Granville refuſed every importunity, refuſing to communicate his buſineſs to any one whatever, but the general himſelf in perſon. Monk was now convinced that Granville might be truſted, and therefore not only admitted him to his preſence, but alſo communicated to him his whole deſign. But he ſtill refuſed to commit any thing to writing: he only charged Granville with a verbal meſſage, aſſuring his majeſty of his ſervices, and exhorting him immediately to quit the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. Charles fortunately took his advice: had he ſtaid a few hours longer he had certainly been detained under pretence of honour and reſpect, by the Spaniards, who would not have releaſed him till the Engliſh had agreed to deliver up Jamaica.

The Engliſh in general were now ſo well cured of their jealouſy againſt the prerogatives of the crown, that the new parliament was entirely compoſed of members devoted to it. The rage of the republicans, however, grew more violent, and Lambert, having found means to eſcape out of the tower, ſoon collected troops. No time was to be loſt to reduce this active general. Colonel Ingoldſby was accordingly diſpatched after him and overtook him at Daventry, where he had only aſſembled four troops of horſe, one of which immediately deſerted from him. Another quickly followed the example, and he himſelf, endeavouring to eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, to whom he made ſubmiſſions not ſuitable to his former character and valour.

When the parliament met, they choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone their ſpeaker, and the members chiefly exerted themſelves in bewailing the late troubles, and in expreſſing their hatred of the memory of Cromwell. In the midſt of theſe ſpeeches Monk acquainted the houſe, that Granville was at the door with diſpatches from the prince. The whole houſe was in an extaſy of joy. Granville was introduced. He preſented a letter and a declaration from Charles. The declaration was well calculated to ſupport the ſatisfaction inſpired by the proſpect of a public ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatever, and that without any exceptions, but ſuch as ſhould afterwards be made by parliament. It promiſed a liberty of conſcience, and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered for ſecuring that indulgence. It ſubmitted the inquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, to the arbitration of that aſſembly; and it aſſured the ſoldiers that their arrears ſhould be paid, and that they ſhould, for the future, receive the ſame pay they had hitherto enjoyed. Every one was ſatiſfied. The conceſſions of the late king had limited the prerogatives too much, to give the real friends of liberty any uneaſineſs.

The two houſes (for the peers had reſumed their ſeats without oppoſition) aſſiſted in proclaiming the king by the title of Charles II. A preſent of fifty thouſand pounds was conferred on the king, ten thouſand on the duke of York, and five thouſand on the duke of Glouceſter. And ſo univerſal a joy appeared throughout the nation, that the king ſaid, it was ſurely his own fault that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, ſince he found every body ſo zealous for promoting his reſtoration.

Monk repaired to Dover to receive the prince, whom he had the glory of placing on the throne. No revolution was ever more rapid, more advantageous, or leſs violent. So many evils, occaſioned by civil contentions, had taught the people, that a legal government was the only ſupport of the liberty and happineſs of the ſubject.

The king was proclaimed on the ſeventh of May, and the intermediate time between that and the twenty-ninth, the day appointed for his entering London, was ſpent in preparing every thing for his reception. Magnificent beds, linen, chairs, robes, yatchts, &c. were voted to his majeſty. Every precaution was taken to prevent any farther waſte of the lands, either of the king or royaliſts; and great care was exerted in ſecuring the perſons of the regicides, and the moſt criminal perſons during the late government.

The public rejoicings were boundleſs, after the king was invited by the two houſes of parliament to reſume the regal function. The peers who were deputed to receive him were the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middleſex; the lord viſcount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-caſtle, and the lord Brook.

The king, on his diſembarking at Dover, embraced the general in the moſt cordial manner, and, perhaps, never ſubject deſerved better of his king and country. Charles made his public entry into London on his birth-day, being the twenty-ninth of May; where he was received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy, and ſuch diſplay of magnificence, as ſhewed that the whole nation partook of the general ſatiſfaction.

It will be proper to ſtop here for a moment, to ſurvey the period we have finiſhed. We have ſeen fanaticiſm lighting the flames that involved the ſtate. That epidemical ſcourge viſited the three kingdoms. England in particular was over-run with infatuated ſectaries, determined to ſupport their abſurdities without law or controul. The republicans were ſo much the more terrible, as their religious principles enjoined a ſeverity of manners too refined for human nature. Perhaps nothing contributed more to their triumph over the royaliſts, whom they called cavaliers, the greater part of them being men of pleaſure, either in conſequence of their birth and fortunes, or becauſe, from a diſlike of the fanatics, they fell into the contrary extreme of immorality. A parliamentarian ſaying one day to a royaliſt, "Your friends, the cavaliers, are very diſſolute:" "Yes, (replied the other) they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the round-heads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritual pride." The latter carried their ſeverities ſo far, that they prohibited every kind of diverſion.

Among the great variety of ſectaries, the Quakers ſtand eminently diſtinguiſhed. Their founder was George Fox, a ſhoemaker's apprentice: but though enthuſiaſts in the higheſt degree, they made no figure in the general commotions, becauſe their principles forbade the uſe of arms. They thought the practice of civility a worldly refinement unworthy of chriſtianity. They addreſſed themſelves to every body by the monoſyllables *thee* and *thou*; and gave no title but that of Friend, even to people of rank and fortune. Their dreſs was ſimilar to their manners: they rejected all ſuperfluities, not excepting plaits to their clothes, and buttons to their ſleeves and hats, which they thought unneceſſary. Their religious ſyſtem conſiſted in following the letter of the goſpel: they thought an oath blaſphemy, even when taken in a court of juſtice. They allowed no ſacraments, no church ceremonies, no churches, no prieſts. Every one affected inſpiration, and made ſtrange efforts to receive the Holy Spirit; and, from theſe trembling convulſions, they acquired the name of Quakers. Theſe enthuſiaſts would ſometimes ruſh into churches, diſturb the ſervice, and inſult the miniſters. They were ſentenced to be whipped and pilloried; but in this they triumphed, and their obſtinate patience appeared ſupernatural to the people. Some of them undertook to faſt forty days, in imitation of the Saviour of the world, and actually periſhed in the attempt. All made a point of offering their cheek to them that would ſmite them, and never to return an injury. The conſequence was, that by carrying their religious duties to the moſt extravagant height, they expoſed their virtues to ridicule. Strange ſurely it is, that the goſpel, calculated to inſpire every ſocial virtue, ſhould have afforded ſo many pretences to folly and frenzy, to break the ſacred bonds of ſociety! But ſuch is the weakneſs of the human mind; while men affect to quit the path marked out by the Author of reaſon, they wander through wildneſs and obſcurity, till they loſe themſelves and their way together.

The different follies of theſe fanatical ſects contributed greatly to multiply deiſts, men of raſh and ſuperficial minds, who attributing to religion the exceſſes of fanaticiſm, fall into the contrary extreme of incredulity. Cromwell called them heathens; but when in their company, laughed with them at the fanatics.

Under the commonwealth, the taxes amounted, one year with another, to more than two millions: the late king's revenues amounted to leſs than half that ſum. In 1650, commiſſioners of exciſe and cuſtoms were appointed; but in 1657, Cromwell ſettled them according to the ancient uſage, and eleven hundred thouſand pounds a year were offered for them. They were of leſs value under the regulation of commiſſioners. The protector, notwithſtanding all his vigilance and œconomy, left two millions of debts. The commonwealth, in 1652, had more than fifty thouſand men in arms, whoſe ordinary pay was a ſhilling a day for the foot, and two ſhillings for the horſe. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing, that the army oppoſed the re-eſtabliſhment of the civil government, becauſe it muſt totally ſuperſede ſo lucrative an employment. The parliamentary forces at the battle of Worceſter, including the militia, amounted to eighty thouſand men. The commerce of England had been greatly advanced under Charles I. before the civil wars. The Eaſt-India and Guinea trades were very advantageous. The annual return was ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and twenty thouſand pieces of cloth were ſent yearly into Turkey. The commonwealth reſtored this ſource of wealth, which had been loſt in the civil wars. One of the chief things that made commerce flouriſh, was, that the principles of a democratical government had weakened the prejudices of vanity. People of faſhion put their children apprentices to merchants, and that uſeful profeſſion became honourable. In 1650, the intereſt of money was reduced to ſix per cent. Before the reign of Elizabeth, it had been at fourteen. This ſhews a great increaſe of ſpecie, and a better ſyſtem of policy. The colony of New-England increaſed by means of the puritans, who fled thither in order to free themſelves from the conſtraint which Laud and the church-party had impoſed upon them; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it was ſuppoſed to contain twenty-five thouſand ſouls. For a ſimilar reaſon the catholics, afterwards, who found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, and dreaded ſtill worſe treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

Learning, before the civil wars broke out, began to flouriſh in England. Shakeſpeare will ever be ranked in the firſt claſs of our Engliſh poets. His beauties are his own, and, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, original. The faults found in him are chiefly thoſe of the age in which he lived, his tranſcribers, and his editors. He not only excelled in copying nature, but his imagination carried him beyond it. He had all the creative powers of fancy to form new characters, and was more an original genius than any other writer. Like other great poets, he has had the felicity of having his faults admired for the ſake of his beauties. He died in 1616.

Ben Johnſon, poet-laureat to James I. and Charles I. was one of the greateſt dramatic writers of his age. He was familiarly acquainted with the beſt ancient authors, from whom he has borrowed freely; and was the firſt that brought critical learning into repute. He was as defective in tragedy as he was excellent in comedy, and that excellence is confined to a few of his works. In Shakeſpeare we ſee the force of genius; in Johnſon, the power of induſtry. He is frequently deficient in the harmony, and ſometimes in the meaſure of his verſes. What appears to be facility in his compoſitions, is generally the effect of uncommon labour. He died in 1637.

Edmund Waller, ſometimes ſtiled the Engliſh Tibullus, excelled all his predeceſſors in harmonious verſification. His love verſes have all the tenderneſs and politeneſs of the Roman poet; and his panegyric on Cromwell has ever been eſteemed a maſterpiece of its kind. His vein is never redundant; we frequently wiſh he had ſaid more, but never that he had ſaid leſs. His perſonal qualities were as amiable as his poetical, and he was equally formed to pleaſe the witty and the fair. He not only enjoyed all his faculties, but retained much of his youthful vivacity at eighty years of age. He died in 1687.

The great Milton flouriſhed alſo in this age. His Paradiſe Loſt, though defective in its plan, though ſtiffened with foreign idioms, technical terms, and uncouth expreſſions, exhibits ſuch a ſtupendous force of genius, as amazes, confounds, and tranſports the reader; and it is with juſtice conſidered as equal to the firſt epic poem of antiquity. What is moſt aſtoniſhing is, that the author wrote it under the united oppreſſions of misfortune, blindneſs, poverty, and contempt. Nor is it much leſs ſurpriſing, that this ſublime poem ſhould remain ſo many years unknown in a bookſeller's ſhop.

At the head of the philoſophers who flouriſhed during this period, is juſtly placed Sir Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, one of the greateſt geniuſes the world ever ſaw. If we conſider the juſt and extenſive views of this prodigious man, the infinite number of his objects, the nervouſneſs of his ſtile, his ſublime imagination, and his rigorous exactneſs, we ſhall, perhaps, eſteem him one of the greateſt and moſt eloquent of philoſophers. This penetrating genius diſcovered the emptineſs of the viſionary ſyſtems of philoſophy, which had, for many ages, amuſed mankind, and taught the world, that the only method of diſcovering truth was by experiment. He had the glory of being the firſt adventurer in the new world of ſcience, and of diſcovering ſuch mines of knowledge as will never be exhauſted.

Thomas Hobbs acquired a reputation for writings equally unphiloſophical and irreligious. He deſpiſed learning; and ſaid, if he had read as much as other men of letters, he ſhould have been as ignorant. Man, according to Hobbs, is naturally wicked; a principle which certainly does him very little honour. He is alſo reproached with favouring arbitrary power. He died in 1679.

William Hervey, M.D. acquired immortal honour for his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood. He enjoyed the happineſs, in his life-time, to find the clamours of ignorance, envy and prejudice, againſt his doctrine, totally ſilenced; and his diſcovery univerſally eſtabliſhed. He died in 1657.

The polite arts flouriſhed in England during the reign of Charles I. eſpecially painting and ſculpture. He was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artiſts; ſo that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court into a ſecond Athens; and the collections he made for that purpoſe, conſidering the difficulties under which he laboured, were amazing. His favourite, the duke of Buckingham, imitated him in that reſpect, and laid out the amazing ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds upon his cabinet of paintings and curioſities. The earl of Arundel was, however, the great Mæcenas of that age; and, by the immenſe acquiſition he made of antiquities, eſpecially his famous marble inſcriptions, he may ſtand on a footing, with regard to the encouragement and utility of literature, with the greateſt of the Medicean princes. But during the civil wars, and the government of Cromwell, the polite arts were totally eclipſed, though, it is ſaid, the protector himſelf was not an enemy to learning.

# BOOK XII.

## From the Reſtoration of Charles II. to the Revolution.

# CHARLES II.

A.D. 1660. THE univerſal joy that ſpread over the nation at the reſtoration of the king, ſeemed to promiſe a happy reign both with regard to the king and his people. The ancient order and diſcipline, both in church and ſtate, were reſtored with the monarchy, and a round of magnificence and pleaſures ſucceeded the gloomy ferocity which had ſo long taken poſſeſſion of the minds of the Engliſh people. Charles introduced the ſpirit of gallantry into a palace yet ſtained with the blood of his father. The independents were hardly heard of, and the puritans retired from the ſeat of government. The manners of the Engliſh underwent ſo total a change, that the late civil war became a ſubject of ridicule: the auſtere and gloomy ſectariſts, who had filled the kingdom with their enthuſiaſtic notions, were now the ſubjects of raillery to the gay licentious courtiers.

Charles II. was about thirty years of age, nurſed in the ſchool of adverſity, acquainted with men and courts, a man of genius, acute, ſenſible, good natured, polite, never out of temper, and perfectly unaffected; but immoderately addicted to pleaſure. It is eaſy to judge of the wiſdom of a prince from the choice of thoſe he honours with favour or his confidence. The council was at firſt compoſed of reſpectable perſons, choſen indifferently from among the preſbyterians and the royaliſts. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, proved that Charles was not tainted with that vice of courts, ingratitude. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor and prime miniſter, had few equals either in virtue or knowledge.

The duke of York, the king's brother, was of a vindictive temper, active, and violent, and ſo confirmed a bigot to the popiſh religion, that he thought nothing too much to promote its eſtabliſhment. He therefore laboured to extend the prerogative, that he might be able at laſt to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. This, joined with the indolence of the king, enabled the duke to extend the ſchemes he had formed, and which gave riſe to all the troubles and animoſities that diſtracted the cloſe of this reign.

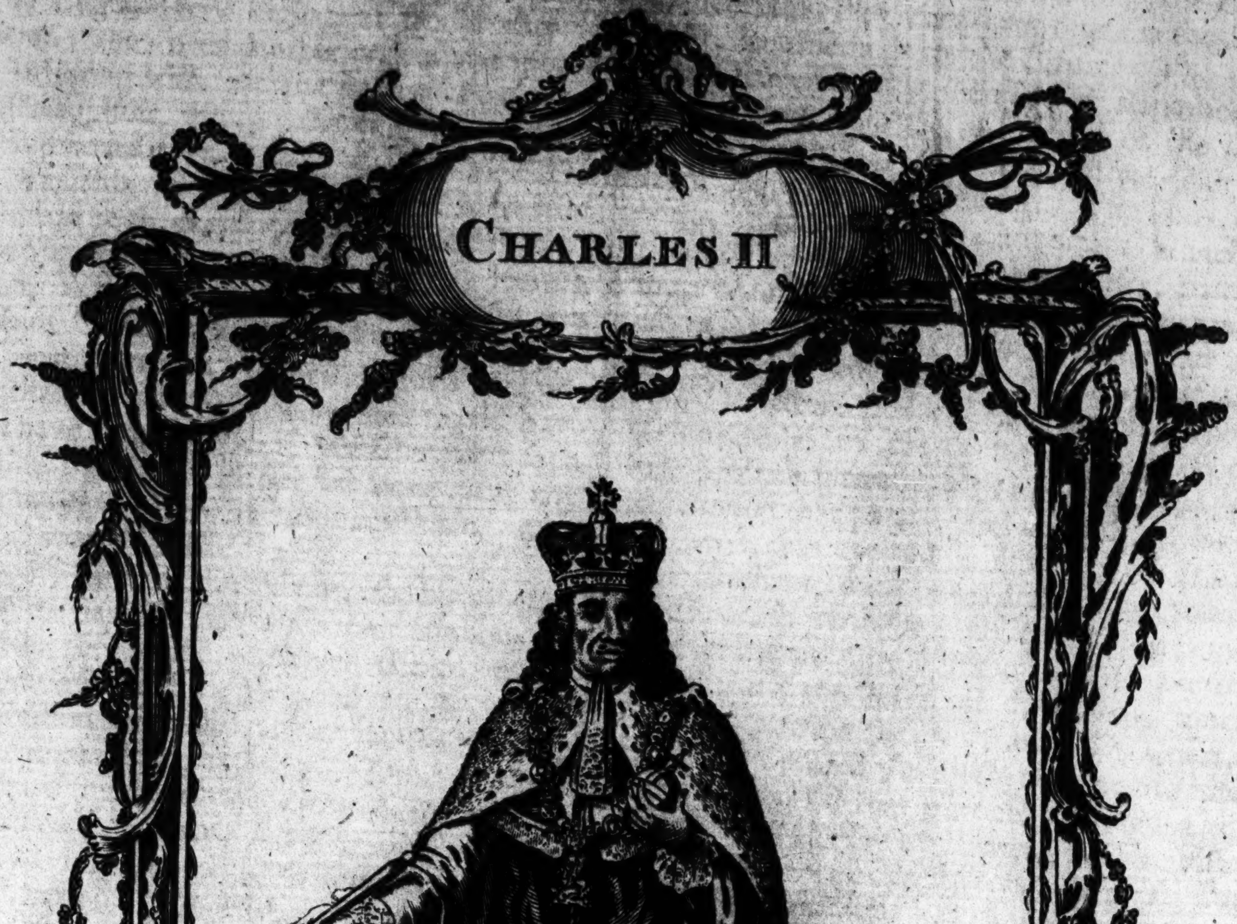
The two houſes of parliament having met without a ſummons from the king, they were at firſt diſtinguiſhed by the title of convention; nor did they aſſume the name of the parliament, till Charles had paſſed an act for that purpoſe.

The firſt object that engaged their attention was the amneſty, which had been promiſed by the king before he landed in England. The upper houſe, animated partly by reſentment and partly by zeal, were for excluding many perſons from the benefit of this act of oblivion. But Charles deſired them to remember the ſacred promiſe he had made, and to which he thought himſelf in ſome meaſure indebted for his good fortune. He therefore recommended clemency to them in the moſt preſſing manner; an inſtance of the tenderneſs of his diſpoſition, and which gained him univerſal applauſe. This interpoſition had the deſired effect, and only the regicides, and the furious republicans, Lambert and Vane, were excluded. Some others were indeed rendered incapable of the benefit of this act, in caſe of their accepting public employments, and ſome were rendered incapable of holding them. It would have been difficult to ſhew greater moderation, where there were ſo many criminals.

The act of amneſty being ſettled, the two houſes took into conſideration the royal revenue, and it was ſettled at twelve hundred thouſand pounds a year; a ſum greatly ſuperior to that of any former king. But it muſt be remembered, that the expences of the crown were prodigiouſly increaſed, after the courts of Europe had adopted the example of Lewis XIV. in keeping up large ſtanding armies. The maintenance of the navy, with ſome other articles, which formerly amounted to no more than eighty thouſand pounds per annum, now required at leaſt eight hundred thouſand. It is not eaſy to imagine what advantage could be propoſed by ſo great an augmentation of the forces. The people were more heavily taxed, and the prince not at all the more powerful. A handful of men formerly did what an hundred thouſand were employed to do at preſent.

The people had been long ſo highly exaſperated againſt the regicides, that their trial occaſioned a general joy. But they firmly defended the cauſe for which they ſuffered: the terrors of death loſt all their force. Harriſon told his judges, that the pretended crime of which he was accuſed, far from loading him with guilt, was an act enjoined by heaven, that in his doubts he had implored the Lord with tears, to enlighten him, and that he had received inconteſtible aſſurances of his will; that human judgments were but darkneſs in compariſon of divine illumination; that being determined not to injure the loweſt man in the world for the greateſt advantage in it, he was ſatisfied he had acted from a good conſcience; that neither ambition nor fear had ever extorted from him the ſmalleſt token of approbation in behalf of the tyranny of Cromwell; that he had always been found firm in his principles of religion and integrity; and that this was not the character of a murderer and a villain. All the reſt, who were ten in number, that were executed, ſhewed the ſame firmneſs and courage to the laſt. They conſidered themſelves as martyrs to what they ſtiled the cauſe of religion. The great lenity of the king reſpited the reſt, and they were retained in different priſons. Lambert was ſent to the iſland of Guernſey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, were taken up and ſuſpended during a whole day at Tyburn, and then cut down and buried under the gallows.

When the king paſſed the act of amneſty, he alſo gave the royal aſſent to an act for a perpetual thankſgiving on the twenty-ninth of May, the day of his arrival in England. In the mean time the parliament applied themſelves to the neceſſary work of diſbanding the army. It would have been an act of the higheſt imprudence to keep together a body of men ſo formidable by their numbers and valour, and ſo accuſtomed to outrage and violence. An aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds a month was therefore


CHARLES II
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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impoſed, in order to enable his majeſty to diſband theſe forces.

The rejoicings for the happy reſtoration of the royal family, were hardly over before the duke of Glouceſter paid the debt of nature, in the twenty-firſt year of his age. He was a young prince of many amiable qualities. His judgment was clear, his perception quick, his ideas extenſive. He was warmly attached both to the religion and conſtitution of his country, ſo that his death was conſidered as a loſs of the utmoſt importance to the nation. The king was never ſo deeply affected by any incident in his life.

In the month of October the princeſs of Orange came over to England to complement her brother on his reſtoration; the queen-mother arrived the month following, bringing with her the princeſs Henrietta, her youngeſt daughter, who, by the king her brother's conſent, was married to the duke of Orleans. The princeſs of Orange had not been more than two months in England, before ſhe was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, and died on the twenty-fourth of December, leaving only one ſon, William prince of Orange, who was afterwards king of England.

When Charles came to diſband the army he was ſtruck with their martial diſcipline, and would have been glad to have detained them; but Clarendon ſoon convinced him that it could not be done with any ſafety to the nation. Only five thouſand men, and a few garriſons, were retained.

On the twenty-ninth of December, the king, after returning the parliament thanks for their aſſiduous attention to ſettle the nation, diſſolved them. If we may credit ſome authors, the king had it in his power to raiſe two millions annually on the landed intereſt, excluſive of the exciſe and cuſtoms: a ſum more than ſufficient to have rendered the crown independent. The ſame authors add, that a member of the houſe of commons having propoſed it to him, he rejected it by the advice of his chancellor. "Your majeſty's beſt revenue," ſaid Clarendon, like an honeſt ſubject, "is the hearts of your people. While you have thoſe you will never want money." If ſuch an offer ever was made, we may ſafely conclude it was not by the conſent of the houſe; for though they gave largely to his majeſty, yet it was done with ſuch precautions as ſufficiently ſhewed they had the rights of parliament at heart; and were determined to defend the liberties of the people.

The parliament had taken no care to ſettle epiſcopacy; it was conſidered as a kind of appendage to monarchy, and not having been eſtabliſhed by any legal power it was reſtored without violence by the legal authority of the king only. In an affair ſo delicate and ſo odious to the preſbyterians, Charles, from the very firſt, ſhewed himſelf extremely moderate, and determined not to infringe that liberty of conſcience, which he had ſo ſolemnly promiſed. The epiſcopal juriſdiction was to be limited. Such parts of the liturgy as gave offence to the oppoſite party were to be expunged; and every man left wholly at liberty to purſue his own principles. But an inſurrection of the Millenarians or fifth monarchy-men obliged the miniſter to recede a little from theſe benevolent principles. About fifty or ſixty of theſe wretches, headed by one Venner, a cooper, broke out into open hoſtility, and proclaimed king Jeſus. They declared that the perſonal reign of Chriſt upon earth was juſt going to commence; that they were called by God to reform the world and to make all earthly powers ſubſervient to king Jeſus; and in order to accompliſh this pious work, they were never to ſheathe the ſword till all the carnal powers of the world became a hiſſing and a curſe; and in the frenzy of their zeal, they declared, that one of them was alone ſufficient to ſubdue ten thouſand of their adverſaries; and had very confidently planned, after having led captivity captive in England, to march into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the world, to proſecute in thoſe countries their holy deſign. They were, however, ſoon ſubdued; but ſo ſtrong was the force of enthuſiaſm, that they maintained with their laſt breath, at the place of execution, that if they were in an error, it was the Lord that was to blame.

Clarendon imputed all the troubles England had ſuffered during the civil wars to the factious ſpirit of the preſbyterians, and was therefore determined to take every opportunity of weakening them, that they might not be any longer capable of raiſing diſcontents and inſurrections in the nation.

The affairs of Scotland were ſettled with leſs difficulty than thoſe of England. They had ſo ſeverely felt the conſequence of their joining the Engliſh parliament, that they were determined not to follow ſuch imprudent methods for the future. The people had alſo diſcovered, that their former reſiſtance had proceeded more from the turbulence of the ariſtocracy, and the bigotry of their eccleſiaſtics, than from any fixed paſſion for civil liberty. The lords of articles were reſtored, with ſome important branches of the prerogative; and the royal authority, fortified with more plauſible claims and pretences, was re-eſtabliſhed in its full extent. The eccleſiaſtical affairs required more conſideration; but it was at laſt determined to reſtore prelacy; and Sharpe, who had been commiſſioned by the preſbyterians in Scotland, to manage their intereſts with the king, was perſuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliaſance, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrews. The covenant, once revered as divine, was diſſolved. The Scottiſh parliament teſtified the greateſt difference for the pleaſure of the monarch; but the people ſtill retained the leven of diſcontent, which might one day occaſion the worſt effects. Charles would gladly have united the preſbyterians with the natural church; and for that purpoſe procured a conference to be held in the Savoy between twelve biſhops and an equal number of preſbyterian divines; but as each party came abſolutely determined to give no point up, the conference came to nothing.

A. D. 1661. The intereſts of the royaliſts was now ſo powerful in the different counties and boroughs of England, that it was found at the meeting of the parliament, which aſſembled on the ſixth of May, that there were only fifty-ſix preſbyterians in the lower houſe, a number much too ſmall to prevent the commons from diſtinguiſhing their zeal for the church and crown. They voted every attempt to dethrone the king to be high treaſon; that to accuſe him of hereſy or popery, or to aſperſe him by libels, ſhould be puniſhed with an excluſion from all employments; that the power of the ſword belonged to him; and that it was unlawful for a man to defend himſelf againſt him. The covenant, and other republican acts were condemned to be burnt. Though the hierarchy was already reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, they were ſtill excluded from parliament by the law which the late king had paſſed immediately before the commencement of the civil wars. The greateſt violence had been uſed both againſt the king and the houſe of peers at the paſſing of this bill; and on that account alone the partizans of the church were provided with a very plauſible pretence for repealing it. It met with no great oppoſition except from the few preſbyterian members, and it was obſerved that Charles expreſſed great ſatiſfaction when he gave it the royal aſſent.

Theſe acts being paſſed the aſſembly was adjourned to the twentieth of November, when both houſes again applied themſelves to repair all the breaches that had been made by the fury of faction and civil war. It was now thought proper to relinquiſh, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the violent pretenſions of that parliament, and to acknowledge that neither one nor both houſes, independent of the king, were poſſeſſed of any military or legiſlative authority. An act was paſſed for empowering the king to appoint commiſſioners for regulating all the corporations in the kingdom; and expelling from thence ſuch magiſtrates as had either obtruded themſelves by violence or profeſſed principles dangerous to the conſtitution,

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civil and eccleſiaſtical. It was alſo enacted, that all magiſtrates ſhould renounce the obligation of the covenant, and declare their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take up arms againſt the king, and of their abhorrence of the traiterous poſition of taking arms by the king's authority, againſt his perſon and government.

A. D. 1662. Theſe bills paved the way for the act of uniformity, which now came to be debated in the houſe. By this bill it was enacted, that every miniſter, who had not received epiſcopal orders, ſhould now receive them; that he ſhould declare his approbation, without reſerve, of the book of the common-prayer; that he ſhould take the oaths of canonical obedience; and that he ſhould abjure the covenant, and renounce its principles of taking arms, by any pretence whatever againſt the king.

This bill was a thunder-bolt to the preſbyterians. Confounded with other nonconformiſts, and even with papiſts, they had the mortification of finding themſelves expoſed to penalties, after having ſeen their ſect predominant during the commonwealth. The church of England was put upon its ancient footing; and the penal laws were revived. Liberty of conſcience, ſo expreſsly promiſed by the ſovereign, was annihilated. Experience ſhewed the dangers of theſe violent meaſures. They were attributed to the catholics, who were deſirous either of ſharing the benefit of toleration with the preſbyterians, or that they ſhould ſhare with them the rigours of perſecution.

But however deſirous the commons might be of reſtoring the prerogative of the crown, they did not exert the ſame activity, where any demand was made by the crown for the pecuniary aſſiſtance. In the mean time the king's debts were become intolerable, and the commons ſaw at laſt the neceſſity of voting him an extraordinary ſupply of one million, two hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied by eighteen months aſſeſſment. They alſo voted an additional impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth, and ſettled the tax on the king during life.

Before Charles put an end to the ſeſſion, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who was juſt landed at Portſmouth. The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp on the twenty-firſt of May; but the princeſs, had neither the graces of perſon or humour, to make herſelf agreeable to the king. She had a portion of three hundred thouſand pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangier on the coaſt of Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies.

Lambert and Vane were ſtill in priſon: they had not been concerned in the death of Charles I. but their profeſſed hatred to the crown having occaſioned them to be excepted from the amneſty, the royaliſts demanded that they ſhould be brought to juſtice. They were accordingly tried, with great ſolemnity, before all the judges of the kingdom. The impeachment of Vane turned wholly on his conduct ſince the death of the king, in quality of counſellor of ſtate, and ſecretary of the marine department. He alledged, in his defence, the neceſſity of obeying the eſtabliſhed government, however illegal that eſtabliſhment might be. "If that obedience be criminal," ſaid he, "after the government is changed by force, every ſubject in the kingdom may be liable to puniſhment. The uſurpers will puniſh ſome for their fidelity to the depoſed prince, and the prince will puniſh others for their ſubmiſſion to the uſurpers. To prevent theſe diſaſters, and to defend the life and liberty of the ſubject, an act of Henry VII. declares, that no perſon ſhall be held criminal for obeying the reigning prince. It does not belong to individuals to diſcuſs the titles of thoſe who govern. Beſides, as the moſt reſpectable people were divided between the king and the commonwealth, ought a man to be condemned for following the party to which he was bound by the covenant, an obligation then ſacred and indiſpenſable?" Thoſe arguments were not, however, ſufficient to efface the remembrance of Vane's ſeditious conduct. The judges kept to the letter of the law; and though naturally of a timid diſpoſition, he died with all the fortitude of a fanatic. Vane had been noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgment; in all religious, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inſpiration, he deemed himſelf, to ſpeak the language of the times, a "man above ordinances;" and by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that he ſometimes thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful. Vane had been a principal leader in the trial of Strafford, and he was the laſt victim to theſe ſanguinary quarrels. Lambert was condemned at the ſame time, but reprieved at the bar. He lived above thirty years after, happier, poſſibly, in his exile, than he had ever been in the thorny path of fortune.

The act of uniformity produced a kind of eccleſiaſtical revolution. It was called the St. Bartholomew act, becauſe it was to take place on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the feaſt of that apoſtle. Though it bore no reſemblance to the St. Bartholomew's day in France, it ſhewed the invincible obſtinacy of the enthuſiaſts. In one day, and by a concerted reſolution, above two thouſand preſbyterian miniſters reſigned their livings, becauſe they would not conform to the articles of the act. The church of England now triumphed over her perſecutors. The preſbyterians, in the time of their exultation, had left her at leaſt one fifth of the livings; but they now refuſed the ſame indulgence, though it was ſollicited by the peers. They were even, ſome time after, prohibited from coming within five miles of thoſe places where they had exerciſed their miniſtry, except on journies, under pain of ſix months impriſonment, and paying a penalty of five pounds. This was cutting off their very livelihood; nor were theſe rigorous proceedings by any means agreeable to the king. Though ſtrongly ſuſpected of indifference for all religions, he was ſecretly inclined to popery, which he had, probably, embraced before his reſtoration. He was ſtrongly ſollicited by his brother James to grant a general toleration; and the misfortunes of the preſbyterians afforded a very plauſible pretence. Charles embraced the opportunity: he proclaimed an indulgence to thoſe ſcrupulous conſciences that were afraid of conforming to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and as the parliament was now prorogued, he gave his royal word, that at the approaching ſeſſion, he would endeavour to procure a confirmation of that indulgence.

A prince without œconomy is at all times expoſed to the moſt cruel neceſſity. The principal faults of Charles II. were an exceſſive love of pleaſure, and prodigality in the gratification of his darling paſſion. Prudence and good policy were therefore very neceſſary; but theſe were not in the catalogue of Charles's virtues. The parliamentary ſupplies, together with the portion of his new queen, were all ſquandered away; nor had he yet paid the portion of his ſiſter Henrietta to the duke of Orleans. Urged by neceſſity, he had recourſe to a meaſure which expoſed him to the ſevereſt cenſure, and is ſtill regarded as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his reign. He offered the French miniſtry to deliver up Dunkirk, on their paying a valuable conſideration. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous miniſters, were concerned in this tranſaction; though there is the greateſt probability to think, that the expedient was firſt propoſed by Charles himſelf. The reſolution being taken, a negotiation was opened with d'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador; and the French monarch purchaſed Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for four hundred thouſand pounds. The annual expence of the garriſon amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; and the advantages ariſing from it were by no means anſwerable to ſuch a charge. The tranſaction, however, occaſioned great murmurings among the people; and Lewis XIV. ſoon converted Dunkirk into a port equally advantageous to France, and formidable to England.

A.D. 1663. On the 18th of February, the parliament aſſembled, purſuant to their prorogation, and Charles endeavoured to fulfil his promiſe with regard to the liberty of conſcience. But the parliament, who ſtrongly ſuſpected that he had another, and much deeper deſign in view, determined to defeat his intentions. The avowed deſign of gratifying the diſſenters, and the ſecret reſolution of ſupporting the catholics, were equally diſagreeable. They accordingly drew up a remonſtrance againſt the late declaration of indulgence, which they preſented to his majeſty, and both houſes joined in deſiring him to iſſue a proclamation againſt all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. To this requeſt the king returned a very obliging anſwer; but in the proclamation afterwards iſſued, the terms were couched in ſo artful a manner, as to render it of little or no effect. This ſeeming complaiſance of the king, however deceitful, was ſo pleaſing to the parliament, that, upon his application, they voted him a ſupply of four ſubſidies, and this was the laſt time taxes were raiſed in that manner. The clergy alſo granted as much as the parliament; both parties being ſatisfied with the king's complaiſance.

Gratitude was not one of Charles's principal virtues. The royaliſts, who had ventured ſo much, and ſuffered ſo deeply in his ſervice, were wholly neglected. When application was made to him for relieving their diſtreſs, he ſeemed not at all affected, but laviſhed his favours on thoſe who had been enemies to his family. The parliament, however, had more generoſity: they took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers, and diſtributed among them above ſixty thouſand pounds. Mrs. Lane and the four Penderells had alſo ſome preſents and penſions aſſigned them, for their eminent ſervices to the king after the battle of Worceſter.

A.D. 1664. At the meeting of the parliament, which was fixed for the ſixteenth of March, a motion was made in the lower houſe for repealing the act for triennial parliaments. No great oppoſition was made to this motion: the act was repealed; and thus all the ſecurity of the ſubject againſt the influence of the court was at once deſtroyed; and Charles failed not to take advantage of theſe conceſſions to baffle oppoſition, from whatever quarter it might ariſe.

Nor was the parliament more ſervile in their compliance with regard to the requeſt of royalty, than rigorous and uncharitable with regard to the people. The true ſpirit of perſecution ſeemed to actuate all their proceedings on religious ſubjects. They had, poſſibly, forgotten, that the ſame rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud had been one of the principal cauſes of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had been ſo lately delivered. They were not contented with the penalties contained in the act of uniformity; they now paſſed the famous conventicle act, whereby it was enacted, that if any one ſhould repair to conventicles, the name they gave the meeting-houſes of all diſſenters, he ſhould be fined five pounds for the firſt offence, or ſuffer three months impriſonment; for the ſecond offence, ten pounds, or ſix months impriſonment; but for the third offence, after being convicted by a jury of his peers, he was to be tranſported to ſome foreign plantation, or pay the penalty of one hundred pounds.

A diſpute had, for ſome time, ſubſiſted with the ſtates of the United Provinces, in relation to commerce. The royal African company, in particular, had been oppoſed in eſtabliſhing their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea. Sir Robert Holmes had been ſent the preceding year with a fleet of two-and-twenty ſhips to the coaſt of Africa, to protect the Engliſh traders, and expel the Dutch from ſome places they had ſeized, contrary to the faith of treaties. Holmes executed his commiſſion with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. After taking from the Dutch Cape Verd, the iſland of Goree, and ſeveral of their trading ſhips, he ſailed to America, where he made himſelf maſter of Nova Belgia, ſince known by the name of New York, where the Dutch had been ſettled ſeveral years. Warm remonſtrances were preſented by the Dutch againſt theſe hoſtilities; but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, they reſolved to do their ſubjects juſtice by force. De Ruyter was accordingly diſpatched, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Guinea, where he ſoon re-eſtabliſhed the Dutch in poſſeſſion of the ſettlements from which they had been driven by the Engliſh admiral. He afterwards attempted to take Barbadoes, but without ſucceſs. Theſe hoſtile proceedings, which could only be conſidered as preludes to a rupture between the two nations, were not diſpleaſing to Charles, whoſe growing neceſſities, the natural conſequences of a blind prodigality, induced him to embrace every pretence for drawing money from his parliament. The diſpoſitions of the commons were very favourable to his deſign; for on taking the ſtate of the trade of the kingdom into conſideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, diſhonours, and indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of theſe kingdoms: that his majeſty ſhould be humbly requeſted to demand and obtain reparation for thoſe damages; and that in the proſecution of this affair, the houſe would aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes againſt all oppoſition whatever." This vote was conſidered as a ſufficient ſanction for thoſe vigorous meaſures which the court had adopted, and the parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

The naval preparations were now carried on with great vigour, and the whole nation ſeemed deſirous of humbling the pride of the Dutch. But as the parliament had granted no ſupplies, the city of London advanced one hundred thouſand pounds, that no ſtop might be put to the preparations. Charles viſited the ports in perſon, directed the operations himſelf, and animated the workmen by his preſence and liberality.

The navy was ſoon in a reſpectable condition; and in the month of September, admiral Lawſon ſailed with orders to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips he met with in his cruize. He was ſo ſucceſsful, that in a very ſhort time one hundred and thirty-five of their merchant ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh. On the twenty-fourth of November the parliament aſſembled, and voted two millions five hundred thouſand pounds for carrying on the war; a much larger ſupply than had ever before been granted to any Engliſh monarch.

A.D. 1665. Strengthened by this vote of the commons, Charles declared war againſt the Dutch in the beginning of March; and ſoon after prorogued the parliament. In this ſeſſion the clergy gave up the right of taxing themſelves in convocation, and have ever ſince been taxed by the parliament, in common with other ſubjects. In conſequence of abandoning the above privilege, they obtained votes at the elections of members of parliament.

The great preparations made in England alarmed the Dutch, who ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of England, in order, if poſſible, to prevent an open rupture, ſo deſtructive to the intereſts of a trading people: but finding all their endeavours were in vain, they exerted themſelves in making preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. John de Wit, a miniſter equally diſtinguiſhed for the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, now directed all the meaſures of the Dutch republic, and infuſed ſpirit into that phlegmatic people. Though remarkably modeſt in his private behaviour, he well knew how to ſupport, in his public conduct, that magnanimity which becomes the miniſter of a powerful people. It was always his opinion, that no independent government ſhould ever make any mean or unreaſonable conceſſions to another; and that all ſuch compliances, inſtead of preventing the miſeries of war, ſerved only to invite farther inſults and indignities. By his management, a ſpirit of harmony was preſerved in all the provinces of the republic; large ſums were raiſed; and a powerful fleet, conſiſting of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, was fitted out with the utmoſt expedition, in order to conteſt with the Engliſh the empire of the ſea.

On the eighteenth of March, the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England, ſailed with a fleet of one hundred and fourteen ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips and bomb-ketches. He was aſſiſted by prince Rupert; and the gallant earl of Sandwich commanded one of the diviſions. Two and twenty thouſand men ſerved on board this powerful armament. The Dutch navy conſiſted of one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war, beſides fire-ſhips. Opdam, an experienced ſea-officer of undoubted courage, commanded this numerous fleet, and received orders to ſeize the firſt opportunity of giving battle to the Engliſh.

The two fleets met on the third of June, and a furious engagement enſued, in which the Dutch were defeated, with the loſs of twenty of their men of war. The ſhip on board of which the brave admiral Opdam had hoiſted his flag, was blown up, and he himſelf periſhed, with all his crew. The Engliſh loſt only four men of war; but ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were ſlain, and others dangerouſly wounded. A thankſgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals of the duke of York were ſtruck on this occaſion. He had, indeed, diſplayed amazing courage and conduct during the whole engagement.

When the news of this defeat reached Holland, the Dutch were ſeized with terror and diſmay; it required all the abilities and conſtancy of De Wit to revive the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen. He viſited the fleet in perſon, rectified all diſorders, and repaired the damages ſuſtained in the late engagement. While he was thus employed in fitting out the navy for another battle with the enemy, a large fleet of Dutch merchant-ſhips from Turkey and the Eaſt-Indies, having ſailed north about to avoid the Engliſh cruizers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, in order to wait there till a proper convoy could be ſent to bring them into the ports of Holland.

This was no ſooner known in England, than orders were ſent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy at Copenhagen, to perſuade his Daniſh majeſty to ſeize this rich fleet, in revenge for the ſhameful conduct of the Dutch, who had involved him in a troubleſome war with Sweden. Tempted by the value of the prize, his Daniſh majeſty liſtened to the reaſons of the Engliſh miniſtry, but declared he was not in a condition to execute the deſign. Talbot promiſed to procure aſſiſtance from England, if his majeſty would agree to give the captors half the value of what ſhould be taken. The conditions were accepted, and the earl of Sandwich was ordered to ſail immediately to Bergen. Perſuaded that part of his ſquadron would be abundantly ſufficient to ſeize a fleet of merchantmen, Sandwich ſent Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with a few ſhips, on that ſervice. He attacked the Dutch with great impetuoſity; but the governor of Bergen having then received no orders to remain neutral, joined the Dutch, and gave the Engliſh ſo warm a reception, that Tiddeman was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having received conſiderable damage. Charles was greatly provoked at this diſappointment: he ordered the earl of Sandwich, to whoſe conduct he imputed the whole cauſe of the miſcarriage, to return to London, where he deprived him of his command, and ſent him ambaſſador to Spain.

During theſe tranſactions at ſea, a dreadful plague raged in the city of London. It continued eleven months, and during that time ſwept away above one hundred thouſand ſouls. The dead was carried out in carts during the night, and buried at Holy-well mount. Charles at its firſt appearance removed to Hampton court, and afterwards to Saliſbury. The ſeſſion of parliament was held at Oxford; and the capital ſeemed for a time to be deſerted.

Alarmed at the miſcarriage of Tiddeman, and aſhamed of his conduct, the king of Denmark concluded an offenſive alliance with England againſt the ſtates; but reflecting on the great power of the Engliſh navy, and the fatal conſequences that might attend the deſtruction of a power, whoſe fleets were only capable of diſputing the ſovereignty of the ocean, he ſent orders to his reſident at the Hague to conclude a defenſive alliance with the ſtates againſt England. He adhered to the laſt alliance, and ſeized and confiſcated all the Britiſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a ſenſible check to the advantages Charles had obtained over the Dutch. The Engliſh commerce was not only affected, but the naval force of the king of Denmark was alſo conſiderable, and there was the greateſt reaſon to imagine that his ſhips would ſoon join the fleets of the republic.

Nor was Denmark the only power that was alarmed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh; the king of France could not behold their triumphs without uneaſineſs. He was already engaged in a defenſive alliance with the ſtates; but his naval force was yet in its infancy. He was reſolved to ſupport the Hollanders in the unequal conteſt in which they were engaged; but protracted his declaration, and employed the interval in naval preparations both in his ports on the ocean, and thoſe in the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark was, however, made acquainted with his deſign, and ſtipulated to aſſiſt the Dutch with a fleet of thirty ſail; in conſequence of which he was to receive an annual ſubſidy of one million five hundred thouſand crowns; three hundred thouſand of which were to be paid by France.

Encouraged by theſe favourable circumſtances, the Dutch continued to exert all their power in their own defence, and to ſupport that power on the ocean, their fleets had obtained. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from the coaſt of Guinea: their India fleet was returned in ſafety: their harbours were crowded with merchantmen: Domeſtic faction was appeaſed; the young prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of de Wit, who executed his office with the ſtricteſt honour and fidelity: and the whole republic was ſo exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, that they thirſted for revenge, and promiſed themſelves that their next enterprize would be attended with better ſucceſs. Their merchant-ſhips were not ſuffered to ſail; and even the fiſheries were ſuſpended, that no impediment might retard the manning of their fleet.

The Engliſh parliament aſſembled at Oxford, declared their intention of ſupporting his majeſty in the war againſt the Dutch. Accordingly they voted him twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be levied in two years, by monthly aſſeſſments. The independents, anabaptiſts, and republicans, encouraged by the emiſſaries of the Dutch, had formed a ſcheme for a general inſurrection; but their whole plan was rendered abortive. Exaſperated by theſe practices the parliament brought in a bill, known by the name of the five-mile-act, and which has given occaſion to many heavy and juſt complaints. Under the ſpecious pretence of ſupporting the throne, againſt the attempts of its moſt inveterate enemies, the church perſevered in her project of wreaking her vengeance on the non-conformiſts. By this bill it was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher, who refuſed to take the oath of non-reſiſtance, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had diſcharged the offices of a miniſter after the act of oblivion, under the penalty of fifty pounds. Violences like theſe could only be conſidered as preludes to the moſt furious perſecution; but the ſpirit of the nation had undergone a change, and the intolerant ſpirit was nipped in its bud: the commons rejected the bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the whole nation.

A. D. 1666. France was now openly engaged on the ſide of the ſtates, and declared war againſt England. The conteſt was now unequal. But the Engliſh ſtill enjoyed one advantage: their country lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by ſpeedy, and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But ſuch was the want of intelligence in the miniſtry, or the want of conduct in the commanders, that this favourable circumſtance became rather prejudicial. Beaufort, the French admiral, had received orders to ſail from Toulon with his ſquadron, in order to join the Dutch, and it was ſuppoſed that he was already in the channel. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-four ſail, was commanded by Monk, earl of Albemarle, and prince Rupert. The former, from the repeated defeats of the Dutch during the government of Cromwell, had raſhly entertained too deſpicable an opinion of their courage; and it was determined in a council of war, to detach prince Rupert with a ſquadron of twenty ſhips, in order to intercept Beaufort.

The Dutch fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, was now riding at anchor between Newport and Dunkirk, expecting, as it was ſuppoſed, the arrival of the French ſquadron. Albemarle determined to force them to an action, and accordingly ſtood immediately towards them. The Dutch, who did not expect this viſit, prepared for the engagement, and cut their cables, that they might be the ſooner in readineſs to receive the enemy. Sir George Aſcue, who was well acquainted with the bravery of the Dutch, cautioned Albemarle of his danger, but it was now too late. The battle which enſued is one of the moſt remarkable recorded in hiſtory, whether the duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought, be conſidered. It continued four days, and each was marked with events of the moſt aſtoniſhing nature. Albemarle, conſcious of the miſtake he had made with regard to the courage and conduct of the enemy, exerted all his great abilities on this memorable occaſion. Though now in the decline of life, he appeared the youthful hero, and ſeemed to have forgot his years as well as his danger.

Sir William Berkeley, who led the van during the firſt day's engagement, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, and was obliged to yield to ſuperior force. When the victors entered the ſhip, they found the gallant commander dead in his cabin and covered with blood. The advantage which the Engliſh had acquired by gaining the weather-gage of the enemy, was of very little conſequence, occaſioned by the wind blowing ſo high, that they could not uſe the guns on the lower deck. A diſcovery made by de Wit was of the utmoſt conſequence to the Dutch. This was chain-ſhot, which tore the rigging of the Engliſh to pieces. Sir John Harman attacked the Dutch admiral Evertz, and obtained the victory: Evertz was killed in the engagement. Night at laſt put an end to the conteſt.

It was ſomewhat calmer the next morning; by which the battle became at once more ſteady and dreadful; and it was now perceived that valour alone is not ſufficient to compenſate for a defect of ſuperiority, when the enemy is not wanting either in courage or conduct. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, at once enemies from faction, and rivals in glory, exerted themſelves in this memorable battle. The latter being ſurrounded by the Engliſh, was relieved by the former, when reduced to the laſt extremity. During the action ſixteen freſh ſhips joined the Hollanders. This addition was deciſive. The Engliſh, whoſe ſhips were dreadfully ſhattered, and reduced to twenty-eight, found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſts, whither they were followed by the Dutch, and their whole fleet muſt have been taken had not a ſudden calm, which happened a little before night, prevented a freſh engagement.

As ſoon as the morning appeared, they continued their retreat. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſet all their ſails, while ſixteen of the moſt entire, drawn up in order, followed them, and kept the enemy in play. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to the enemy fluſhed with victory. The admiral confeſſed to the young earl of Oſſory, who ſerved a volunteer, that he was determined to blow up his ſhip, and periſh gloriouſly in the bed of honour, rather than ſtrike to the enemy. Oſſory agreed with him, and highly applauded this deſperate reſolution.

Juſt as the Dutch were come up with the Engliſh, and were preparing to begin the engagement, a new fleet appeared to the ſouthward, crowding all their ſails to reach the ſcene of action, and join in the dreadful conteſt. De Ruyter was perſuaded that Beaufort was arrived to aſſiſt in the total defeat of the enemy: while the Engliſh flattered themſelves that prince Rupert was coming to ſnatch the laurel wreath from the brow of the conqueror. Albemarle was ſoon convinced that they were the prince's ſhips; and ſtood immediately towards them. The whole fleet followed the admiral; but Sir George Aſcue, whoſe ſhip carried one hundred guns, and was the largeſt in the fleet, unfortunately ran aſhore upon a ſand called the Galloper, and was obliged to ſtrike to the enemy.

It was now determined in a council of war, to make another attempt againſt the Dutch, and accordingly the engagement began the next morning with more fury than ever. The ſhips were grappled to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. In this manner the conteſt continued till a thick miſt obliged them to ſeperate; when the Engliſh retired to the mouth of the Thames.

The Dutch claimed the victory, but had little reaſon to boaſt. The Engliſh fleet was ſoon in a condition to face the enemy; and de Ruyter having repaired the damages his fleet had ſuſtained, ſtood to the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the Engliſh, and facilitate his junction with the French admiral. It could not be expected that the Engliſh would tamely bear ſo vile an inſult. Albermarle and prince Rupert haſtened to attack the enemy. The two fleets, as well as the courage and conduct of their leaders were nearly equal; each conſiſted of about eighty-eight ſail. They met on the twenty-fourth of July, and the engagement began with incredible fury. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron attacked the van of the Dutch, with ſo much fury that they were entirely routed, and the three admirals who commanded that diviſion were ſlain. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action he was ſeperated from the main body commanded by de Ruyter, who with the utmoſt conduct and valour maintained the fight againſt the principal force of the Engliſh; and the fight continued till night put an end to the engagement. He propoſed to have renewed the battle as ſoon as the morning appeared, but inſtead of finding his ſhips in a ſituation for attacking the enemy, he ſaw them ſcattered, and unwilling to renew the battle. In this alarming ſituation neither his courage nor his preſence of mind forſook him. He made ſo noble a retreat, that he acquired as much honour by his prudence as he would have done had he gained the victory. But he could not bear the thought of flying from the enemy. He often exclaimed, "What a wretch am I, that among ſo many thouſand ſhot that fly near me, not one will put an end to my miſerable life!" He however perſevered in his duty, and by his amazing efforts, the Dutch fleet were conducted into their own harbours. On his return to Holland he complained loudly of Van Tromp's conduct, and that gallant admiral was diſmiſſed the ſervice.

This victory rendered the Engliſh the indiſputed maſters of the ocean, and admiral Holmes was detached with twenty ſail of ſhips, to inſult the coaſts of Holland. He accordingly entered the road of

Ulie, where he deſtroyed one hundred and forty ſail of merchantmen, and two ſhips of war. He afterwards burnt Brandorus, a rich and populous village on the coaſt. Theſe loſſes exaſperated the merchants: they exclaimed loudly againſt the adminiſtration, and joined the Orange faction. The firmneſs of de Wit was hardly ſufficient to ſtem the furious tide of popular reſentment.

Alarmed at the victory of the Engliſh, the king of France haſtened Beaufort to join the Dutch, leſt his friend de Wit might not be able to ſupport himſelf in the adminiſtration. De Ruyter's fleet was ſoon refitted; he put to ſea, and again cruized in the ſtreights of Dover. The Engliſh fleet, now ſtronger than ever, ſailed, under the command of prince Rupert, to attack the enemy. Ruyter thought proper to decline the engagement, as he every day expected to be joined by the French ſquadron, and retired into St. John's road near Bologne, where he was ſheltered from a terrible ſtorm which ſoon after aroſe. Rupert was not ſo fortunate: his ſhips received conſiderable damage, and he was obliged to retire to St. Hellens to refit. In the mean time the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived. But before he reached the place where he expected to join de Ruyter, that commander had been ſeized with a fever, and the ſtates had thought proper to recal their fleet. Anxious for his navy, which he had raiſed with ſo much care and induſtry, Lewis ſent orders to Beaufort to make the beſt of his way to Breſt, and to continue as near as poſſible to the French coaſt. Beaufort obeyed, and was fortunate enough to paſs the Engliſh without being perceived. One of his ſhips only, being ſeparated from the fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy.

While the fleets were thus inactive, the city of London was laid in aſhes by a dreadful fire which broke out on the ſecond of September. It began at a broker's houſe near the bridge, and diffuſed itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that nothing could reſiſt the progreſs of the flames. The dreadful conflagration laſted three days and nights; nor did it ſtop, till the greater part of the capital was deſtroyed. Eighty churches, ſeveral of the city gates, and four hundred ſtreets, containing above thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling houſes, were conſumed. The ruins covered a ſpace of four hundred and twenty-ſix acres, extending along the banks of the Thames from the Tower to the Temple church; and from the north-eaſt gate along the city wall to Holbourn-bridge. It was at laſt extinguiſhed by blowing up a number of houſes. Both the king and the duke of York attended, and exerted all their endeavours to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the flames, but without ſucceſs.

This dreadful calamity gave occaſion to various conjectures with regard to its cauſe; no perſon being inclined to think it caſual. Some imputed it to the malice of the republicans; but the greater part aſcribed it to the papiſts; and in order to comply with this popular prejudice, an inſcription engraved by authority on the monument, imputed this calamity to that hated ſect. Both theſe ſuſpicions, however, ſeemed to have owed their riſe to the violent animoſities that poſſeſſed the minds of the different parties which divided the people at this period. Their poſterity, who behold this, and other events of that time, through the cooler medium of reaſon, ſee no cauſe for aſcribing this dreadful accident either to treachery or malice. The ſtreets of London were then extremely narrow; the houſes were almoſt all built of timber, or lath and plaiſter; the ſeaſon was remarkably dry; and a violent eaſt wind happened to blow at that time. To theſe cauſes, and to theſe only, the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the flames ought to be aſcribed.

But however dreadful this calamity proved to the inhabitants, it has ſince been attended with very beneficial conſequences. The new ſtreets were much wider than the old; the houſes were built with brick and ſtone, lath and plaiſter, as well as timber in the walls, being forbid by authority. By this means the city became much more healthy than before; and the plague, which ſo often ſwept the greater number of inhabitants, has not once appeared ſince this dreadful conflagration. The parliament voted a ſupply of one million, eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied partly by a poll-tax and partly by aſſeſſments.

A. D. 1667. The king was by this time convinced that it would prove a much more difficult taſk than he at firſt imagined to humble the Dutch. He was therefore deſirous of opening negotiations for a peace; but concealed his intentions till the parliament had granted the ſupply, which had been poſtponed from time to time, on the moſt trifling pretences, notwithſtanding the king ſent repeated meſſages to the houſe, requeſting that the buſineſs might be finiſhed. At laſt, on the eighteenth of January, the bill for raiſing the above ſum paſſed the commons, and received the royal aſſent with ſeveral other acts, about the middle of February.

Charles now determined to bring about a peace, and accordingly propoſed the opening conferences for that purpoſe. The Dutch, who by their riches and navigation, were on a better footing than the Engliſh, propoſed the alternative, that things ſhould be reſtored to the ſituation they were in at the beginning of the war, or that the two nations ſhould retain all their acquiſitions. The laſt was accepted, and no difficulty remained but with regard to the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, once famous for its ſpices. Holles and Coventry, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries at the congreſs, propoſed that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould be concluded, till the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted; but de Wit refuſed the offer. That ſagacious and enterprizing miniſter, who was no ſtranger to Charles's neceſſities, had planned an expedition, which, if ſucceſsful, he knew would be of more weight in the negotiation than any arguments whatever.

Perſuaded that there was not the leaſt reaſon to fear the ſucceſs of the negotiation, and that no attempt would be made by the enemy, while the conferences were open, the king had laid up his large ſhips, in order to convert to his own uſe the greater part of the money granted him by parliament. De Wit, who had the beſt intelligence from England, determined to take advantage of this negligence of the Britiſh monarch. He ordered de Ruyter to ſail with a fleet of ſhips and ſurprize the Engliſh, lulled in a fatal ſecurity. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. He entered the mouth of the Thames, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt terror and conſternation. The mouth of the river Medway was defended by a chain, and ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Upnore caſtle. But the former was ſoon taken, though defended by the brave Sir Edward Sprague. The wind blowing freſh at eaſt, the vice-admiral, Van Ghent, broke the chain drawn acroſs the entrance of the Medway, and burnt the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles V. all capital ſhips, and all taken from the Dutch during the war. He alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had ſet on fire, and advanced with ſix men of war and five fire ſhips as far as Upnore caſtle, where he burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all of them capital ſhips.

After performing this exploit without receiving any conſiderable damage, the Dutch fell down the Medway, and it was apprehended that they would proceed up the Thames next tide, and deſtroy all the ſhips in the river. The capital was in confuſion. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall: platforms were raiſed in ſeveral places, and furniſhed with artillery: the trained-bands were called out, and every precaution taken to render the attempt of the enemy abortive. But de Ruyter did not think proper to proceed; the danger, he thought, was too great, and the hopes of ſucceſs too precarious. He left the mouth of the Thames, and ſtood to the weſtward, and made an attempt to deſtroy the ſhipping at Portſmouth and Plymouth, but was repulſed at both places with loſs. He was not, however, intimidated: he returned again to the mouth of the Thames, and advanced as far as Tilbury-fort; but found the Engliſh ſo well prepared for his reception, that there were no hopes of ſucceſs. He next inſulted Harwich, and kept the whole ſouthern coaſt of England in perpetual alarms till the concluſion of the peace, which happened on the tenth of July, when the treaty was ſigned at Breda. Arcadia was yielded to the French, who agreed to reſtore St. Chriſtophers, and ſome other iſlands which they had taken in the Weſt-Indies. The iſland of Porerine remained with the Dutch. The colony of New-York was the only advantage the Engliſh derived from a war, that had coſt the nation ſuch immenſe ſums, and in which the folly, negligence, and avarice of the ſovereign, had been ſo ſingularly diſplayed.

A war ſo ruinous, and terminated with ſo little advantage, exaſperated the Engliſh; and it was thought neceſſary to make ſome ſacrifice to appeaſe the people, before the meeting of the parliament. Clarendon, the chancellor, was, at this time, no favourite with either party. The king reſpected the merit of that great miniſter, but his virtues were troubleſome. The chancellor, incorruptible in the midſt of a diſſolute court, ſtill retained his integrity of manners. He had no complaiſance for the king's miſtreſſes. He was a reſtraint upon his pleaſures, and oppoſed his prodigalities. The people, leſs grateful for the good he had done them, than exaſperated at the circumſtances that diſpleaſed them, were ſo far from thinking themſelves obliged to Clarendon for his conduct, that they conſidered him as the author of their ſufferings. The preſbyterians reproached him with perſecution on one hand, and the Roman catholics with cruelty on the other. Tho' the war with Holland was undertaken contrary to his advice, yet the misfortunes were attributed wholly to him, becauſe it was determined to find him guilty at all events. The earl of Southampton, high-treaſurer, and the virtuous friend of Clarendon, who had been dead about three months, had done juſtice to his character. "This man," ſaid he, in full council, "is a true proteſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman: while he enjoys power, we are ſecure of our laws, liberties, and religion: if he is removed, I tremble for the conſequences." But the virtues of Clarendon, inſtead of preventing, occaſioned his fall. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

His enemies were not, however, ſatisfied with his diſgrace; they were determined to complete his ruin. As ſoon as the parliament met, a charge was opened againſt him in the houſe of commons, by Sir Edward Seymour. It conſiſted of ſeventeen articles; but the principal, and indeed the only one, that could affect him, was his adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, and even this amounted to nothing more than an error in judgment. When the charge was carried up to the peers, it was ſo ill ſupported, that they refuſed to put him under arreſt. But Clarendon perceiving that the tide of popular clamour ran ſtrongly againſt him, and that he was entirely abandoned by his maſter, whom he had ſo long and ſo faithfully ſerved, withdrew to Rouen, in Normandy, and put himſelf under the protection of Lewis XIV. The French, more judicious and more humane than his countrymen, received the illuſtrious fugitive with every mark of reſpect. He lived ſix years in this retirement, employing his leiſure time in writing a hiſtory of the civil wars, a work worthy of the ſtateſman and the illuſtrious citizen. The early part of his life had been ſpent in the ſtudy of the laws. His father often exhorted him never to advance the prerogative at the expence of the public liberty, and died of an apoplexy juſt after he had repeated that leſſon to his ſon. This affecting incident imprinted it ſtrongly on his memory. His loyalty to Charles I. was that of an Engliſhman firmly attached to the principles of the conſtitution; and he died with the character of a nobleman of unblemiſhed virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able miniſter, equally valuable for his attachment and integrity.

The miniſtry of Charles was now totally changed; the treaſury was put into commiſſion; and Sir Richard Clifford, a declared papiſt, was made firſt commiſſioner. Sir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arlington, a concealed papiſt, was made ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of ſpirit and humour, but of an abandoned character; and Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, the lewdeſt, and moſt licentious poet of the age, were the king's chief favourites, and miniſters of his pleaſures. With theſe, and his miſtreſſes, Charles ſpent the greater part of his time.

The dreadful conflagration having laid the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Greſham, in aſhes, it was determined to rebuild it in a moſt ſplendid manner. A model of the intended building was accordingly preſented to the king; and it being approved of, Charles laid the firſt ſtone in the beginning of October, with great ſolemnity.

The baniſhment of Clarendon not having fully contented the people, the king had recourſe to another expedient more deſerving of praiſe; and had it been ſteadily purſued, would, probably, have rendered his reign happy; at leaſt, it would have rendered his memory glorious. This was the triple alliance; a meaſure which gave entire ſatisfaction to the public.

Lewis XIV. as proud as he was powerful, and paſſionately fond of glory, particularly that of conqueſts, unworthy of a great prince, filled Europe with uneaſineſs and apprehenſions. Notwithſtanding the renunciation of his queen, Maria Thereſa, of Auſtria, he ſeized Flanders and Franche Comté, pretending he had a legal right to them both. The United Provinces were ſufficiently alarmed. England was enraged at the aſſumed ſuperiority of France; and Charles projected the triple alliance. Sir William Temple was ſent to negotiate the treaty. A philoſophical miniſter could not fail of being agreeable to De Wit. The ſame frankneſs, ſincerity, and greatneſs of mind, diſtinguiſhed them both. It was not between miniſters of ſuch a character that politics degenerate into fineſſe and chicane. They undertook to mediate between France and Spain, and to engage them in a treaty that ſhould leave to Lewis part of his conqueſt, but that he ſhould abſolutely renounce the rights of his queen. Sweden entered into this alliance. According to the laws of the States General, all the towns were to conſent to the treaty; and this it was poſſible the intrigues of Lewis might have power to prevent. His ambaſſador, d'Eſtrades, was ſo ſure of this, that, on being informed of the negotiation, he ſaid, "We will talk of it in ſix weeks." But De Wit, foreſeeing the danger of delay, and perſuaded that, in a caſe of ſo much importance to his country, the good of the public ought to over-rule even the laws themſelves, boldly urged the ſtates to ratify the league the very day it was ſigned, and prevailed. Sir William Temple received the moſt flattering encomiums with a degree of modeſty that added to his merit. He anſwered, that to remove things from their element, or their centre, force and labour were neceſſary; but that they would return of themſelves. The triple alliance, ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, put an end to the conqueſts of Lewis XIV. He kept what he had gained in the Low Countries, but Franche Comté was reſtored to Spain.

Philip IV. of Spain had been ſucceeded by his ſon, Charles II. then a minor, and his mother held the reins of government, with the title of regent. The court of Spain, though it was forced to ſubmit to the terms of the triple alliance, by no means approved

proved of that treaty; becauſe certain conceſſions were to be made to France, by no means agreeable to the haughty ſpirit of the Spaniards. That court even declared, that they were ready to relinquiſh all the Low Countries, rather than ſubmit to the articles of the treaty. This was, however, nothing more than a paſſionate declaration; it was found in vain to reſiſt, and the treaty was accepted.

A. D. 1669. Peace being thus reſtored on the continent, Charles formed a ſcheme for attaching both the preſbyterians and papiſts more ſtrongly to his intereſt. To effect this, he propoſed to incorporate the preſbyterians with the church of England, and to obtain a toleration for all the other ſects of non-conformiſts. The lord-keeper was accordingly directed to procure a conference between ſome of the moſt eminent of the epiſcopal and preſbyterian miniſters; and to offer propoſals for a comprehenſion of ſuch diſſenters as could be brought into communion with the church of England. The epiſcopal divines, either from a ſpirit of chriſtian charity, or a deſire to pleaſe their ſovereign, were very compliable on this occaſion; they even made large conceſſions; and nothing remained to put a final hand to the accommodation, but the re-ordaining the preſbyterian miniſters, which was at laſt ſettled by the conſent of both parties. Matters being thus adjuſted, lord chief-juſtice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehenſion, and the lord-keeper engaged to ſupport it in parliament.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was not intruſted with the ſecret, determined to render every ſcheme of this kind abortive. He wrote circular letters to the ſuffragan biſhops in his province, enjoining them to make an exact enquiry into the number of conventicles in each particular dioceſe. Provided with theſe neceſſary informations, he repaired to court, and obtained a proclamation to be publiſhed, for putting the laws againſt diſſenters in execution, particularly the act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from reſiding in corporate towns. But the king ſoon rendered the intentions of the biſhop abortive, by ordering the non-conformiſt miniſters to be told from him, that he was very deſirous of making them eaſy; adding, that if they thought proper to petition the crown, they ſhould be favourably heard. They embraced the offer; a petition was preſented; and the king, in his anſwer, told them, "That he would uſe all his intereſt to get them comprehended in the public eſtabliſhment."

The parliament was, however, averſe to any conceſſions; and when they met in October, they preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his proclamation, and appointed a committee to make a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of the non-conformiſts. A great number of informations were accordingly laid before them; and they reported, "That ſeveral conventicles and ſeditious aſſemblies were held, even in the neighbourhood of the houſe, tending to inſult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." This report ſet the houſe in a flame; and the following declaration was immediately voted, "that they would adhere to his majeſty, for the ſupport of the government, both in church and ſtate, againſt all adverſaries whatever." They proceeded no farther at that time, and the king prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. The king, when he opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the fourteenth of February, demanded a ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms. But the commons, before they complied with the king's deſires, paſſed the conventicle act, by which every member of a conventicle, or aſſembly of non-conformiſts, conſiſting of more than five perſons, excluſive of the family where it was held, was liable to a fine. And contrary to the principle received in criminal matters, what appeared doubtful was always to be interpreted in the leaſt favourable light. This ſeverity of the commons was the more extraordinary, as the ſame ſpirit of perſecution had, a little before, occaſioned a rebellion in Scotland. About two thouſand preſbyterians, after renewing the covenant, took up arms; and the flame which deſpair had kindled was quenched in blood. One Maccail, who had joined in this inſurrection, expired under the torture, in a kind of triumph of joy. The moment when his ſoul was taking her flight, he cried out, "Farewell ſun, moon, and ſtars; farewell world, and time; farewell weak and frail body: welcome eternity, welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" The ſpectators were ſtruck with a fortitude like this; a man expiring under the moſt cruel torments, and rejoicing in the dreadful conflict, was truly aſtoniſhing; it increaſed their hatred againſt ſuch inhuman perſecutors.

Though prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and the lord-keeper Bridgeman, on whoſe honour and integrity the people could rely, ſtill continued in office, yet they enjoyed but little power: they were ſeldom admitted to the cabinet council, or conſulted on the moſt preſſing affairs of the nation. Equally ſuſpicious and ſuſpected, a ſlave to pleaſure and a dupe to artifice, Charles neglected the cares of government, and expoſed himſelf to the danger of a fatal revolution. Five miniſters ſhared his confidence, and directed all the affairs of government. Aſhley Cooper, earl of Shaftſbury, diſtinguiſhed by his learning, but of the moſt violent paſſions; the duke of Buckingham, with all the advantages of wit, figure. and fortune, but without either conduct or principles; the duke of Lauderdale, a man of parts, but opinionated, a ſycophant to the prince, and a tyrant to the ſubject: the bold and impetuous Clifford; and the earl of Arlington, well verſed in buſineſs, and worthy of the place he enjoyed, had his reſolution been ſufficient to follow his own ſentiments, rather than the influence of the court. The miniſtry was called the Cabal, from the five initial letters of their names forming that word. Their political ſyſtem ſeemed to be that of complying with the king's inclinations, and ſupporting the intereſt of the duke of York.

As ſoon as Charles had given the royal aſſent to the bill againſt diſſenters, the commons paſſed an act for granting one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to his majeſty; but this money had the ſame fate with other ſums he had already received from parliament. It was ſquandered away upon his miſtreſſes and favourites; and he was ſo far from making good his engagements with the States-General, that he entered into meaſures for forming a cloſer union than ever with the king of France. Deſirous of rendering himſelf abſolute, by ſhaking off the yoke of dependence on the ſupplies of parliament, he determined to ſecure the friendſhip of Lewis XIV. as the only method of executing his purpoſe. To this chimerical project he ſacrificed every ſentiment of honour, juſtice and humanity. He knew he had nothing to fear from his miniſters; their ſervile flattery, and the licentiouſneſs of their manners, were ill calculated to ſupport the intereſts of their country. They were deſirous of rendering the king independent of the parliament; and thought the only way to effect it, was to enter into a new war with Holland, and depend upon Lewis for aſſiſtance of men and money.

Pursuant to this reſolution, it was determined to renew the war with Holland on the ſlighteſt pretences. The duke of York entered heartily into this ſcheme, which he was perſuaded could not fail, if ſucceſsful, of eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in England. But the alliance with France was to be kept an impenetrable ſecret, till Charles had procured a vote of parliament for arming the nation, under pretence of being ready, at all events, to protect the commerce, and ſupport the independence of the nation againſt the attempts of any power whatever, great preparations being making in the ports of France and Holland.

But however fond Charles might be of the French alliance, it does not appear, till an event determined him to purſue the ſcheme with the utmoſt vigour. The triple alliance had put an effectual ſtop to the conqueſts of Lewis, and that ambitious prince was very deſirous of revenge. Could the Engliſh be prevailed upon to enter into a new war with the Dutch, that difficulty would be removed; and he flattered himſelf that this was not difficult to be accompliſhed, as the reduction of Holland would remove the object of emulation to the Engliſh, who were jealous of their privileges. Full of theſe ideas, he took a journey to Dunkirk, accompanied by his whole court, and the dutcheſs of Orleans took that opportunity of viſiting her brother. Lewis was no ſtranger to the addreſs of that amiable princeſs, and the aſcendant ſhe had acquired over the Engliſh monarch, and had prevailed upon her to exert all her intereſt to draw her brother from the triple league. This young princeſs, then only twenty-five years of age, was accordingly ſelected as the plenipotentiary for concluding this important treaty. Charles met his ſiſter at Dover, where they ſpent ten days together in the utmoſt harmony. In their conferences ſhe artfully inſinuated, that nothing was wanting to render him the greateſt monarch in the world, and to recompenſe him for all the misfortunes he had ſuffered, than that of making himſelf as abſolute in England, as the other princes of Europe were in their dominions. This glorious end ſhe obſerved could never be obtained while his ſubjects had any proſpect of being aſſiſted by the Dutch, whoſe republican principles led them to ſupport the liberty of the ſubject. It was therefore neceſſary for him to humble the Hollanders, which would effectually remove the only difficulty of keeping his own ſubjects within the bounds of obedience. She added, that he might reſt aſſured, the king of France would aſſiſt him with men and money ſufficient to quell any commotions that might be raiſed in England, by purſuing this deſign. Blinded with the love he bore his ſiſter, and intoxicated with the deſire of governing with unlimited authority, Charles agreed to every thing propoſed by Lewis, and laid the foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midſt of feaſtings and diverſions.

But Lewis was no ſtranger to the natural inconſtancy of Charles's temper, and therefore artfully determined to fix him firm to his engagements by the bands of pleaſure. He ſent over with the princeſs Henrietta, mademoiſelle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments. Charles wanted power to reſiſt her charms. She accompanied him to London; was ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained her empire over his heart during the whole courſe of his life. She kept him firm in his connections with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former miſtreſs was honoured with the title of a dutcheſs, as ſome recompence for the favour ſhe had loſt.

But the joy which Charles derived from this new alliance was greatly leſſened by the loſs of his ſiſter, who died ſoon after her return to France. This event, however, made an alteration in the reſolutions of the two monarchs. The duke of Buckingham was diſpatched to Paris to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty, by which the ſpoils of the Dutch, devoted to deſtruction, were to be ſhared between France and England.

It was ſoon found impoſſible to keep this treaty a ſecret: too many perſons had been concerned in its execution. But though it was generally ſuſpected, and perhaps known to moſt of the courts of Europe, it occaſioned no alarm. The emperor was fully employed with ſeditions in Hungary; the Swede lulled aſleep with negotiations; and the Spaniſh monarchy, weak and irreſolute, and always ſlower in its motions, permitted Lewis to follow the carreer of his ambition without reſtraint.

The marquis of Crequi made an irruption into Lorraine; the duke, not dreaming of hoſtilities, was forced to abandon his territories. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould find a powerful advocate in Charles, in return for the many favours he had received during his exile: but he was miſtaken. His envoy was told, "That the king was extremely ſorry for the misfortunes of his maſter, but that the preſent violence, like the misfortunes of a ſudden inundation, had no remedy but patience."

Such glaring partiality in favour of the French monarch alarmed the Dutch, and they began to fear for the ſafety of their country. Their misfortunes were increaſed by two factions which divided the commonwealth, One compoſed of rigid republicans, to whom the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority ſeemed a monſter, contrary to the laws of human ſociety; the other of republicans of a more moderate diſpoſition, who were deſirous of inveſting the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors. The grand penſionary John de Wit, was at the head of the rigid republicans, but the party of the young prince began to gain ground in the ſtate. Theſe domeſtic diſſentions were more regarded than the foreign danger that threatened the deſtruction of their liberty.

The French monarch had not only gained the Engliſh monarch over to his intereſt, but alſo the famous Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, whoſe delight was war and plunder, and naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly aſſiſted them againſt this warlike prelate; he now joined him for their deſtruction. The Swedes, who had united with the republic to ſtop the projects of a conqueror, who had then no deſigns againſt them, abandoned her when they ſaw ſhe was threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former ſubſidies.

But among all the powers engaged againſt this little ſtate, not one of them could alledge a lawful pretence for hoſtilities. Their deſire of ſharing in the ruins of a people, who had enriched themſelves by commerce and œconomy, was the only reaſon for their uniting in their deſtruction.

On the twenty-fourth of October the parliament met purſuant to their prorogation, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the lord-keeper, who repreſented the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply. He told them, "That France and the ſtates-general were collecting powerful armies by ſea and land; were aſſiduouſly employed in building ſhips, and filling their magazines with all ſorts of warlike ſtores and proviſions: that ſince the beginning of the laſt war with Holland, France had increaſed the ſtrength of her marine more than three times what it was before; and that Holland, alſo ſince the concluſion of the peace, had applied herſelf diligently to the augmentation of her fleets: that in ſo critical a conjuncture, common prudence required that his majeſty ſhould make ſome ſuitable preparations: that he had accordingly given orders for fitting out fifty ſail of his largeſt ſhips againſt the ſpring, beſides thoſe which were neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade, foreſeeing, that if he neglected to put his navy in a reſpectable condition, it might prove a temptation to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to offer an affront at leaſt, if not do a real injury to the nation." He next expatiated on the ſeveral advantageous leagues he had entered into for the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of commerce. He particularly mentioned the triple alliance concluded with the Duch and Swedes, and thoſe with Portugal and Denmark. And concluded with aſſuring them, that the king would prorogue the parliament at Chriſtmas, and therefore wiſhed they would regulate the proceedings accordingly.

The commons were deceived by this ſhameful prevarication; and either unacquainted with, or not crediting his engagements with France, voted him two millions and a half: a much larger ſupply than had ever been granted by parliament, and certainly never leſs deſerved. Sir William Temple was ſtill at the Hague, where he had acquired ſo great a reputation for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were perſuaded no orders from his majeſty could prevail upon him to promote or countenance meaſures deſtructive of the intereſt of his country. He was therefore recalled. De Wit, who admired the great and noble qualities of the Engliſh reſident, took leave of him with the higheſt regret. The Dutch ſaw through the flimſey veil of pretence made uſe of to remove him; and were now fully convinced of the inſincerity of Charles. They even ordered their ambaſſador at London to ſignify to the Engliſh miniſtry, that they ſhould look upon their recalling Sir William Temple, as an undoubted proof of their having changed their meaſures.

A. D. 1672. Though the parliament had voted a large ſupply to his majeſty, the bills for it were not paſſed when the parliament was prorogued. They met again the latter end of January, and a few days after the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring that the money-bills might be haſtened; but inſtead of paſſing the acts they joined with the lords in a ſolemn addreſs to his majeſty, upon the alarming increaſe of popery, and deſired that no papiſt or reputed papiſt might enjoy any office civil or military. The king, unwilling to give them an abſolute denial, publiſhed a proclamation againſt the catholics, but never intended to carry it into execution.

When the firſt of the money bills was carried to the houſe of peers, Lucas ſeverely animadverted on the enormous grants made to the crown, and the ſhameful manner in which theſe ſupplies were ſquandered away. "While we are continually giving," ſaid he at the concluſion of his ſpeech, "and the king is continually aſking, it is neceſſary to make ſome eſtimate for ourſelves. Would his majeſty be pleaſed to requeſt a quarter of our eſtate, I would, for my part, chearfully reſign it. Were it half, upon good occaſions, I ſhould reſign it freely; but then let us have ſome aſſurance of quietly enjoying the reſidue, and know what we have to truſt to." The king was in the gallery when Lucas ſpoke with ſuch boldneſs, and was highly offended; but he was ſo exaſperated when he found the ſpeech was printed and diſperſed in every part of the kingdom, that he ordered it to be burnt by the hand of the common executioner.

It had, however, ſuch an effect upon the lords, that they made ſome alterations in the money bill ſent up by the commons. This was highly reſented by the latter, who conſidered it as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all acts of ſubſidy. Several conferences were held between the two houſes, in order to terminate the affair; but inſtead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the diſpute to ſo great a height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament, and loſe the large ſupply that had been voted by the commons.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a tax on plays was propoſed. This was objected to by the court party, who ſaid the players were the king's ſervants, and adminiſtered to his pleaſures. Sir John Coventry pleaſantly aſked, "Whether the king's pleaſures lay among the male or female actors?" Charles, who beſides his other miſtreſſes, entertained two actreſſes, Mrs. Davis, and Nell Gwin, was hurt by this ſarcaſm, and took an unworthy revenge. Some of his guards attacked Coventry, and ſlit his noſe. The commons expreſſed their indignation, by paſſing what is called the Coventry act, by which maiming and deforming was made a capital crime, and thoſe perſons who had aſſaulted Coventry were rendered incapable of receiving the king's pardon.

About the ſame time one Blood, a diſcarded officer who had ſerved under Cromwell, and the moſt daring villain recorded in hiſtory, found means to ſteal the crown, and ſeveral other parts of the regalia from the Tower. He had ſome time before attempted to aſſaſſinate the duke of Ormond, but failed in his deſign, and eſcaped without being diſcovered. He was not ſo fortunate in his ſecond villany. He was detected; but by a ſtrange lenity, or rather weakneſs in Charles, he not only gave him his pardon, but ſettled on him five hundred pounds a year. When he was taken, he confeſſed his crimes, but refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. "I will never," ſaid he, "diſown a crime, nor betray a friend." The king had the curioſity to ſee ſo daring a villain. He was accordingly brought into his preſence, and had the impudence to tell his majeſty, that if he ordered him to be executed, his friends, who were both able and willing, would not fail to revenge his death. Whether this declaration intimidated the king, or whether he thought ſo intrepid a perſon might be of uſe on ſome future occaſion, is uncertain; but Charles took him into his favour, and even treated him with diſtinction, while many of his faithful ſervants, who had loſt their fortunes in his ſervice, were unrewarded and forgotten. Princes are not eaſily forgiven for neglecting thoſe who have ſerved them faithfully, eſpecially when they laviſh their favours on unworthy objects.

But this imprudent action was only a prelude to others of a more dangerous tendency. Charles was always in want of money, and the failure of the laſt ſupplies voted by the commons, had greatly increaſed his neceſſities. In this exigency, the Cabal adviſed him to ſhut up the exchequer. Their advice was followed; the exchequer was ſhut up, and continued ſo for a year and ſome months, to the great diſtreſs and ruin of many families, who had lent their money upon government ſecurity. No Engliſh monarch had ever before dared to commit ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice; and at any other period he might perhaps have fallen the victim of his own folly. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with complaints. The moſt ſevere libels againſt the king and his miniſters were publiſhed. But Charles was deaf to the complaints of his people. Immerſed in pleaſure, he regarded not the reproaches incurred by his avarice and injuſtice.

It has been already obſerved that Charles had publiſhed a proclamation againſt the papiſts; but he now determined to change his conduct. Accordingly, as head of the church, he iſſued a proclamation for ſuſpending the penal laws, which had been made againſt all non-conformiſts and recuſants whatever; and for granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, and to the papiſts the liberty of celebrating maſs, in private houſes. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refuſed to put the ſeals to the edict for ſuſpending the penal laws. Exaſperated at this oppoſition, the king deprived him of his office, and gave the ſeals to the earl of Shaftſbury.

The nation could not, however, ſtill believe that the king had entered into a treaty with Lewis for the deſtruction of the Dutch. A yatch had been ſent from England to bring over the lady Temple from Holland. The captain inſiſted that the Dutch admiral Van Ghent ſhould pay the honours due to the Engliſh flag. This the Dutchman refuſed, declaring that it was never known for an admiral in his own harbour to ſtrike his flag to a ſmall veſſel, eſpecially as the commander had nothing more than a captain's commiſſion. Though this reaſon was irrefragable, the Cabal laid hold of the incident to quarrel with the ſtates. Unwilling to enter into a war with England, the Dutch offered to make any conceſſions: But the miniſtry, determined to declare war againſt the republic, purſuant to the conditions ſtipulated in their famous treaty with Lewis, refuſed every ſatisfaction.

It was now generally believed, that the vaſt naval preparations making in the different parts of England were intended againſt the Dutch; but before any declaration was publiſhed, a perfidious attempt was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to ſeventy ſail, and valued at a million and a half ſterling. The deſign was, however, rendered abortive, by the gallant behaviour of the Dutch, who repulſed all the attacks of the Engliſh during three days ſucceſſively. Theſe hoſtilities were followed by a declaration of war. But ſurely never reaſons more abſurd and ridiculous were employed to cover ſo flagrant a violation of the late treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the Eaſt-India company; a charge which that company themſelves diſowned. The detention of ſome Engliſh ſubjects in Surinam was alſo alledged, though it was known that their continuing in that colony was voluntary. The refuſal of a Dutch fleet to pay the honours of the flag to an Engliſh yacht, was alſo urged as an unpardonable offence; and to complete the ridiculous catalogue of affronts, mention was made of ſome abuſive pictures, reflecting on the Engliſh nation. It was ſome time before the ſtates could diſcover the meaning of the laſt charge againſt them. At laſt it was found, that the complaint related entirely to a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the expedition, when the Engliſh ſhips were burnt in the Medway. On the back ground of the picture was a repreſentation of ſeveral ſhips on fire. Such were the injuries which nothing leſs than the blood of a whole people could obliterate. Lewis, with more dignity, though not with more ſolid reaſon, alledged nothing but his diſpleaſure with the ſtates.

All the efforts which ambition could dictate, or prudence deviſe, were now to be put in practice for the deſtruction of a ſtate, whoſe only crime was their oppoſition to the conqueſts of Lewis XIV. Near two millions ſterling were expended by that ambitious monarch in making preparations againſt the Dutch republic. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the Engliſh fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred ſail. The French monarch, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched, at the head of one hundred and twelve thouſand men, towards Maeſtricht and Chaleroi, on the frontiers of Spaniſh Flanders and Holland. The biſhop of Munſter, and the elector of Cologne, had about twenty thouſand men. The prince of Condé and marſhal Turenne were the principal generals of the French army: the duke of Luxemburgh commanded under them: Vauban, the famous engineer, was appointed to conduct the ſieges.

Againſt ſo formidable a force, commanded by ſuch conſummate generals, and furniſhed with immenſe treaſures to bribe the commanders of garriſons, what had the republic of Holland to oppoſe? A young prince of a weak conſtitution, who had never ſeen a battle, and about twenty-five thouſand ill-trained ſoldiers, who formed the whole military force of the country. In a word, the total annihilation of the republic appeared inevitable.

Lewis ſoon made himſelf maſter of all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yſſel. The inhabitants of Utrecht ſent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and the whole province of that name capitulated. Lewis made a triumphal entry into Utrecht on the twentieth of June. The provinces of Holland and Zealand only remained to conquer, and Amſterdam itſelf ſeemed but to wait the hour of its ſlavery or deſtruction. A little more alacrity on the part of Lewis would have put that important fortreſs into his hands. The capital once taken, not only the republic itſelf muſt have fallen, but there would have been no longer ſuch a ſtate as Holland. Some of the richeſt families, and thoſe who were zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted country, and embark for Batavia.

Nor were the Dutch diſtreſſed in this manner by land only; the combined forces of France and England threatened the deſtruction of their marine power, and the total annihilation of their navy. The ſtates had not, however, been negligent in fitting out their ſhips; and De Ruyter, with a fleet of ninety ſail, was ſent in queſt of the Engliſh and French fleets, commanded by the duke of York and the marſhal d'Etrees. They were riding careleſsly in Solebay, little expecting the appearance of a ſhip from an enemy, whoſe whole force was far from being ſufficient to defend their own frontiers. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the ſtates. The Engliſh were very near being ſurprized; but recovering themſelves, they ſlipt their cables, and ſtood out to meet the enemy. A dreadful engagement enſued, in which both the commanders and ſeamen diſplayed the greateſt courage and conduct. The earl of Sandwich, who commanded under the duke of York, led the van, and was ſoon engaged in a cloſe fight with the enemy. Several Dutch ſhips attacked him at once; but he bravely defended himſelf againſt their joint attempts, killed the Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, and beat off his ſhip. Aſtoniſhed at the valour diſplayed by this gallant officer, and deſirous of ſilencing the dreadful fire he kept up with ſuch amazing vigour, three fire-ſhips were ſent ſucceſſively to deſtroy him; but he ſunk them all, together with another capital ſhip of the enemy, that had ventured to lay him aboard. At laſt, when his ſhip was almoſt torn to pieces, and ſix hundred of his men were ſlain, another fire-ſhip grappled him, and he periſhed with the remainder of his crew. In the mean time, De Ruyter engaged the ſhip on board of which the duke of York had hoiſted his flag, with the utmoſt fury, and one of the fierceſt encounters recorded in hiſtory ſucceeded. At laſt the duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and hoiſt his flag on board another. But he was ſo overpowered by the enemy, that had not Sir Joſeph Jordan brought the Blue ſquadron to his relief, he muſt have been taken, with ſeveral ſhips that were cloſely engaged with the enemy. This reinforcement rendered the conteſt equal, and it was continued with the ſame fury till night obliged them to ſeparate. The Dutch retired; nor did the Engliſh think it prudent to follow them.

Both ſides claimed the victory; and, perhaps, with equal reaſon. The loſs was greateſt on the ſide of the Engliſh; but the Dutch firſt retired. De Wit, who knew that nothing leſs than a complete victory could ſave his country, thought it prudent to retire when he found that this was impoſſible to be obtained. The Engliſh complained loudly that the French were wanting in their duty; for they ſeparated from the fleet, and fought only at a diſtance. This conduct was aſcribed to ſecret orders given to the marſhal d'Etrees. Nothing could tend more to promote the ambitious projects of Lewis, than the total deſtruction of both the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, while his own ſhips were ſpared.

The Dutch were now reduced to deſpair; and to add to their misfortunes, the ſtate was diſtracted by the diviſions which commonly ariſe among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the calamities of their country. John de Wit was perſuaded, that the only way of ſaving the ſmall remains of the wretched republic, was by making a peace with the conqueror. Full of a republican ſpirit, and jealous of his perſonal authority, which had always been exerted for the good of his country, he dreaded the power of the prince of Orange, little leſs than the ambition of the French monarch. While the prince, who was equally attached to the intereſt of the ſtate, exerted all his intereſt to induce the ſtates to elect him ſtadtholder, an honour ſo long enjoyed by his anceſtors. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a peace with Lewis, as he knew it could now only be obtained on terms that muſt annihilate the power and opulence of the republic. But the intereſt of the penſionary prevailed; and a reſolution was taken, in an aſſembly of the ſtates, to ſue for peace. Deputies were accordingly ſent to the French camp, to implore mercy in the name of the republic, who, ſix months before, looked upon herſelf as the arbiter of kingdoms. Lewis received the deputies with an arrogance that was an inſult upon humanity; but at length deigned to dictate the terms on which he would permit the Dutch to exiſt as a ſtate. His demands, however, were little better than articles of ſlavery; and a peace on ſuch conditions was abſolutely inſupportable. Inſpired with a deſperate courage by the haughtineſs of the conqueror, it was determined, that if a peace could be obtained on no better terms, to periſh with their liberties.

The firſt ſtep neceſſary to be taken, purſuant to this deſperate reſolution, was to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; and accordingly the ſluices of the province of Holland were opened, whereby the whole country was laid under water. The eyes of the people were now fixed upon the young prince of Orange, whom they conſidered as the deliverer of their country: while the grand penſionary, by having prevailed upon the ſtates to ſend deputies to the French king, was conſidered as the betrayer of the ſtate. The fury of party zeal now roſe to the greateſt height; and Cornelius de Wit, being accuſed of a deſign to murder the prince, was committed to priſon, where he underwent the moſt cruel torture, in the height of which he repeated thoſe verſes of Horace, which ſo elegantly expreſs the duty of a true citizen. His brother, the penſionary, failed not to viſit him in priſon, determined to ſhare his fate. The outrageous populace followed him, and glutted their brutal fury on the mangled bodies of theſe two illuſtrious citizens.

The murder of the De Wits extinguiſhed, for a time, the party diſtinctions which had divided the ſtate. The prince of Orange was declared ſtadtholder, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of the power with which he was intruſted. He exhorted the citizens to firmneſs, aſſuring them that the other powers of Europe would not fail to ſend them aſſiſtance. He repreſented to them, that it was in vain to flatter themſelves with being able to diſarm, by ſubmiſſion, an enemy whoſe ambition would keep no meaſures: that now was the time to ſacrifice every thing to ſupport that precious liberty which their anceſtors had purchaſed with their blood: that, for his own part, he would tread in the ſteps of his fathers, and devote himſelf, without reſerve, to the preſervation of the ſtate. Buckingham, the Engliſh envoy, aſking him whether he did not ſee that the republic was infallibly ruined, anſwered, with great vivacity, "I have one ſure method of never ſeeing the ruin of my country; I will die in the laſt intrenchment."

His conduct ſhewed that he ſpoke the real ſentiments of his heart. He exerted all his power againſt the common enemy. He overflowed all the paſſes by which the French could penetrate into the reſt of the country. He ſent envoys to the different courts of Europe; and by his negotiations, rouſed the emperor, the empire, the Spaniſh council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even induced the court of England to be leſs deſirous of ſupporting the ambitious deſigns of the French monarch. Affairs now began to wear a different aſpect. Lewis entered Holland in the month of May; and before September, the greater part of the powers of Europe were forming a confederacy againſt him. Montercy, governor of Flanders, ſent privately a few regiments to the aſſiſtance of the States; the emperor Leopold diſpatched Montecuculli, at the head of twenty thouſand men; and the elector of Brandenburgh took the field with forty thouſand troops, whom he paid himſelf. In a word, while the ſubjects of Lewis were every where erecting monuments of his conqueſts, the powers of Europe were forming confederacies for ſnatching them from his hands. They rightly conſidered the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own ſlavery. It would be impoſſible, they thought, to defend themſelves againſt the exorbitant power of France, ſhould it be increaſed by ſo great an acceſſion.

A. D. 1673. The ſtates depended greatly on the Engliſh parliament; they were perſuaded that the intereſt of the nation would prevail over the ambitious views of the court. Charles, for near two years, had been free from the uneaſineſs of parliamentary remonſtrances; but the want of money rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſummon that aſſembly. His ſpeech to both houſes at the opening of the ſeſſion, full of confidence and cordiality, diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his heart. Shaftſbury, the chancellor, inſiſted on the neceſſity of carrying on the war againſt a republic ſo eſſentially an enemy to the Engliſh. "The parliament itſelf," ſaid he, "acknowledged that Carthage was to be deſtroyed: the preſent hoſtilities therefore may more properly be called the war of the parliament, than that of the king." The commons, however, entertained a different opinion, and were determined that his majeſty ſhould purchaſe the ſupplies by particular compliances.

The cabal had uſurped the whole power of the government, and the chancellor, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, had iſſued writs for electing new members in the room of thoſe who were deceaſed. The firſt vote of the parliament declared theſe elections void, and the members accordingly withdrew. It was now evident that there was a large majority againſt the court, and that without remarkable firmneſs in the king the whole plan formed by the cabal muſt fall to the ground, and a change in the miniſtry be the conſequence. Shaftſbury, before he communicated his plan to Charles, had determined within himſelf, that if he found the king wanted reſolution to execute it, he would immediately join the country party, in order to prevent a proſecution by the commons, as the adviſer, or at leaſt the promoter of a ſtep that threatened the deſtruction of the conſtitution. The example of the earl of Clarendon was yet too recent to be forgotten, and he doubted not but his ſovereign would as readily ſacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and people, as he had done that faithful ſervant.

The parliament now proceeded to take into conſideration the proclamation of indulgence, by which the penal laws againſt non-conformiſts and catholics were ſuſpended, and it was voted, that it tended to alter the conſtitution, and change the legiſlative power, which the two houſes ſhared with the king. Charles at firſt appeared determined to ſupport his declaration, and in caſe of reſiſtance, to apply to France for aſſiſtance. But he now ſaw the danger of his reſolution. He perceived that a civil war muſt be the conſequence of his breaking with the parliament; and the remembrance of the miſeries that had attended his family nearly affected him. His natural indolence, his love of pleaſure and repoſe, added to his want of money, were motives too powerful to be withſtood, and he determined to comply with the parliament. He, however, conſulted the peers in order to give an air of deliberation to the buſineſs; after which he broke the ſeals of the obnoxious declaration with his own hand, and promiſed to aſſent to all bills that had a tendency to remove abuſes.

Shaftſbury ſaw his danger, and immediately joined the country party, and his great talents ſoon placed him at the head of the oppoſition. The parliament were now determined to put the king's declaration to the proof. They paſſed a bill entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants," commonly called the Teſt Act, whereby all perſons, enjoying any office, or place of truſt or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and alſo an oath againſt tranſubſtantiation in theſe terms, "I declare that I believe that there is no ſuch thing as tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, either before or after conſecration by any perſon whatever." They were likewiſe to receive the communion, according to the rights of the church of England, in ſome pariſh church. Nor were the parliament contented with paſſing theſe bills, they alſo preſented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promiſed to redreſs them, they paſſed the money-bill, but without mentioning any thing of the war, which they highly diſapproved; but they added a clauſe to it, importing, That no papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any public employment.

In conſequence of the Teſt Act all the popiſh officers reſigned their employments, and among the reſt the duke of York his poſt of lord high-admiral. The lord Clifford alſo reſigned his treaſurer's ſtaff, and died ſoon after. Shaftſbury was deprived of the ſeals, which were given to Sir Heneage Finch: and Sir Thomas Oſborne, created earl of Danby, ſucceeded lord Clifford in the office of treaſurer.

The duke of York had ſome time ſince loſt his dutcheſs, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and was now determined to marry Mary, ſiſter to the duke of Modena, a princeſs educated in all the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh religion. This alliance was warmly oppoſed by the parliament, who, on this occaſion, preſented a petition to the king, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms, and expreſſive of their apprehenſions of the dangerous conſequences that might reſult from ſuch a marriage. The duke of York, however, paid little regard to their petition. He declared he would not be contradicted in a meaſure he thought ſo eſſential to the happineſs of his life. He accordingly married that princeſs on the twenty-firſt of November.

The war was ſtill carried on with great vigour againſt the Dutch, and prince Rupert was appointed commander of the fleet, in the room of the duke of York. As ſoon as the prince had joined the French admiral, they ſailed in queſt of the Dutch to force them to an engagement; and as the latter were far from declining the offer, a battle enſued, and proved very obſtinate and very bloody; but without either gaining any very great advantage. The principal loſs fell upon the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their attentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons, and by that means expoſed them to the thickeſt part of the fire of the enemy. This engagement was fought on the eighth of June; and was renewed on the fourteenth, when the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before.

Both nations now exerted all their force, and ſeemed determined to put the whole to the event of a general engagement. The prince of Orange had found means to reconcile de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a ſon worthy of the gallant father from whom he ſprung. Theſe two celebrated admirals now commanded the Dutch fleet, and on the eleventh of Auguſt the battle began at the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter ſingled out prince Rupert, Tromp oppoſed himſelf to Sir Edward Sprague, the Engliſh vice-admiral, and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral bore up to attack d'Etrees. The engagement was conducted with aſtoniſhing fury and emulation by the Engliſh and Dutch officers; but the French kept at a diſtance and left the Engliſh to ſuſtain the whole fury of the battle. In vain did prince Rupert make a ſignal to d'Etrees to bear down to his aſſiſtance; he took no notice of any thing that paſſed, and kept his whole ſquadron far from the ſcene of action. Sprague, when the battle began, had hoiſted his flag on board the Royal Prince; but ſhe being ſoon diſabled he left her, and diſplayed his flag on board the St. George, while Tromp for a ſimilar reaſon, quitted his own ſhip, and went on board the Comet; and the fight was immediately renewed with the ſame fury as before. Both the ſhips of theſe gallant commanders were ſoon ſhattered, and Sprague was leaving the St. George in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, when a cannon ball paſſing through his ſhip, ſtruck his boat, and the gallant admiral was drowned. It is worthy of remark, that in all the engagements theſe brave admirals always ſingled out each other, as the only antagoniſt worthy of them; and when the brave Sprague periſhed Van Tromp generouſly paid him the tribute of a tear.

Had the French done their duty a total victory muſt have been the conſequence. But by this refuſal in the Frenchman, and his own ſhips having received ſo much damage by the enemy, prince Rupert could not purſue the advantages he had gained by his valour. He therefore ſtood away for the Engliſh coaſt, leaving the victory undecided. The Dutch, however, gained every thing they wiſhed. By the retreat of the Engliſh, a rich fleet of Eaſt-India ſhips, which had been for ſome time expected, arrived unmoleſted in their ports. An expedition which had been planned againſt the coaſt of Zealand, was alſo rendered abortive. This was the laſt engagement fought betwixt thoſe rival nations. The Engliſh became very deſirous of putting an end to a war which had exhauſted them of men and money, without the leaſt proſpect of honour or advantage.

The parliament met on the twentieth of October; but the king, finding he had nothing to expect from their deliberations, ſent the uſher of the black rod to the commons, commanding their attendance in the houſe of peers. But before they would ſuffer him to enter, they voted, that a ſtanding army is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office of truſt. They had hardly finiſhed theſe votes before the uſher of the black rod entered, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe broke up in the utmoſt confuſion.

In the mean time the Dutch began to recover from their aſtoniſhment. Lewis by not deſtroying the forts, as Condé and Turenne had propoſed, greatly weakened his own army by the number of garriſons he was obliged to detach. The prince of Orange, by a maſterly piece of military conduct, joined the army of the empire, and the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not before the inhabitants had paid dear for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raiſed in the ſingle province of Utrecht no leſs than ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight florins. All the triumphant monuments of Lewis's conqueſt erected in the Netherlands were deſtroyed, and that prince, conſidered by all the powers of Europe as one who had enjoyed the honours of a tranſient triumph with too much precipitation and pride; which had now involved him in a bloody war with the united forces of the empire, Spain and Holland.

A. D. 1674. On the ſeventh of January the parliament met agreeable to their prorogation, and it was ſoon evident that they had not changed their opinions during the receſs. Aware of the dangerous deſigns of Charles, they were determined to exert all their power to render his plans of abitrary power abortive. They ſeriouſly debated on the grievances of the nation, and both houſes were perſuaded that there was a neceſſity for their being removed. They began with addreſſing the king for a general faſt to implore the bleſſing of the Almighty on their endeavours againſt the dangerous errors of popery; and then reſolved to grant no more ſupplies till the grievances they enumerated were redreſſed, and the proteſtant religion, as well as the liberties and properties of the people, ſecured. Both houſes joined in an addreſs to the king, for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. The commons examined the duke of Buckingham on ſeveral particulars of government, and not being ſatisfied with his anſwers, they paſſed the ſame vote againſt him, as they had done againſt Lauderdale. Arlington was next queſtioned; but his anſwers were ſo ſatisfactory to the houſe, that notwithſtanding an impeachment was prepared againſt him, they thought proper to drop the proſecution.

Theſe vigorous proceedings intimidated Charles; who, finding it would be impoſſible to carry on the war without ſupplies, began to liſten to the terms propoſed by the ſtates general, for a ſeparate peace. The French miniſter exerted all his power to keep Charles firm to his engagements, but in vain. The king choſe rather to reconcile himſelf to his people and parliament, by agreeing to a peace they ſo much deſired, than to depend upon France for ſupport. A treaty was accordingly ſigned with the ſtates, by which they again gave up the honours of the flag, and agreed to pay three hundred thouſand pounds towards defraying the expence of the king's naval armaments. Several attempts were made for concluding an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Holland. Moſt of the European princes ſollicited this meaſure as the only infallible means of putting a ſtop to the alarming progreſs of the French monarch. The two houſes of parliament ſupported theſe ſollicitations with all their power. Their hatred to the French was indeed ſo great, that they would gladly have relinquiſhed the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to ſee their king armed againſt the common diſturber of the tranquillity of Europe: nor would they have thought any ſupplies too great in order to proſecute a war which had ſo evidently tended to increaſe the good of the public. Charles, however, paid no regard to their ſollicitations. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of ſtill receiving a powerful aſſiſtance from France, he refuſed to ſacrifice his ally to the reſentment of his enemies. He ſuffered ten thouſand of his men to engage in the ſervice of that crown, and made a merit with Lewis of the neceſſity which had drawn him from his alliance, and offered his mediation for concluding a general peace.

Soon after the treaty with the ſtates was ſigned, Sir William Temple was again ſent to Holland with the title of ambaſſador. But before he embarked he nobly repreſented to the king the inconvenience which the ſyſtem of the Cabal muſt occaſion; how difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, it was, to eſtabliſh in England the government and religion of France; that the genius and principles of the people were not to be ſuddenly or eaſily changed; that force of arms alone could compel them to ſubmit to a yoke they beheld with horror; that an Engliſh army could never be prevailed upon to promote thoſe ends; that the catholics did not compoſe the one hundredth part of the nation; that foreign troops could not be levied or maintained in any conſiderable number; and that if a few were retained, they could do nothing more than excite the hatred and revolt of the people. He concluded with referring him to the obſervations of Gourville, a French writer much eſteemed by Charles, who ſays, "A king of England that chuſes to be a man of his people, is the greateſt monarch in the world; but if he chuſes to be ſomething more, he is nothing at all." Though the king was highly diſpleaſed at this diſcourſe, he knew how to diſſemble. "'Tis very well," ſaid he, "I will be the man of my people." Events ſoon ſhewed that he ſpoke not the dictates of his heart.

The defection of England was followed by that of the biſhop of Munſter, and even the elector of Cologne. Lewis was, however, ſucceſsful in ſeveral places. Franche Comté was again reduced. Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army in Alſace. By a ſudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated, at Sintzheim, the duke of Lorraine and Copara, the imperial general. Seventy thouſand Germans invaded Alſace, and took up their quarters in that province. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh. He obtained a new victory at Turkheim: and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repaſs the Rhine with great loſs and diſhonour. The French were not ſo fortunate on the ſide of Flanders where the prince of Orange commanded. That young general ſhewed himſelf nearly equal to the great Condé, in the bloody battle of Seneſſe. "The prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, "has conducted himſelf through the whole action like a great general, except in expoſing his life like a young ſoldier."

A. D. 1675. After a receſs of fourteen months the parliament aſſembled on the thirteenth of April, and immediately voted a bill to be brought in for preventing the growth of popery; in which it was declared, that the ſaying maſs ſhould be a ſufficient evidence of a perſon being a popiſh prieſt; and that a penalty ſhould be inflicted on all who aſſiſted at the catholic ſervice. They alſo framed a bill declaring it treaſon to levy money without conſent of parliament; another for vacating the ſeats of members who accepted of offices; and a third for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubjects, and preventing their being tranſported as priſoners to diſtant iſlands.

On the other hand the miniſtry exerted all their influence in the upper houſe, and paſſed a bill for a new teſt, by which every member of parliament, and all perſons in office, were to take an oath in the following terms: "I declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms againſt the king; and that I abhor the maxim, as treaſonable, which holds, that one may take up arms, by the authority of the king, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who act by virtue of his commiſſion; and I ſwear that I will never uſe any effort to change or alter the government in church or ſtate." This bill was vigorouſly oppoſed: ſome maintained that it was founded upon falſe principles; others, that it would revive dangerous diſputes: even in the houſe of lords, it was carried only by two voices. The oppoſition would have been ſtronger in the commons, had not an unforeſeen quarrel between the two houſes ſuſpended all buſineſs of that kind. Dr. Shirley having appealed to the houſe of lords from a decree in chancery given in favour of Sir John Fagg, a member of the commons, the latter aſſerted, that this proceeding was a violation of their privileges; that none of their members could be cited to appear before the lords; and that the lords could not even receive appeals. On the other hand, the lords reſolved, "That it was the undoubted rights of the lords in judicature to determine, in time of parliament, appeals from inferior courts, where the members of either houſe were concerned, that there might not be a failure of juſtice." Several conferences paſſed between the two houſes, but with ſo much rancour and animoſity, that the king, alarmed for the conſequences, came to the houſe of peers on the ninth of June; and after reproaching both branches of the legiſlature for carrying their differences to ſuch an indecent height, he prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth of October.

The coffee-houſes, whither the people reſorted in crowds, were filled with cenſures on the government. The miniſtry was at once alarmed and exaſperated; and a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the coffee-houſes to be ſhut up: a ſtrange method of quieting the fears of the people, by giving them freſh cauſe of complaint. The keepers of the coffee-houſes promiſed not to ſuffer any ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes, and on this condition they were ſoon opened again. But the general diſcontent continued to increaſe.

The war on the continent was ſtill carried on with great vigour, and the French arms were, in general, ſucceſsful. Though Turenne fell by a cannon-ball, and the prince of Condé had left the army; yet the defeat of the marſhal du Crequi, at Conſabrick, near Treves, was the only misfortune of that kind the French had experienced for ſixty years.

On the thirteenth of October, the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a very ſhort ſpeech; in which, after recommending unity between the two houſes, he demanded a ſupply ſufficient for building ſeveral new ſhips, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to give any money for paying off the debts of the crown, but voted three hundred thouſand pounds for defraying the expence of building twenty ſhips of war, and appropriated the duties of tonnage and poundage to the ſupport of the navy. But the buſineſs of the nation was ſoon after ſuſpended by the revival of the diſpute between the two houſes, in the caſe of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as reſolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges; and the king, to prevent the conſequences that might enſue from theſe alarming diſputes, prorogued the parliament for fifteen months.

A. D. 1677. When the two houſes met, purſuant to their prorogation, they acted as if they had forgotten theſe unhappy heats and animoſities which had put an end to the two laſt ſeſſions. The commons voted his majeſty ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the uſe of the navy, and a continuance of the duty of exciſe upon ale and brandy for three years. In a word, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a happy union between the king and both houſes of parliament. But unfortunately, theſe pleaſing appearances were ſoon over; the rapid progreſs of the French on the continent filled the nation with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. At the ſame time, it was evident, that Charles had it in his power to give peace to Europe whenever he pleaſed, by declaring his intention to join the allies, unleſs Lewis would accept of a peace upon reaſonable terms. The parliament had therefore recourſe to every method to induce the king to take up arms. They promiſed that the moſt affluent ſupplies ſhould be the reward of his compliance. This offer was a powerful motive; he ſeemed willing to comply with the wiſhes of his people. He gave the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of York, to the prince of Orange in marriage, and diſplayed ſome proofs of firmneſs with regard to France. He even made preparations for war with the ſupplies he received from parliament. But ever fluctuating and irreſolute, ſometimes gained by the promiſes of Lewis, and ſometimes abſorbed in the charms of pleaſure, he neither fulfilled the expectations of the Engliſh, nor that of the allies.

A. D. 1678. Weary of the war, and finding there were no hopes of any aſſiſtance from England, the States General ſigned a ſeparate peace with Lewis, on the tenth of Auguſt. By this treaty it was agreed, that each party ſhould retain what they were poſſeſſed of, except Maeſtricht and its dependencies, which Lewis was to reſtore to the Dutch, and were indeed all the French poſſeſſed of their conqueſts in the United Provinces; and by a ſecret article, Lewis engaged to reſtore all that belonged to the prince of Orange in France, Franche Comté, Charleroi, and Flanders. Spain and the Empire ſoon after accepted the conditions, and peace was reſtored in every part of Europe.

This peace, which was ſigned at Nimeguen, furniſhes a memorable inſtance how greatly projects are contradicted by events. Holland, againſt whom alone the war was undertaken, and whoſe ruin ſeemed inevitable, was ſo far from loſing any thing, that ſhe gained a barrier; while every other power that had interpoſed to ſnatch her from deſtruction, found themſelves conſiderable loſers, and obliged to accept the terms preſcribed them by Holland. It may, however, with great truth, be affirmed, that it was owing to the fault of the Engliſh monarch alone, that the allies had not a more advantageous peace; ſince the parliament were both ready and deſirous to furniſh very ample ſupplies for carrying on the war againſt France, would Charles have acted agreeable either to the intereſt of Europe in general, or of England in particular. This ſtrange conduct can be aſcribed only to his paſſionate deſire of executing his darling ſcheme, that of rendering himſelf the abſolute maſter of his people. Some have accuſed him of labouring to introduce the popiſh religion into England; but this is a crime of which he was not guilty. All religions were alike to Charles; and the conceſſions he often made in favour of the catholics, ſeem rather to have been the effect of his love for his brother, and ready compliance with any councils he adopted, than his own attachment to that particular mode of faith. He cared not whether popery or proteſtantiſm was the reigning religion in England, if he could enjoy his beloved eaſe and pleaſure.

During theſe tranſactions, Scotland had groaned beneath a load of tyranny. The duke of Lauderdale, in quality of royal commiſſioner, had been ſent into that kingdom. By his arts and influence, he prevailed upon the Scottiſh parliament to declare, that the whole exterior power of the church was veſted in the crown. He alſo induced them to eſtabliſh a militia of twenty-two thouſand men, ready to act in every enterprize where either the power or the grandeur of the ſovereign were concerned. The duke was as fond of perſecution as his maſter was of toleration. The former ſtrained the laws in favour of the firſt, and the latter ſuſpended their force in favour of the ſecond. He did not reflect, that perſecution was the moſt dangerous of all remedies againſt the preſbyterian fanaticiſm diſſeminated thro' every part of Scotland. It would be endleſs to particularize all the inſtances of oppreſſion in that unhappy kingdom. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that they were at once cruel and impolitic. Becauſe the law for prohibiting conventicles, had called them "Seminaries of Rebellion," he treated thoſe counties as rebellious where the conventicles moſt abounded; and the troops he detached into thoſe parts were guilty of the moſt horrid and ſhameful diſorders. By an old Scottiſh law, every perſon who was accuſed, and did not appear, was liable to be condemned for contumacy, and outlawed; and whoever afterwards held the leaſt communication with them, though only to give them the common aſſiſtances of humanity, was liable to the ſame penalties. This law, too odious to be executed with rigour, occaſioned a great number of outlawries. Fearful of appearing in a court where they could expect no mercy, they incurred, perhaps, a greater puniſhment by their abſence. In a word, the whole nation became a prey to the rapacity of the duke and dutcheſs of Lauderdale. Fearing that the complaints of the people might find their way to the throne, Lauderdale forbad all who were poſſeſſed of lands in Scotland from leaving that kingdom. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Charles one day ſaid to his friends, "I hear that Lauderdale behaves very ill to my people in Scotland, but I do not find he has done any thing contrary to my intereſt." It is no wonder, when a prince makes a diſtinction between his own intereſt and that of his people, that the people follow the example.

We are now come to a period, when a tranſaction happened which has given occaſion to many politicians to exerciſe their critical ſagacity in ſupporting the truth, or expoſing the falſity of this remarkable incident, according as they were attached to this or that party. It muſt, indeed, be granted, that the whole is replete with contradictions, ſo that it is impoſſible, perhaps, to unravel the whole. It will be ſufficient, however, for an hiſtorian, to give a plain narrative of facts, and leave the reader to make his own reflections. The oppreſſions of the duke of Lauderdale in Scotland; the deſire Charles had always ſhewn with regard to procuring the catholics the free exerciſe of their religion; and his ſecret connections with Lewis XIV. which even the offer of the largeſt ſupplies could not induce him to abandon; all tended to confirm the people in an opinion, that he intended to introduce popery and arbitrary power.

When the minds of the people are thus prepoſſeſſed, it is no wonder that they liſten to every thing that has a tendency to confirm their ſuſpicions. At this juncture, a conſpiracy for eſtabliſhing the catholic religion was diſcovered by one Titus Oates. This man was originally a clergyman of the church of England, and of a very indifferent character. At length he turned papiſt, and lived for ſome time with the Jeſuits at St. Omers. Thence he went into Spain, where he was admitted to the councils of the Jeſuits; but being at length diſcharged from that ſociety, his reſentment induced him to turn informer. He now gave out, that his converſion to popery was a mere pretence, to enable him to diſcover the ſecrets of the Jeſuits; and the ſubſtance of his depoſitions was, that the pope claimed the ſovereignty of England, and had commiſſioned the Jeſuits to exerciſe his rights. In conſequence of which, the general of the order had, by patents under the pope's ſeal, diſpoſed of the principal offices, civil and military. That in a council of fifty Jeſuits, held at London, it was unanimouſly reſolved to kill the king; and that father la Chaiſe, confeſſor to Lewis XIV. had promiſed a reward of ten thouſand pounds to the regicide: that the crown was to be offered to the duke of York, on condition of his ſubmitting to receive it from the pope; but on his refuſing, he was to ſhare the fate of his brother. They (the Jeſuits) had formed a plan for ſetting fire to the city of London, and executing a general maſſacre of the proteſtants in every part of the kingdom. In a word, that they deſigned to overturn the whole conſtitution, and eſtabliſh by blood and deſolation the dominion of popery.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the univerſal confuſion of the nation, when the information given by Oates was known. Coleman, ſecretary to the dutcheſs of York, being arreſted, copies of his correſpondence with father de la Chaiſe, the pope's nuncio, and ſome other papiſts, increaſed the alarm, and ſeemed to confirm the truth of Oates's narrative. In one of Coleman's letters to the French king's confeſſor, is the following paſſage: "We have a great work on our hands; nothing leſs than the converſion of the three kingdoms: God has given us a prince (meaning the duke of York) who is marvelouſly ambitious of being the inſtrument of this deſign; but as we muſt expect to meet with oppoſition, it behoves us to ſecure all the aſſiſtance poſſible." And in another letter he ſays, "Money will perſuade the king to every thing: there is nothing we may not obtain from him by this means. Money has an irreſiſtible influence over him; that logic has more power in his court than all the arguments in the world." He therefore deſired de la Chaiſe to furniſh him with three hundred thouſand pounds, which would, he ſaid, engage the king to diſſolve the parliament, whoſe reſolutions were unfavourable to France. A new incident ſeemed to confirm the guilt of the Jeſuits, whoſe known bigotry had before rendered it probable. Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, the juſtice of peace who had taken the depoſition of Oates, was found dead in a ditch, with his rings on his fingers, and his money in his pockets; a ſufficient proof that he had not been killed by robbers. This aſſaſſination, the author of which was never diſcovered, was conſidered as the act of the papiſts. The whole city was in alarm: every individual thought himſelf in danger, and the ſame precautions were taken as if an enemy had been at the gates. Whether Charles believed the truth of this conſpiracy, or thought the whole a forgery of Oates, is uncertain; but he mentioned it to both houſes, and recommended vigilance to the magiſtrates in diſcovering and proſecuting all who were concerned in ſo black an action. Danby, the prime miniſter, moved, in the houſe of lords, that the affair might be taken into conſideration, and his motion was agreed to. Oates was called before the houſe, and ſtrictly examined; and on his perſiſting that the narrative he had before given to Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey was ſtrictly true, the houſe reſolved, that the popiſh recuſants had formed an infernal plot againſt the king, the government, and the proteſtant religion. An apartment in Whitehall, with a penſion of twelve thouſand pounds a year, was aſſigned to Oates; and every method that prudence could dictate, was taken to diſcover the particulars of this alarming contrivance.

While the parliament were engaged in this buſineſs, one Bedloe accuſed ſeveral papiſts, in the ſervice of the queen, of being concerned in the murder of Godfrey. He alſo added ſome circumſtances to the depoſitions of Oates. Several noblemen, accuſed by theſe informers, were apprehended, among whom were the earl of Powis, the lord viſcount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Belaſis, who were ſent to the Tower.

The depoſitions of Oates and Bedloe being publiſhed, excited ſuch a ferment in the kingdom, that Charles was obliged to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all popiſh recuſants, under the ſevereſt penalty, to repair to their own houſes, and not venture farther than five miles from thence, without a particular licence. Another proclamation was alſo publiſhed, offering a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend a popiſh prieſt or jeſuit. The teſt which declared popery to be idolatry, was now inſtituted, and all who refuſed to take it were excluded from parliament. The duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requeſted of the upper houſe an exemption in his favour, declaring, that his religion ſhould be altogether between God and himſelf, and never appear in his public conduct. It was with difficulty he carried his point by two voices. "I would not" ſaid one of the lords, "have any thing of popiſh principles here; neither man, woman, dog, nor cat."

The commons proceeded ſtill farther. Finding that Sir Joſeph Williamſon, ſecretary of Scotland, had counterſigned ſeveral commiſſions to popiſh recuſants, and being a member of the lower houſe, they committed him to the Tower. Charles, highly incenſed at this commitment of his ſervant, without making any application to him, immediately ordered him to be releaſed. He, however, revoked the commiſſions that had given offence, and the commons were ſatisfied with this inſtance of royal condeſcenſion.

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, Montague, ambaſſador in France, haſtily returned, and laid open a new ſcene. He produced a letter written by the high-treaſurer Danby, during the late negotiations for a peace on the continent: by which it appeared, that the king had, in ſome meaſure, ſold the intereſts both of England and the allies. Among other particulars, it imported, that if the conditions of the peace were accepted by the allies, Charles was to be paid ſix millions by France, within three years after the treaty ſhould be ſigned. Danby, who, it ſeems, diſapproved of writing this letter, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf, by procuring it to be authenticated by the king, who had added, with his own hand, "This letter is written by my order, C. R." The commons now no longer doubted that Charles had acted in concert with France; and though they perceived that the letter reflected greater diſhonour on the king than his miniſter, yet, in order to diſcover the whole truth of this provoking myſtery, they impeached Danby of high-treaſon, but the lords refuſed to put him under arreſt. The diſpute now became violent between the two houſes; and Charles, to prevent the diſagreeable conſequences that might reſult from a breach between two branches of the legiſlature, firſt prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved the parliament, now juſtly ſuſpicious and diſſatisfied, though at firſt very favourable to the intereſts of the crown. The alteration in the ſentiments of the commons was wholly owing to the conduct of the king, and the ſpirit of the nation.

The trials of the conſpirators now wholly engroſſed the attention of the public, and Coleman was the firſt that felt the weight of popular indignation. On the twenty-ſeventh of November, he was brought to the bar of the king's bench, where lord chief-juſtice Scoggs preſided. The evidences againſt him were Oates, Bedloe, and his own letters. Oates and Bedloe ſwore that he had received a patent from the general of the Jeſuits, to act as ſecretary of ſtate; and that he had agreed to the aſſaſſination of the king. He was accordingly convicted of high-treaſon, and ſuffered on the third of December, but declared his innocence to the laſt. Father Ireland alſo ſuffered, though he alledged he was in Staffordſhire at the very time the accuſers ſwore he attended the meetings of the conſpirators in London. Every Jeſuit was conſidered as a villain, and that lying and mental reſervation made a part of the principles of their order. Several other perſons were impeached, among whom were Thomas Pickering, a prieſt; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jeſuits in England, and who, according to the evidence of Oates, was to have been created archbiſhop of Canterbury; Harcourt, Fenwick, Gaven, and Turner, all Jeſuits; and Langhorne, a catholic lawyer. Theſe were all found guilty, and executed.

A.D. 1679. A new parliament being ſummoned to meet on the ſixth of March, it was ſoon evident that a very conſiderable majority was on the ſide of the country party. Charles was alarmed; and in order to ingratiate himſelf with this new aſſembly, he prevailed upon his brother, the duke of York, to ſubmit to an order for his leaving England. He deprived Danby of the treaſurer's ſtaff, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but in order to prevent the former, either through reſentment or fear, from diſcovering ſecrets he wiſhed to be concealed, he granted him a free pardon.

Shaftſbury, and the other leaders of the popular party, determined to avail themſelves of the popular commotions, and the majority in the commons, to carry into execution the plan they had formed for excluding the duke of York from the throne. Shaftſbury's object was to give the Engliſh crown to the duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's natural ſons. It was already reported, that a marriage had been contracted between the king and Lucy Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother. It therefore became neceſſary for Charles either to diſapprove or confirm this report; and accordingly, he ſolemnly declared, in full council, that it was falſe, and that Monmouth was illegitimate. The duke of York, who had obtained aſſurances from the king, before his departure from England, that he would ſupport his ſucceſſion to the crown, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels.

Foiled in this attempt, the commons renewed the impeachment of Danby, notwithſtanding the king had granted him a free pardon, and aſſured the houſe that the miniſter had done nothing but by his particular orders. They inſiſted, that a pardon from the crown was no arreſt of judgment with them; and it was voted, that if Danby did not appear on a day appointed, he ſhould be declared guilty. He did not chuſe to provoke farther the indignation of the commons; he appeared, and was committed to the Tower.

Alarmed by theſe violent proceedings, Charles ſummoned Sir William Temple, whoſe virtues he knew were revered by the public, to attend his duty in council. More attracted by the charms of philoſophy than thoſe of ambition, Temple had retired into the country, where he cultivated his favourite ſtudies in a quiet retreat. But he no ſooner received the royal mandate, than he haſtened to court, always preferring the good of his country to his own. He propoſed to form a council, compoſed chiefly of the favourites of the people. By this means (ſaid he) the parliament will be leſs aſſuming, or, at leaſt, we ſhall have a ſtrong party in the houſe againſt the diſcontented and the factious. His reaſons were thought to be well founded, and the ſcheme was carried into execution. But, contrary to his advice, Charles appointed Shaftſbury preſident of this new council. The king flattered himſelf, that by conferring ſo honourable a poſt on that dangerous man, he would become a friend to the meaſures of the court. He was miſtaken. Shaftſbury perceiving that the king's conduct towards him was leſs the effect of ſincerity than policy, changed not his conduct. He cultivated a ſtill cloſer correſpondence with the leaders of the oppoſition; and by being acquainted with all the ſecrets of government, became a more dangerous enemy than ever.

Having acquired ſo able a leader, the commons ſeemed determined to carry their reſentment to the greateſt lengths. They reſolved, that the duke of York's zeal for popery, and the hopes of ſeeing him on the throne, occaſioned popiſh conſpiracies. The king, who ſaw the deſign of this reſolution, endeavoured to prevent it, by propoſing conciliating meaſures. He offered to paſs a bill for reſtricting the power of a catholic prince, if ever one of that perſuaſion ſhould fill the Engliſh throne. He was not to have the right of conferring church dignities. The members of the privy-council, the judges, the lord-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with all the officers of the navy, were neither to be appointed nor removed without conſent of parliament. Theſe extraordinary conceſſions, which muſt ſo greatly have limited the prerogative, were not ſufficient to appeaſe the houſe, which was conſtantly enflamed by the cabals of Shaftſbury.

It was therefore reſolved by a conſiderable majority to bring in what was called, "The Excluſion Bill;" by which it was declared, "That the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to the next heir, the duke of York excepted; that if he appeared in either of theſe kingdoms, he ſhould be declared guilty of treaſon; and that thoſe who defended his title ſhould be deemed enemies and traitors." Nor was this the only popular act of the commons; they expelled all ſuch as poſſeſſed lucrative offices, in order to weaken ſtill farther the influence of the crown. They declared ſtanding armies, and even the royal guards, illegal; and they paſſed the famous Habeas Corpus bill, which is ſtill conſidered as the principal ſecurity of the ſubject. By virtue of this noble act, no perſon can be ſent to priſon beyond the ſea. No judge can refuſe a priſoner his habeas corpus, which obliges the goaler to produce the priſoner before any court the writ ſhall appoint, and there ſhew cauſe for the impriſonment. The priſoner is to be tried at the time appointed; and if he is diſcharged by a court of juſtice, he cannot be impriſoned again upon the ſame account. This bill ſoon after paſſed the upper houſe, and received the royal aſſent.

Having paſſed theſe bills, the commons reſumed the proſecution of Danby; and reſolved, that to maintain the validity of the royal pardon in his caſe, was an infringement of their privileges. They alſo demanded, that the biſhops, who were conſidered as entirely devoted to the court, ſhould abſent themſelves during this trial. This was oppoſed by the upper houſe; and the commons prepared a remonſtrance. Charles was alarmed by theſe proceedings; and fearful leſt they ſhould preſent a remonſtrance to him, which might have the moſt dangerous conſequences, he repaired to the houſe of lords on the twenty-ſeventh of May; and after giving the royal aſſent to five bills, he prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of Auguſt. By this means the excluſion bill was dropped for a time, and the ſchemes of Shaftſbury rendered abortive.

The preſbyterians in Scotland were treated with as much rigour as the catholics in England. They bore their perſecutions for a long time; but at laſt, ſeeing no proſpect of an end to their miſeries, they loſt all patience, and determined to take a full revenge on their perſecutors. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who had made his fortune by deſerting their party, and was now become as great a perſecutor as Lauderdale himſelf, was marked out for deſtruction. A large body of the covenanters accordingly lay in ambuſh for him; and, as he was returning in his coach from the council at Edinburgh, they attacked him near a little village called Magus, about two miles from St. Andrews: they immediately dragged him out of his carriage, and, regardleſs of the prayers, tears, and ſupplications of his daughter, who happened to be with him, put him to death in the moſt inhuman and brutal manner.

This aſſaſſination, conſidered as an action worthy of the faithful, was the ſignal for the covenanters to fly to arms. They accordingly aſſembled from every quarter, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, ſurprized the city of Glaſgow, iſſued a proclamation, commanding the magiſtrates to drive all archbiſhops, biſhops, and curates, out of the kingdom immediately; and inviting all their brethren to join them, and finiſh the good work they had ſo happily begun. They were ſoon joined by a vaſt multitude of people; but inſtead of confining themſelves to the redreſs of grievances, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. This gave time to the magiſtrates to provide for the ſecurity of Edinburgh. The duke of Monmouth was ſent, at the head of an army, to reduce them, and ſoon executed his commiſſion. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge; and falling upon them with incredible fury, ſoon gained a complete victory. Near a thouſand of the inſurgents were left dead on the field of battle, and twelve hundred taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral of thoſe concerned in the murder of archbiſhop Sharp. Theſe were all hanged up immediately; a few more were afterwards tried and executed; but the greateſt part were ſent to the plantations. Monmouth, deſirous of gaining the affections of the Scots, treated the people with great humanity.

While this rebellion ſubſiſted in Scotland, the king was ſeized with a violent fever, which threw the whole kingdom into the utmoſt confuſion. The council aſſembled; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Shaftſbury, and ſeveral other members of the country party, they reſolved to ſend for the duke of York from Bruſſels. He ſoon arrived; but, in the interval, the king was pretty well recovered. The oppoſition was not, however, idle, during the king's ſickneſs: they demanded that the parliament ſhould be immediately aſſembled; and the court party, as a counterpoiſe to their petitions, preſented the moſt reſpectable addreſſes. This oppoſition in the two parties gave occaſion to the introduction of the names of Whig and Tory. The former, which had before been given to the Scotch fanatics, was now given to the oppoſition; and the latter, which had been originally applied to the rebels in Ireland, was now applied to the courtiers. Theſe odious appellations ſerved no other purpoſe than that of foſtering malignity and diſcord, and of widening the breach, already too large, between the two parties.

The behaviour of Monmouth in Scotland alarmed the duke of York, who uſed every method in his power to procure the diſgrace of that popular nobleman. He ſucceeded in his attempts, and Monmouth was obliged to retire to the continent; while he himſelf, under pretence of quieting the minds of the Engliſh, obtained permiſſion to retire into Scotland, but made himſelf more enemies than friends in that kingdom. Shaftſbury, whoſe deſigns were now ſufficiently known, was diſmiſſed from his poſt of preſident of the council, and the earl of Radnor was appointed in his room. The earl of Eſſex reſigned his poſt as treaſurer, and Lawrence Hyde was appointed in his room. Lord Ruſſel, one of the moſt popular and virtuous men in the kingdom, quitted the board, and Sir William Temple retired into the country.

The papiſts, exaſperated at the proſecutions carrying on againſt them, determined to be revenged upon their proſecutors, and turn the late odium from themſelves to the preſbyterians. They had accordingly recourſe to one Dangerfield, a fellow who had ſuffered almoſt every puniſhment that the law can inflict on the moſt abandoned miſcreant. This man, who enjoyed the firſt place in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpoſe. He was confined in Newgate for debt when he was pitched upon as the leader in this ſcene of action. The catholics releaſed him, and found him ſufficient employment. He pretended to have been privy to a deſign for deſtroying the king and royal family, and changing the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the information, and rewarded him for his diſcovery with a ſum of money: but certain papers which he produced as evidences of his aſſertions, appearing to be forged by himſelf, he was ſent to priſon. His character was alone ſufficient to create ſuſpicions; all his haunts were ordered to be ſearched; and in the houſe of one Mrs. Collier, a Roman catholic, his particular friend, they found the model of the plot fairly written in a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub. From this incident it was called the Meal-tub Plot. Finding the whole diſcovered, the miſcreant made a general confeſſion. He ſaid the whole had been contrived by the counteſs of Powis, the earl of Caſtlemain, and the five lords confined in the Tower, in order to invalidate the evidences of Oates, Bedloe, and others, againſt the papiſts. He added, that he was inſtructed to accuſe the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Eſſex, Hallifax, and others, of being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the king and the duke of York. This diſcovery being made, lord Caſtlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower; and the people did not fail to cenſure both the king and his brother with being concerned in this perfidious ſcheme.

A. D. 1680. The new parliament met on the twenty-ſixth of January, when the king endeavoured to inſpire the members with ſentiments of unanimity, ſo neceſſary for the public welfare. "All Europe," ſaid he in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, "has its eyes on this aſſembly, and ſeems to think its fate involved in it, as well as ours. Let us beware of ſtrengthening our enemies, and diſheartening our friends by unſeaſonable diſputes. Should theſe ariſe, the reproach will not fall upon me, for I have neglected nothing that might contribute to keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you ſo when I die." But the commons were far from entering into theſe views: they began with acts of violence againſt the Tories: no reſpect was paid to the habeas corpus bill. Arbitrary impriſonments became ſo common, that the whole nation complained of the violence. One Stowel had the courage to reſiſt an officer of juſtice, who attempted to impriſon him by order of the houſe. He ſaid, in his defence, that he knew no law by virtue of which he could be deprived of his liberty. The commons did not think proper to proceed any farther; and in order to free themſelves from the embarraſſment, they gave out, that Stowel was ſick, and they had granted him a month for his recovery. They now revived the excluſion bill, and ſent it up to the lords for their concurrence. A violent debate ſucceeded, in which the eloquence of Shaftſbury was eclipſed by that of Hallifax, his nephew, a zealous partizan of the court. At laſt the queſtion was put, and the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority. This deciſion rendered all the hopes of the commons abortive; and they diſcharged their reſentment on ſome catholic peers, whom they impeached as abettors of the popiſh plos. Five of them had been, for ſome time, confined in the Tower. The firſt they attacked was the old lord Stafford. Oates depoſed, that he had ſeen a commiſſion ſent to him, ſigned by father Oliva, general of the Jeſuits. Two other witneſſes ſwore, that he had engaged to kill the king; and Stafford was found guilty by his peers upon a majority of twenty-four voices. His courage, ſupported by conſcious innocence, did not forſake him in the dreadful trial. Being very old and infirm, on going to his execution, he deſired a cloak: "I may tremble with cold," ſaid he; "but, thank heaven, I ſhall never tremble through fear." He declared, on the ſcaffold, his abhorrence of the corruptions of the church of Rome. "I die," ſaid he, "in hopes that the deluſion will ſoon vaniſh, and that truth will oblige the world to do me juſtice at laſt." "We believe you, my lord," replied the weeping populace; "God bleſs your lordſhip." The executioner was melted into tears, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty he performed his duty. The circumſtances of this execution ſhook the general belief of the conſpiracy; and though it ſtill continued to alarm the people, no more blood was ſhed upon that account. The commons perceived the paſſions of the people were turned againſt them, and they began to act with leſs reſolution.

They were, however, ſtill determined to purſue the plan they had formed, and flattered themſelves the flexibility of Charles, and his neceſſities for money, would at laſt render them ſucceſsful. They accordingly propoſed ſeveral inflammatory bills; and at laſt voted, that they would grant no ſupplies till the excluſion bill was paſſed into a law. Convinced that nothing was now to be expected, Charles diſſolved the parliament.

A. D. 1681. But though he had thus abruptly parted with one aſſembly, he hoped to have better ſucceſs with another; and accordingly ſummoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford, where the unfavourable diſpoſitions of the capital could have no effect on the members. This meaſure occaſioned the ſtrongeſt reſentment in the citizens. The old members were re-choſen, and thanked by their conſtituents for their enquiry into the popiſh conſpiracy, and for their attempt to exclude the duke of York from the throne: "for (added they) we look upon him as the principal cauſe of that ruin which threatens the nation." The duke of Monmouth, at the head of fifteen peers, oppoſed the deſign of holding the parliament at Oxford; and ſaid in his petition, "That the two houſes would be expoſed to the ſwords of the papiſts and their adherents, ſeveral of whom had crept even into the king's guards." This was followed by a more open attack; the ſpirit of rebellion no longer hid itſelf under the mantle of darkneſs. The heads of the party arrived at Oxford ſtrongly eſcorted; and the repreſentatives of London in particular were followed by crowds of citizens, with cockades, on which were written, "No popery, no ſlavery." In a word, both parties endeavoured to make a pompous diſplay of their ſtrength; and the meeting of this parliament had rather the appearance of thoſe in the diſtracted times of Henry VI. at Clarendon, Oxford, and Coventry, than the peaceable and amicable meeting of the ſovereign and his people.

Exaſperated at theſe appearances, Charles began to exert his authority with a vigour of which he was thought incapable. He opened the ſeſſion with a noble and elegant ſpeech; in which, after complaining of the diſreſpectful proceedings of the laſt parliament, which were ſuch he ſaid, as few princes beſides himſelf would have borne with equal patience; he declared, that as it was neither his deſire nor intention to exerciſe arbitrary power over them, ſo he would not allow it to be exerciſed over himſelf. He again inculcated moderation in their debates, as it was by that means alone the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as repreſentatives, could be anſwered. He told them he was willing to give them every ſatisfaction in his power, with regard to their fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor, by joining with them to eſtabliſh any practical ſcheme for putting the government entirely into the hands of proteſtants, during the reign of ſuch a prince. In a word, that as he would, on his part, perform every thing that could reaſonably be deſired of him, ſo he expected that they ſhould lay aſide their animoſities, and concur with him in that ſalutary intention; and not, by a revival of their paſt irregularities, inſpire him with a diſguſt to parliaments.

This ſpeech, however, produced not the deſired effect. Equally indifferent to the menaces and ſoothings of the king, they elected the ſame ſpeaker that filled the chair in the laſt parliament, and adopted the ſame meaſures, namely, the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. They were ſo determined to carry the laſt meaſure, that they rejected every expedient. Ernely, one of the king's miniſters, in order to remove all their fears with regard to a popiſh ſucceſſor, propoſed, "That the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed five hundred miles from the Britiſh dominions; that the government ſhould be wholly veſted in a regent: that this regent ſhould be the princeſs of Orange; and in caſe of her death without iſſue, in the princeſs Anne: that if the duke ſhould have a ſon educated in the proteſtant religion, then the ſaid princeſſes reſpectively to ſucceed in the regency, during the minority of ſuch ſon, and no longer: that notwithſtanding theſe kingdoms, out of reſpect to the royal family, and for preſerving the right of ſucceſſion, might be governed in the name of James II. yet no man ſhould take arms from him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of being capitally puniſhed: that all officers, civil or military, ſhall take an oath to obſerve this ſettlement of the government: that acts of a ſimilar nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: that if the duke of York ſhould come into any of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be abſolutely excluded, and the government devolve to the regent: that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children be educated in the proteſtant religion." But even this propoſal, which amounted very near to an excluſion, was rejected. They were determined on their object, and no palliative expedients would be accepted.

While the parliament was thus employed, one Fitz-Harris, an Iriſh catholic, had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the court, by giving information concerning the ſchemes of the oppoſite party. He joined with one Everard in compoſing an infamous and injurious libel, apparently with a view of getting money by the information. A traitor never ſpares his aſſociate when it is his intereſt to give him up. Everard impeached Fitz-Harris, and he was immediately arreſted. The priſoner had now no hopes of eſcaping from the hand of juſtice, but by changing his party. He accordingly declared, that he had been engaged by the court to write the libel in queſtion, to throw the odium on the partizans of the excluſion bill. He added ſome other circumſtances concerning the popiſh plot, and pretended he could make very important diſcoveries. The commons, hoping to obtain freſh matter for declamation, afforded him their protection; and their firſt meaſure was to reſcue him out of the hands of juſtice. In order to this, they ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the lords, who thought proper to reject it. Exaſperated at this refuſal, the commons complained of a violation of privilege, and declared, that if any judge ſhould preſume to try Fitz-Harris, he ſhould be held guilty of that violation.

The diſpute between the two houſes continued to increaſe, which afforded Charles a very favourable opportunity of putting a period to a parliament, whom he found were determined to oppoſe him in every particular. He, however, kept his deſign a ſecret even from his moſt intimate friends; and on the twenty-eighth of March, the very day the excluſion bill was to be read the ſecond him, he repaired, with the utmoſt privacy, to the houſe; and before they had received the leaſt intimation of his deſign, diſſolved the parliament. This reſolute behaviour in the king diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Whigs. He afterwards publiſhed a proclamation, in which he gave his reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments; and accuſed the commons of a deſign to wreſt from him the regal authority, and totally ſubvert the conſtitution of England.

Convinced from experience that he had nothing to hope for from the commons, he determined not to expoſe himſelf any longer to parliamentary ſtorms. He retrenched the expences of his government, relinquiſhed the town of Tangier in Africa, though the fortifications had coſt him very conſiderable ſums, and ſeemed reſolved to maintain the triumph he had gained over the oppoſition by his vigour. The clergy now boldly propagated the favourite maxims of the crown; and the whigs were repreſented as ſectaries and republicans of the moſt dangerous kind. Doubts were thrown out with regard to the truth of the popiſh conſpiracy; and could the king have maintained the ſame moderation in his conduct, he had hitherto done, his triumph had been worthy of him; but he ſuffered reprisals of too rigorous a nature to be made by the tory party. The ſpies who had ſerved the parliament, now offered their ſervices to the court, and were accepted. Fitz-harris was tried and executed. He declared before his execution that the libel was his own, and that he had compoſed it merely to give it up to the miniſtry for the ſake of a reward. The duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and reſumed his ſeat at the council board.

In order to preſerve the tranſactions of England entire during this buſy period, we have omitted to mention thoſe of Ireland. That kingdom had for ſome years been governed by the duke of Ormond, a zealous royaliſt, and a true friend to his country. He profeſſed the principles of the proteſtant religion, but was no bigot to his tenets: he was indulgent to thoſe of other perſuaſions, and provided they did nothing that tended to diſturb the peace of the government, was willing they ſhould worſhip their Maker in a manner moſt ageeable to their conſcience. Ormond had ſerved Charles faithfully; he never forſook him in his baniſhment; but, diſdaining the meanneſs of flattery and adulation, he was long neglected by that prince who could not number gratitude among his virtues. Dillon, an Iriſh colonel, once requeſted the duke to aſſiſt him on ſome particular occaſion with his intereſt at court, adding that he had no other dependence but on God and him. "I am heartily ſorry for you;" replied the duke, "you could not poſſibly have two friends of leſs credit at court." During his government, his whole ſtudy was to preſerve peace, and render the people happy. But his virtues were not ſufficient to defend him againſt the malice of Shaftſbury. He attacked him in parliament with all the powers of eloquence, and inſinuated crimes of which he was wholly a ſtranger. Ormond's only defender was his own ſon, the earl of Oſſory. He invalidated all the inſinuations of his adverſary, and after many juſt encomiums on the conduct of his father, added, with a boldneſs that did him honour, "He never adviſed to break the triple alliance; he never adviſed to ſhut up the exchequer; he never adviſed the declaration in favour of the non-conformiſts; he never adviſed to break with Holland, to preſerve the alliance with France: let my father enjoy the privilege that all honeſt men ought to enjoy; let him be judged by his counſels and his actions." Shaftſbury felt the poignancy of the ſarcaſm, having been the author of thoſe evil counſels which the king had followed. The lords applauded the noble defence of Oſſory, and his true and ſimple narrative of facts prevailed over the artificial eloquence of his adverſary. Oſſory did not long ſurvive this triumph. His father was ſincerely affected with his death, and ſaid on that melancholy occaſion, "I would not change my dead ſon, for any living ſon in Chriſtendom."

The duke of York while he reſided in Scotland, practiſed all the ſeverities of arbitrary power. He eſtabliſhed a teſt, by which the royal prerogative, the ſupremacy, and paſſive obedience were expreſsly acknowledged. But the oath was drawn up in ſo prolix and ill-digeſted a manner, that Argyle thought ſome explanations neceſſary, before he could be prevailed upon to take it. This conduct exaſperated the duke, who determined to make him feel the weight of power. Argyle was arreſted and condemned; but found means to eſape. Above two thouſand preſbyterians were proſecuted on this account with the moſt horrible ſeverity. An inquiſition more cruel than that of Spain was carried on in various parts of Scotland. The people complained; but without redreſs; the duke of York, who now directed the affairs of the kingdom, ſtifled all their applications.

A. D. 1683. The mutual animoſity of the two parties in the kingdom was now enflamed into rage and rancour; and Charles, who ſhould have conducted himſelf as the common parent of all his people, openly headed a faction. Very extraordinary meaſures were taken to humble the city of London, whoſe power and political intrigues had given great umbrage to the court. A quo warranto, or an order to produce the charters of the city, was iſſued. If it ſhould appear upon a ſtrict enquiry, that any of the conditions preſcribed in either of theſe charters, had been violated in any eſſential point, the privileges of the city might be taken away. Two facts were cited to prove that the city had actually broken the conditions of the charter. This was denied by the council for the defendants with very ſtrong reaſons; but the judges, devoted to the court, paſſed ſentence agreeable to its intentions. Struck with conſternation, the common-council aſſembled to conſult the moſt proper meaſures to be taken on this alarming exigency. It was propoſed, that an entire ſubmiſſion ſhould be made to the miniſtry, as the only means of preventing the total extinction of the liberties of the city. This propoſal was ſtrognly oppoſed by the whigs. They repreſented the late action of the court as a moſt notorious violation of their rights and privileges; and added, that they ſhould be, in ſome meaſure, acceſſary to this act of uſurpation, if, by a daſtardly ſubmiſſion, they acknowledged the unjuſt authority. Fear, blended with intereſt, however, prevailed over that firmneſs and reſolution which might have been expected from the capital of the Engliſh nation. An humble deputation was ſent to his majeſty, requeſting the reſtoration of their charter. Their petition was granted, but not till they had made ſuch conceſſions as, in effect, annihilated even the ſhadow of liberty.

Terrified by the example of the capital, all the other corporations in the kingdom tamely reſigned their charters into the king's hands: nor could they obtain a reſtoration of them till they had paid conſiderable ſums; and even then all the places of power and profit were, like thoſe of the capital, left entirely at the diſpoſal of the crown. This may truly be conſidered as the triumph of deſpotiſm. The Engliſh were no longer that bold and reſolute people who, in defence of their ancient privileges, had made their monarchs tremble on the throne; they were dwindled into ſlaves, who covered the yoke of oppreſſion, and offered the incenſe of adulation to the tyrant that trampled upon their liberties.

Shaftſbury, in conjunction with the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, and ſeveral other noblemen, had formed a plot for an inſurrection. After the diſſolution of the parliament at Oxford, Shaftſbury had been impriſoned, and an indictment for high-treaſon had been preferred againſt him; but the bill was rejected by the grand jury. After the ſeizing of the city's charter he found means to renew the ſcheme; and it was propoſed to excite inſurrections in different parts of the country, and even to attack the king's guards. All their meaſures were taken, the time fixed, and a manefeſto ready for juſtifying the revolt. But ſome unforeſeen accidents occaſioning delays, Shaftſbury, who knew the danger, deſpaired of ſucceſs. He therefore abandoned the enterprize, and retired into Holland, where he died ſoon after, diſregarded both by friends and enemies.

The defection of Shaftſbury did not, however, intimidate the conſpirators: they determined to purſue their plan; and hoped for ſucceſs from the univerſal diſſatisfaction that prevailed in every part of the nation. While they were employed in concerting meaſures for carrying their deſign into execution, another plot was formed by a ſet of inferior conſpirators. The principal of theſe were colonel Rumſey, colonel Walcot, both republican officers; Goodenough under ſheriff of London; Weſt, Tyler, Norton, Ayloffe, Ferguſon, Rouſe, Home, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, and Rumbald. The laſt, who was a maltſter, poſſeſſed an eſtate in the road to Newmarket, called the Rye-houſe farm. Here the conſpirators frequently met, and from this circumſtance the conſpiracy is generally known by the name of the Rye-houſe plot. The deſign was to attack the king's guards, and ſeize the perſons of the king and his brother in their return from Newmarket. This being effected, the conſpirators were to have repaired, with the utmoſt haſte, to London, in order to join their brethren in the city, aſſemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion.

But before the deſign could be carried into execution, the whole was diſcovered by the confeſſion of Keiling. Orders were immediately iſſued for ſeizing the conſpirators. Terrified at their danger, Weſt and Rumſey ſurrendered with an intention of becoming evidences. The former had been admitted into the ſecret of the plot formed by the noblemen; and orders were accordingly iſſued for arreſting them. Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Sidney, and Hambden, grandſon to the celebrated republican of that name, were apprehended, and ſent to the Tower. Monmouth abſconded.

Walcot, Home, and Rouſe, were firſt tried. The evidences againſt them were Rumſey, Weſt, and one Bourne, a brewer, who concurred in depoſing, that they were all frequently at the meetings held the preceding year on the buſineſs of the plot. Walcot, in his defence, alledged, and offered to prove by undoubted teſtimony, that he was ill of the gout all the time the king was at Newmarket. The evidence againſt him was, however, greatly ſtrengthened, by a letter he himſelf wrote, while under confinement, to ſecretary Jenkins; wherein he promiſed to reveal all he knew relative to the plot againſt his majeſty, provided he might be aſſured of the royal pardon. The jury found them all guilty, and they were ſoon after executed at Tyburn.

The trial of lord Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, followed that of Walcot. Howard, a man of a very profligate character, condeſcended to purchaſe his pardon, by turning evidence againſt his friends. But his conduct rendered him ſo univerſally odious, that not a man of character or reputation in either party would afterwards admit him into their company. In adhering to the letter of the laws of England on the ſubject of treaſon, it was difficult to conſtitute the crime of the peers. According to the famous ſtatute of Edward III. there are two ſpecies of treaſon, the intention or attempt to take away the king's life, and the actual attempt to make war againſt him. According to a ſtatute of Mary, either of theſe crimes muſt be proved by the concurrent teſtimony of two evidences, with regard to any act tending to ſuch purpoſes. The refinements of the lawyers rendered the definition leſs limited, and, conſequently, the proof more eaſy. This was what condemned Ruſſel, who had long been the idol of the people. Too honeſt to deny that he had any concern in the propoſed inſurrections, he inſiſted only in ſaying, that he had no deſign againſt the life of the king. Monmouth offering to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner, if he thought that action would ſave his life, the earl nobly anſwered, "By no means; I ſhould gain nothing by ſeeing my friend die with me." He alſo rejected the offer of lord Cavendiſh, who was deſirous of changing dreſſes with him, in order to facilitate his eſcape.

On the morning of his execution, after winding up his watch, he ſaid, "We have done with time; we have nothing now to think of but eternity." It was thought he would have been pardoned, could he have been prevailed upon to abandon a principle he had always maintained, and which was thought by the court incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a ſubject. This principle was, that the power of every king of England is limited by the laws; and that if he goes beyond theſe bounds, the ſubjects have a right, in their own defence, to bring him back. But he always declared, that he was incapable of the baſe deſign of aſſaſſinating the ſovereign. He often declared, that he preferred a violent death to any other; becauſe, after being expoſed a few minutes to the eyes of the populace, every thing was over: and that there was leſs to be ſuffered than in the drawing of a tooth. He was attended in his laſt moments by Dr. Tillotſon and Dr. Burnet. He ſuffered on a ſcaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the twenty-firſt of July; and died like an Engliſhman, without ſhewing the leaſt weakneſs, though ſurrounded by a populace drowned in tears.

The celebrated Algernoon Sidney, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, was the next victim. His prodigious genius, his inſuperable courage, and his paſſion for liberty, gave him a diſtinguiſhed place among the republicans. He oppoſed the reſtoration of monarchy with the ſame zeal he had before oppoſed the uſurpation of Cromwell. Finding that his oppoſition would be in vain, he withdrew into Holland; but deſirous of reviſiting his native country, he took the benefit of the act of indemnity, and returned to England. He ſoon joined the country party, and warmly ſupported the bill of excluſion. In a word, he oppoſed, with all his intereſt and eloquence, every deſign and meaſure of the court. Howard was the only evidence againſt him: his papers were therefore produced, in order to ſupply the reſt. Some writings, in which he declared his own ſentiments on the national contract, on the reſiſtance to tyrants, on the advantages of a republican government, were conſidered as ſupplementary evidences, more than ſufficient to convict him. In vain did Sidney repreſent, that the reſemblance of a hand-writing, a proof rejected in England, was the only evidence that thoſe works were his; that beſides, they had never been publiſhed or communicated to any perſon; that they proved no recent conſpiracy, becauſe it was clear the writing was of an older date. He was, however, condemned: the duke thought him too formidable an enemy to eſcape. His ſentence had, however, no power to terrify him; he gloried in dying for the cauſe he had embraced from his infancy. This illuſtrious man muſt for ever be lamented, as, under a republican government, he muſt certainly have merited the higheſt applauſe.

The earl of Eſſex was found dead in priſon; and it was ſtrongly reported that he was murdered by order of the king and his brother; but there were afterwards found ſufficient proofs that he had put an end to his own life. This was the leſs ſurpriſing, as he had always been a ſtrong advocate for ſuicide. The principal friends of the duke of Monmouth being dead, that nobleman wrote two letters to the king, filled with the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive expreſſions. Monmouth was the favourite ſon of Charles, who now felt all his tenderneſs revive. He accepted of the guilty youth's ſubmiſſion, and permitted him to come to court. He even indulged him ſo far, that he was excuſed from giving evidence againſt any of his friends; but was required to ſign a paper, owning the plot in general, and tacitly juſtifying the evidence againſt thoſe who had ſuffered. In a few days, however, Monmouth repented of the ſtep he had taken, and, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, intreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was ſo highly incenſed at his behaviour, that he baniſhed him from court. Monmouth paſſed over into Holland, where the king, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, correſponded with him by letter, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him conſiderable remittances of money.

Charles now enjoyed an almoſt unlimited authority in peace. The plot that had been formed againſt him rendered him dearer to his people, who imputed all the late ſeverities to the duke of York. The doctrine of abſolute ſubmiſſion and paſſive obedience became the prevailing ſyſtem; and the univerſity of Oxford condemned for thoſe propoſitions which before had been eſtabliſhed as principles. Among theſe were the following: "All civil authority is derived originally from the people: the ſovereignty of England conſiſts of three eſtates, the king, the lords, and the commons, and the king has a power equal to that of the two houſes. Self-preſervation is a fundamental law of nature, and over-rules other laws, when put in competition with it." Theſe propoſitions were now condemned. Such is the inſtability of human opinions!

The duke of York, conſcious that the ſeverities lately practiſed by the government, were imputed to him; and being deſirous of doing ſome action that might recover a part at leaſt of his popularity, relaxed, for a time, the furious meaſures he had embraced; but his attempt was in vain; the veil was too thin to hide the enormity of his late conduct. Charles was more ſucceſsful. He knew the fear of popery had cauſed the moſt alarming apprehenſions in the minds of the people, and was deſirous of diſſipating their terrors. He thought proper to beſtow his neice, the princeſs Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. But though he gratified his people in that particular, he never could be prevailed upon to call a parliament, or truſt the nation with the election of new repreſentatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly aſſumed deſpotic power. York ſtrongly ſupported this reſolution of his brother; and at the ſame time prevailed upon him to purſue ſuch meaſures, as rendered it highly imprudent to convene that aſſembly.

The earl of Danby, who had remained ſeveral years a priſoner in the Tower, was now admitted to bail; the four popiſh lords that ſtill remained in confinement, were admitted to the ſame privilege. Lord Petre had died in the Tower about a month before. On his death-bed he wrote a letter to the king, aſſuring him on his hopes of ſalvation, that he was entirely innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

But all the flattering ideas of power were not ſufficient to drive remorſe from the breaſt of Charles. Conſcious of being the oppreſſor of a free and generous people, he pined beneath the oppreſſion under which the whole nation groaned. He had purſued meaſures he ſecretly condemned, and yielded to counſels which his own heart told him were equally inconſiſtent with his honour, and the happineſs of his people. Naturally of an eaſy temper, and a gentle diſpoſition, he had ſuffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings, to receive the ſanction of his authority, and the ſeal of royalty had been ſtamped on actions he never approved. He now ſaw, but it was too late, that while he compelled his people to ſubmit to his deſires thro' fear, he had loſt their affections as ſubjects. Penetrated with theſe reflections he formed a deſign of changing his conduct, and reſtoring the neglected intercourſe between himſelf and his parliament. The duke of York propoſing ſome meaſures which were extremely diſagreeable to the king, Charles ſaid to him, with ſome vivacity, "Brother, I am now too old to go a ſecond time upon my travels; you may do it if you pleaſe." But he lived not to carry the generous plan he had formed into execution.

A. D. 1684. He was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplective fit on the ſeventh of February, and four days after he expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, computing from his reſtoration. Some believed that he was poiſoned; but there ſeems very little foundation for their opinion. The papiſts, however, bore the odium of the act, and were ſaid to have perpetrated the execrable deed, in order to prevent his carrying on the reformation he had propoſed.

Charles would have been more worthy of a throne, had not indolence, and the indulgence of his paſſions, perverted his natural talents. He was an enemy to labour, forgetful of ſervices, attached to no perſon from eſteem, and negligent of every duty. His conduct gave ſufficient room for the cenſure of one of his intimate friends, that he never uttered a fooliſh ſentence, nor ever did a wiſe action. Moſt of his faults as well as his vexations, flowed from one ſource; his exceſſive love of pleaſure. To obtain the pecuniary aſſiſtance of France he formed an alliance with that power, which gave ſufficient room to ſuſpect that his real intention was that of making himſelf abſolute. This opinion gave riſe to all the diſputes between him and his parliament, and ſeemed even to threaten him with the loſs his crown. He was guilty of the ſame miſtake that had involved all the Stuart family in diſtreſs; they thought their authority equal to that of the moſt powerful monarchs on the continent, and thence paid no regard to the Engliſh conſtitution. Their principles and conduct could not therefore fail of alarming a people whoſe liberties were founded on Magna Charta, and were now grown exceſſively jealous of their privileges. Had the Stuarts paid more reſpect to the laws and conſtitution of England their own prerogatives would have been ſecure, and they would have reigned with more honour to themſelves, and advantage to the people. In private life Charles had fewer faults. He was an obliging huſband, a generous lover, a tender father, a kind maſter; but gratitude was a virtue to which he was totally a ſtranger: the royaliſts ſerved him faithfully from affection; but he remembered not their ſervices; nor took any care to reſtore that fortune they had ſo generouſly ſpent in the ſupport of his family.

Charles had no children by his queen, Catherine of Portugal, a virtuous princeſs, who could never engage the affections of her huſband. He, however, left a numerous progeny the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Walters, one ſon, James, duke of Monmouth, born in 1646.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killegrew, viſcounteſs Shannon, one daughter, Charlotte-Maria-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Fitzroy, married firſt to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catharine Peg, one ſon, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, born in 1658.

By Mrs. Barbara Villers, dutcheſs of Cleveland, three ſons, and as many daughters; Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and, after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland: Anne Fitzroy, married to the earl of Suſſex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who took the veil in the nunnery of Pontoiſe in France.

By Loiſe de Querouaille, dutcheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn, an actreſs, one ſon, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans. And

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, one daughter, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

JAMES

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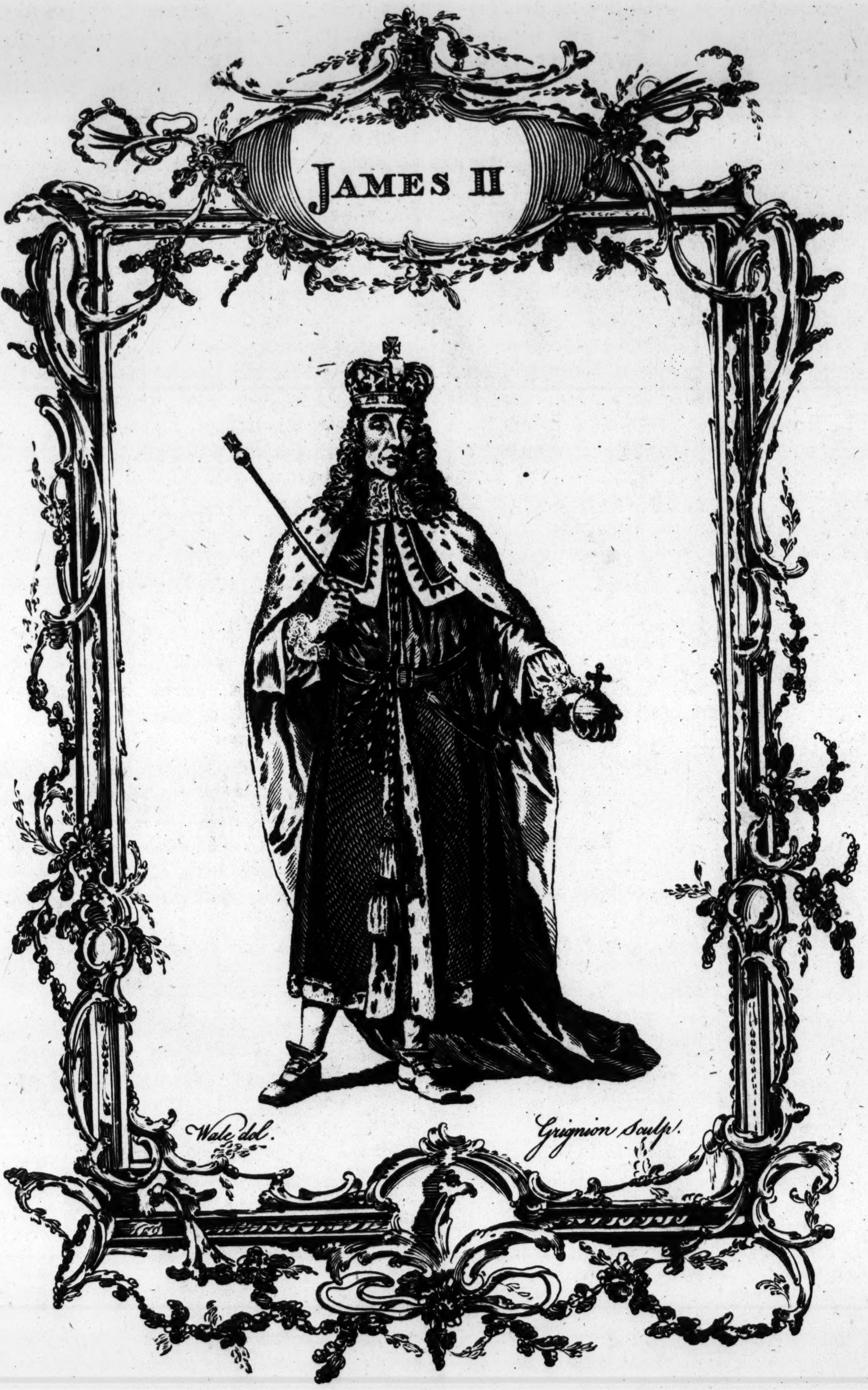

JAMES II
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

# J A M E S II.

A. D. 1685. AS the bill of excluſion had failed in parliament, James, duke of York, mounted the Engliſh throne without any oppoſition. His ſpeech to the privy-council gained him great applauſe, being filled with wiſe and moderate principles of government. After paying ſome eulogiums to the memory of his brother, and declaring that he propoſed to take him for his model, he proceeded in the following manner: "I have been repreſented as infatuated with principles of arbitrary power; nor is this the only calumny that has been thrown upon me. But I now declare that I will endeavour to maintain the government both in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed. I am ſenſible that the church of England is favourable to monarchy, and that all the members of it have ſhewn themſelves faithful ſubjects. I ſhall therefore apply myſelf to ſupport and defend it. I am ſenſible, at the ſame time, that the laws of England make me as powerful a prince as I can wiſh to be; and my object is to preſerve the prerogative of my crown without invading the privileges of my ſubjects. I have often expoſed my life in defence of the nation, and am ſtill ready to expoſe it for the maintenance of its juſt rights and privileges."

This ſpeech, which was printed and diſperſed through the kingdom, revived the ſpirits of the Engliſh, who had formed the moſt alarming apprehenſions of his conduct. He had eſtabliſhed his courage and conduct as a ſeaman; and he was conſidered as one of the moſt able perſons in Europe, with regard to maritime affairs. His friends magnified his probity to the ſkies; and the people readily believed them, becauſe they wiſhed it to be true. Addreſſes were ſent from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and reſpect. Even the quakers followed the general practice, and waited on the king with a congratulatory addreſs, in which was the following remarkable paragraph: "We are come to ſignify our affliction for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy to ſee thee made the ruler of the people. They tell us, thou art not of the church of England any more than we; ſo we hope thou wilt allow us the ſame liberty that thou takeſt thyſelf; and if thou doeſt, we wiſh thee all manner of proſperity."

But it was too ſoon evident that James never intended to ſupport the church of England, and ſecure the privileges of the people. The very firſt Sunday after his acceſſion he went publickly to maſs, though contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of England, and the prieſts and jeſuits became his principal confidents. He alſo publiſhed a proclamation for levying the duties of exciſe and cuſtoms granted to his predeceſſors, as if given by parliament, though he well knew that the grant expired with the life of his brother. He, however, took care not to ſhew much partiality to thoſe of his own communion, in ſettling the officers of his houſhold. All who poſſeſſed poſts under the late king were continued in their reſpective offices by proclamation.

But the number of prieſts and jeſuits who now baſked openly in the ſunſhine of the court, gave great offence. Pope Innocent XI. to whom he ſent his ſubmiſſion, blamed his conduct, and deſired him to proceed with more caution. The Spaniſh ambaſſador alſo deſired him to be more circumſpect in his proceedings, adding, that ſo many prieſts about the court might do hurt by their counſels. James aſked him whether the king of Spain did not conſult his confeſſor, "Yes," anſwered the miniſter, "and for that very reaſon our affairs are badly managed."

Though the king had entertained the greateſt diſguſt againſt parliaments, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſummon that aſſembly at the commencement of a new reign, unleſs it had been determined to introduce at once a deſpotic government. The utmoſt pains were taken to procure a parliament wholly devoted to the court. Their endeavours were in general ſucceſsful; few beſides tories being elected. James opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he repeated his promiſe to govern according to the laws, and to ſupport the proteſtant religion. But the manner in which he demanded that his revenue ſhould be eſtabliſhed for life, in the ſame manner as in the preceding reign, gave the patriots no very favourable opinion of his deſigns; they thought he ſpoke the language of a deſpotic prince rather than that of an Engliſh monarch, whoſe actions are limitted by the laws, and who can levy no taxes without the conſent of parliament. "It may poſſibly be ſuppoſed," ſaid he, "that to grant me ſupplies from time to time, would prove an infallible means of frequent parliaments; but as I now ſpeak to you from the throne, for the firſt time, I tell you, without reſerve, that ſuch an expedient would be ill received, and that the beſt means to engage me to aſſemble you frequently is to treat me well."

This ſpeech wanted no comment to explain its meaning. It was ſufficiently evident, that he had already formed a reſolution of ſetting parliaments wholly aſide, in caſe he met with any oppoſition. The parliament, however, thought proper to diſſemble their apprehenſions, and voted the king the fixed revenues of his predeceſſor; but added, that they depended upon his royal word for the performance, with regard to his maintaining the religion of the church of England, as it was beneath the dignity of a king to falſify his promiſe.

It could not be expected that Oates, who had occaſioned ſo many reflections to be thrown on the catholics, could long eſcape the vengeance of his majeſty. He was tried in the court of king's-bench on two indictments for perjury, and found guilty on both. He was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, to ſtand five times every year on the pillory, and to be whipped firſt from Aldgate to Newgate, and the ſecond day after from Newgate to Tyburn. But notwithſtanding this dreadful puniſhment, which was executed with ſuch ſeverity that he fainted away ſeveral times, he would confeſs nothing. He continued in priſon till the revolution, when he obtained his liberty, and a penſion of four hundred pounds a year.

Dangerfield, his principal aſſociate, was alſo tried for writing a ſeditious libel, and convicted. He was ſentenced to ſtand twice on the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. As he was returning in a coach from his ſecond whipping, he was inſulted by one Francis, a barriſter of Grays-Inn. Dangerfield reſented the unmanly treatment, and ſpit in his face. This ſo provoked the barriſter, that he puſhed his cane with the utmoſt violence in the face of Dangerfield, and ſtriking him directly on the eye, he died in torture a few hours after. Francis was immediately apprehended, tried for the offence and executed at Tyburn.

On the twenty-third of April the Scottiſh parliament aſſembled, and the ſeſſion was opened by the duke of Queenſberry, as king's commiſſioner. His grace aſſured them that they were equally included in his majeſty's declaration in council with their brethren in England. At the ſame time he cauſed a letter from James to the Scottiſh parliament to be read. In this letter the king inveighed ſtrongly againſt the fanatics, or rigid preſbyterians, whom he called horrid murderers and aſſaſſins, and deſired the ſtates to take proper meaſures againſt their intrigues. The parliament ſhewed the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the royal pleaſure: they preſented an addreſs to the king full of the groſſeſt flattery: they confirmed the act paſſed in the preceding reign for maintaining the eſtabliſhed religion: they gave the crown the duties ariſing from the exciſe: they paſſed a bill, by which the taking or defending the ſolemn league or covenant, was declared high treaſon: and another for ſuppreſſing houſe or field conventicles, by which all who ſhould preach or be preſent at ſuch conventicles, were to be puniſhed with death: and in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they profeſſed their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions that tended in any wiſe to derogate "from the king's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute authority and power."

Theſe pleaſing conceſſions both in the Engliſh and Scottiſh parliament, ſeemed to flatter James with an opinion that no oppoſition would be made to his meaſures, and that he ſhould be able to re-eſtabliſh the Romiſh faith in all his dominions. He ſoon found himſelf fatally miſtaken in imagining no commotions would interrupt the tranquillity of his reign. The earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland on being accuſed of having engaged with Monmouth and his friends in the late deſign for raiſing a rebellion in England, thought this a fair opportunity for being revenged upon James, whom he conſidered as the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his deſign to the duke of Monmouth, who, as well as himſelf, was an exile in Holland. Monmouth, always beloved by the people, liſtened to Argyle, and precipitately engaged in an attempt to dethrone his uncle. They hired a few ſhips of the Dutch, and collected between two and three hundred of the Engliſh exiles in Flanders, all perſons of deſperate fortunes, and who had no other proſpect of retrieving their affairs, than by bringing about a change of government at home. The duke flattered himſelf, indeed, with being joined by the whig party in England, provided a ſucceſsful landing both in England and Scotland could be effected.

The plan being concerted, the two chiefs ſeparated in order to carry the deſign into execution. Argyle, with a handful of troops, but with arms for five thouſand men, ſailed from Holland in the beginning of May, and landed without oppoſition in Scotland. But he ſoon found himſelf deceived in the notion of being joined by multitudes of his countrymen. About two thouſand men, principally highlanders of his own clan, repaired to his ſtandard; but the government, who received advice of his intended invaſion, were ready to receive him. He was purſued from one poſt to another by the royal army, till he was abandoned by the greater part of his followers, and taken priſoner. His execution was not long delayed. He was carried to Edinburgh, where his head was ſtruck off upon a ſcaffold.

Nor was Monmouth more fortunate in his enterprize. He landed at Lyme in Dorſetſhire, on the eleventh of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much larger number. Some of his officers diſperſed themſelves about the country, in order, if poſſible, to engage the people to join him. They were ſo ſucceſsful, that in a ſhort ſpace of time the duke's little army was increaſed to near two thouſand men. On his firſt landing he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, that the ſole intention of his coming was to aſſert his natural right, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accuſed of being the principal author of that dreadful conflagration which laid the capital in aſhes; of the late popiſh plot for aſſaſſinating the king; and ſubverting the proteſtant religion; of the murder of the earl of Eſſex in the Tower; and of having actually impriſoned the king his brother. He repreſented the duke as being incapable, by his religion, of ſwaying the ſceptre of England, which could never hope for peace and ſafety while a papiſt and a tyrant filled the throne.

Very little effect was produced by this manifeſto, which abounded more with invective than ſound reaſoning. Few perſons of any diſtinction joined his ſtandard, and the greater part of thoſe who did, were a rude, undiſciplined rabble. On his reaching Taunton, his army was increaſed to about five thouſand men; but inſtead of marching directly to Briſtol, which was in no condition to reſiſt him, he ſpent ſeveral days in making preparations for a ſplendid proceſſion when he was proclaimed king, which was performed on the eighteenth of June. This ridiculous piece of oſtentation gave the king time to aſſemble his forces, which were now in full march againſt him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth now ſaw his folly, but it was too late. A ſingle alternative only remained; he muſt either conquer or periſh. A council of war was called, where it was determined to march and meet the royal army, in order to prevent a ſurprize, which muſt have been fatal. The two armies came in ſight of each other on the fourth of July, and the next morning the battle began. Monmouth's horſe, commanded by lord Grey, fled at the firſt charge, owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of their general. He was himſelf taken priſoner, but readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot ſtood firm, and maintained their ground for a conſiderable time with great reſolution; but being deſerted by the horſe, and expoſed to a moſt dreadful fire from the artillery of the royal army, they at length gave way, and a moſt dreadful carnage enſued. Three hundred were killed upon the ſpot, above a thouſand in the purſuit, and as many taken priſoners. This battle was fought on Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater.

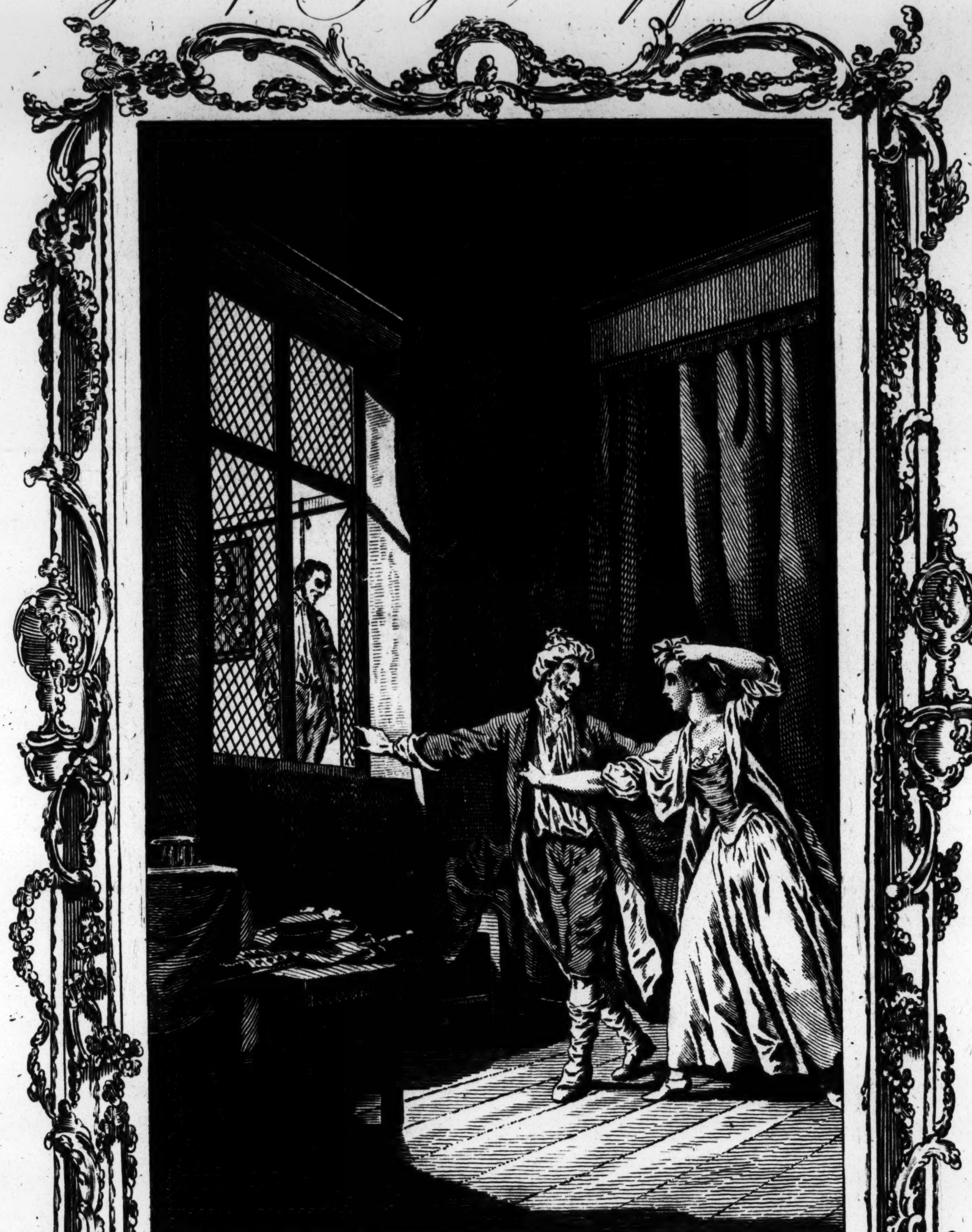
Monmouth himſelf, after uſing every method in his power to retrieve the fortune of the day, and diſplaying the moſt noble efforts of valour, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. His aſſumed ſovereignty vaniſhed like a dream, and all his mighty proſpects diſappeared in an inſtant. He fled, attended only by one ſervant, till his horſe dropped under him with fatigue. This incident obliged him to purſue his way on foot, till he reached a poor cottage, where he changed clothes with the peaſant, and continued his flight till he was wholly ſpent. Reduced to this extremity, he laid himſelf down in a ditch, covered with fern. Unfortunately for him, a party of the king's forces paſſing the next day by the ſame cottage, one of the officers knew the duke's clothes, in which the countryman was dreſſed. He was immediately ſeized; and, to extricate himſelf from danger, pointed out the road the duke had taken; and, after a ſtrict ſearch, he was diſcovered in his hiding-place, with his pockets filled with green peas, the only food he had eaten ſince his defeat. He was carried immediately to London, and committed to the Tower.

Terrified with this dreadful reverſe of fortune, Monmouth wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to his uncle; but he no ſooner perceived that his life would be ſaved only on the condition of impeaching his friends, than he rejected the offer with a noble diſdain. James had a fine opportunity of ſignalizing his clemency, but his heart was a ſtranger to that generous paſſion; and Monmouth loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, ſurrounded by multitudes of ſpectators, who generouſly paid him the tribute of their tears.

He

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wale del.* *Grignion Sculp.*

**KIRKE'S** *Villainy & Cruelty to a Young* **WOMAN**
*who beg'd him to save her Brother's Life.*

He was greatly beloved by the people; and had not indiſcretion and the fire of youth precipitated his meaſures, his attempt might have ſhaken the crown on the head of his uncle.

The victory of Sedgemoor was followed by many barbarous executions. The lord chief-juſtice Jefferies, the moſt inhuman tyrant that ever filled the ſeat of juſtice; and colonel Kirk, a ſoldier of fortune, and who, by ſerving long at Tangier, had contracted, by his intercourſe with the Moors, a degree of inhumanity hardly ever known in a chriſtian; were ſent into the weſt, to execute the vengeance of a bigotted prince on the unhappy perſons who had joined Monmouth in his rebellion. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by theſe two inhuman monſters, is ſufficient to fill the reader with horror. Numbers were executed without any form of trial. Thirty were hanged at one time, as a diverſion to colonel Kirk and his officers while they were at dinner. One execution was attended with ſuch circumſtances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the hiſtory of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herſelf at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could poſſibly beſtow. Fired with luſt, rather than ſoftened by love and clemency, he promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe, on her part, would condeſcend to ſatisfy his deſires. The ſtruggle was ſevere between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at laſt prevailed; ſhe ſubmitted to the conditions: but after paſſing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he ſhewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had privately cauſed to be erected for his execution. The ſhock was too great for human nature: ſhe loſt her ſenſes in the dreadful conflict, and never recovered them more.

The chief-juſtice Jefferies was equally cruel, and demands a ſeverer reprehenſion, becauſe his office ſhould have taught him humanity. Mercy was a ſtranger to his breaſt; few eſcaped with life that were brought before him. He gloried in cruelty, and boaſted of the numbers he had put to death. A lady of the anabaptiſt perſuaſion was burnt for extending her charity to one of the rebels who had implored her aſſiſtance. The wretch ſhe had entertained was pardoned for turning evidence againſt her. Lady Liſle, though herſelf a loyaliſt, and her own ſon a volunteer in the king's army, was beheaded for entertaining a preſbyterian miniſter in Monmouth's party, though he had not been mentioned in the proclamation. The jury were melted into pity, and thrice refuſed to find a verdict againſt her; but at laſt the menaces of the inhuman Jefferies prevailed; and the lady, who was above eighty years of age, ſuffered on a ſcaffold. Father Orleans pretends, that James diſapproved of theſe cruelties, expreſſed his indignation, and repaired the injuſtice to the utmoſt of his power. But this is a proof that bigotry is capable of ſacrificing the moſt obvious truths to the ſupport of its party. James was ſo far from diſapproving the cruel proceedings of Jefferies, that he created him a peer at his return, and rewarded him with the poſt of chancellor.

The parliament were, however, alarmed at the behaviour of the court. James having declared that he had diſpenſed with the teſt required by the law in favour of the catholic officers who had ſerved him faithfully, the commons ſhewed a becoming ſpirit, and paſſed a reſolution for enquiring into the power which the king aſſumed in diſpenſing with the laws. "I hope," ſaid one of the members, "we are Engliſhmen, and not to be frighted with a few hard words." But this ſhew of reſolution was only for a moment; fear prevailed; they proceeded no farther; and voted more ſupplies than the king had demanded. The lords, however, were not ſo eaſily intimidated. They undertook the examination which the commons had declined: even the biſhops themſelves were ſtrongly deſirous of making the neceſſary enquiry. Alarmed and exaſperated at meeting with oppoſition where the moſt unlimited complaiſance was expected, James immediately prorogued the parliament. He determined to carry his point or loſe his crown in the conteſt.

Freed from all apprehenſions of the interpoſition of parliament, James flattered himſelf that he had no longer any occaſion to diſguiſe his ſentiments, or ſuffer any reſtraint in his actions. His arbitrary principles therefore began now to appear too evident to be miſtaken. The ſcabberd of deception was thrown away, and the ſword of deſpotiſm appeared naked, and ſurrounded with all its terrors.

A. D. 1686. The duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland was removed from his poſt, notwithſtanding his long and eminent attachment to the royal family. He was a proteſtant, and that particular alone was abundantly ſufficient with James to obliterate a whole life of ſervices. The earl of Tyrconnel, a catholic nobleman, was preferred in his room, and the teſt act was immediately repealed. The earl of Murray having ſupplanted the duke of Queenſberry as high-commiſſioner in Scotland, he ſummoned a parliament, and, in his majeſty's name, recommended to their care and humanity, the poor catholics in that kingdom, for indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion. A bill was accordingly brought in for that purpoſe; but it was ſo warmly oppoſed, that it was thought prudent to defer it till a more proper opportunity. But James was determined not to be diſappointed: he ſent orders to the high-commiſſioner to prorogue the parliament, and eſtabliſhed, by virtue of his own prerogative, a liberty of conſcience through the whole kingdom. Hardly any but catholics were now preferred to places of truſt or profit, both civil and military. James ſaw the increaſing power of the papiſts with great ſatisfaction; and was firmly perſuaded that, by means of their influence, he ſhould be able to eſtabliſh both the Romiſh religion and arbitrary power in every part of his dominions.

Having ſucceeded in Ireland and Scotland, he now determined to attempt the more difficult part of the taſk; the reducing the Engliſh to ſubmit to the yoke of deſpotiſm. He ſummoned the judges, and prevailed upon them to declare in favour of his diſpenſing power. He did not, however, carry his point without the utmoſt difficulty. Sir Thomas Jones, lord chief-juſtice of the common-pleas; Montague, lord chief-baron of the exchequer; Sir Robert Charlton, one of the judges of the common-pleas; and baron Nevil, abſolutely declared againſt the diſpenſing power, as totally ſubverſive of all the laws of England. It was therefore neceſſary to deprive theſe of their poſts, and fill them with others, who were leſs conſcientious, and more ſubmiſſive to the court. One Milton, a profeſſed catholic, was made a baron of the exchequer; and the reſt, though they profeſſed the proteſtant religion, were all creatures of the miniſtry. The people were now ſufficiently alarmed; but James gave himſelf no trouble with regard to their apprehenſions; he thought the eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion, an action worthy of the greateſt monarch, and that no danger was too great to intimidate him from the attempt. He therefore determined to proceed; and warmly ſollicited the noblemen who were about his perſon to change their religion, and embrace the Romiſh faith. This ſtrange requeſt was rejected by many with the contempt it deſerved. The earl of Sunderland was, indeed, mean enough to purchaſe the ſmiles of royalty at the price of his religion. Rocheſter, the treaſurer, though the king's brother-in-law, refuſed his compliance, and was diſcharged from his poſt. The treaſury was put into commiſſion; and lord Bellaſis, who had been long confined in the tower, on account of the popiſh plot, was appointed firſt lord of that board. Emboldened by the countenance of the ſovereign, the papiſts began to exerciſe their religion publickly: the jeſuits opened colleges and ſeminaries in all the principal towns in the kingdom: four popiſh biſhops were publicly conſecrated in the king's chapel, and ſent into different parts of England to exerciſe epiſcopal juriſdiction over thoſe of their own communion, Catholic noblemen were made lieutenants of counties, and gentlemen of the ſame perſuaſion acted as juſtices of the peace.

Alarmed but not intimidated at theſe proceedings of the court, the Engliſh divines nobly ſtood forth, in defence of their religion, and oppoſed the errors of popery with reaſons that never were or never could be ſatisfactorily anſwered. Orders were iſſued from the court, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on controverted points of religion. But this order produced not the deſired effect; the divines continued their laudible efforts; Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Teniſon, Patrick, Sharp, and ſome others ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre on this remarkable occaſion.

Exaſperated at this honeſt boldneſs of the clergy, eſpecially at ſeeing the futility of the reaſonings of the popiſh divines expoſed, it was determined to erect an ecleſiaſtical tribunal, where all diſputes with regard to religion were to be finally heard and determined. A court ſimilar to this, together with that of the Star-chamber, had been aboliſhed by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I. A clauſe was alſo added to the bill that demoliſhed them, prohibiting all courts of a ſimilar kind from being erected for the future. But James was determined to put all laws at defiance. The commiſſion was iſſued, conſtituting Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury (who, however, refuſed to act) Crow, biſhop of Durham, Sprat, biſhop of Rocheſter, the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief-juſtice Herbert, were appointed commiſſioners; but upon Sancroft's abſolutely refuſing to act, his name was ſtruck out, and that of the biſhop of Cheſter inſerted in its room. Theſe comiſſioners were inveſted with the ſame power with thoſe who ſat in the former high court of high commiſſion, and every branch of the ecleſiaſtical affairs in England, ſubject to their arbitrary deciſions.

The court was hardly eſtabliſhed before an opportunity offered for exerciſing their judicial authority. Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles, and dean of Norwich, had preached a ſermon, in which he had inveighed againſt popery in the ſtrongeſt manner, and expreſſed his apprehenſions of the danger that then threatened the eſtabliſhed church. This ſermon had given great offence to the court, and the king himſelf wrote to Compton, biſhop of London, ordering him to ſuſpend Sharp from his clerical function, till he ſhould give ſatisfaction for the offence, and his majeſty's farther pleaſure ſhould be known. Compton, on receiving this letter, returned an anſwer to the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring it might be communicated to his majeſty. In this letter the biſhop repreſented, that it was repugnant to all law and juſtice for him to paſs ſentence upon any perſon before the crime of which he was accuſed had been properly laid before him, and the party had liberty to anſwer for himſelf. This anſwer, though conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of equity gave the higheſt offence. James, inflamed with paſſion at what he ſtiled an inſolent dallying with his authority, cauſed the biſhop and Sharp to be cited before the court of high-commiſſion, where the ſentence of ſuſpenſion was paſſed againſt them both.

A. D. 1687. An open rupture with the church of England now ſeemed to be declared. Father Peters, the king's confeſſor, one of the moſt furious jeſuits of his time, was the perſon whoſe counſels principally puſhed on the king to the precipice from which he ſoon after fell. Ambitious of a cardinal's hat, and the primacy of England, he propoſed the moſt violent meaſures; the bigotted miſguided king followed his advice, and was undone. Every perſon of ſolid reaſon abroad condemned theſe precipitate meaſures; the cardinals at Rome turned both the king and his confeſſor into ridicule, declaring that they both deſerved to be excommunicated as perſons who were labouring to deſtroy the ſmall remains of the catholic religion in England.

James was not ſatisfied with theſe impetuous proceedings, he was determined to ſhew his people what they muſt expect if they preſumed to diſpute his meaſures, or make any oppoſition to his will. He cauſed a camp to be formed on Hounſlow heath, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men. This large body of men he had kept on foot notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the parliament; and now gave the command to the earl of Feverſham. A catholic chapel was erected in the center of this camp, and maſs publicly celebrated every day. James fondly imagined that this military force, whoſe principal officers were Roman catholics devoted to his ſervice, would be ſufficient to enable him to carry into execution every meaſure he ſhould think neceſſary to adopt, and put the tongue of oppoſition to ſilence. But he ſhould have reflected, that this army was compoſed of Engliſhmen, who would be the firſt to abandon him, whenever they perceived that his real deſign was the deſtruction of the liberty of their country.

Theſe warlike preparations, together with the expedition uſed in fitting out a powerful fleet, in the time of a profound peace, filled the people with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. Theſe were greatly increaſed by a report ſpread by the king's enemies, that this fleet was intended to act againſt the Dutch; it having been determined by the miniſtry to declare war againſt that republic, in order to exclude the prince of Orange for everfrom the ſucceſſion; becauſe by that excluſion only, the eſtabliſhment of the Roman catholic religion in England could be rendered permanent. It was alſo ſuſpected, that James, purſuing the example of his brother, had concluded a ſecret treaty with Lewis XIV. and adopted that monarch's arbitrary plan of government. Theſe ſuſpicions which ſeemed to be well founded, completely deprived the king of the affections of his people.

James had ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to procure a legate a latere to be ſent into England. The pope highly diſapproved of the violent meaſures purſued by the king in order to obtain the eſtabliſhment of a ſcheme, which required the utmoſt prudence and caution to effect. But neither the cold reception of his ambaſſador at Rome, the inceſſant complaints of his own ſubjects, nor even the remonſtrances of the more ſenſible and prudent part of his catholic ſubjects, who, fearful of the conſequences, intreated him to moderate his zeal, could divert the king one moment from his darling purpoſe, the eſtabliſhment of the catholic faith, in every part of the kingdom. Deaf to every prudent advice, he liſtened only to the dictates of his own ſuperſtition, and the inflammatory counſels of father Peters.

Finding himſelf deſerted by the church party, James endeavoured to careſs the preſbyterians, and ordered a declaration to be publiſhed in Scotland, ſuſpending, by virtue of his ſovereign authority, all oaths, teſts, &c. impoſed upon non-conformiſts, who profeſſed the Chriſtian religion. He allowed the moderate preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes only, but forbad, under the ſevereſt penalties, all field conventicles. Quakers were alſo tolerated to meet and perform their worſhip in any place or places appointed for that purpoſe. By the ſame declaration, the catholics were relieved from all acts of parliament made againſt thoſe of their profeſſion.

A ſimilar declaration was publiſhed in England on the fourth of April; and the diſſenters, perſuaded that this indulgence proceeded from a ſincere deſire of giving relief to tender conſciences, preſented him with the moſt flattering addreſſes. Theſe tended to convince James, that he ſhould meet with no oppoſition in eſtabliſhing a liberty of conſcience in every part of his dominions. Had his views extended no farther, it is poſſible it might have been effected without occaſioning any commotion. But James was far from being ſatisfied with having procured his catholic ſubjects the public exerciſe of their religion; he was deſirous of procuring them far greater advantages. The papiſts had not hitherto been able to procure any preferments in either of the univerſities, an advantage paſſionately deſired by the clergy of that community. The king was therefore determined to attempt it, and procure them a ſhare in the government of the church. An order was therefore ſent from the king and council, to the univerſity of Cambridge, ordering them to admit father Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of maſter of arts, without adminiſtering to him the uſual oaths. James was perſuaded that no oppoſition would be made to his command; but he was miſtaken. The univerſity refuſed to comply, and petitioned the king to recall his mandate. Exaſperated at this refuſal, the king ſuſpended the vice-chancellor, reprimanded the ſenate, and ordered them to ſend up to the privy-council, copies of their ſtatutes. He, however, ſoon perceived that the univerſity were not to be intimidated, and thought proper to deſiſt from his purpoſe.

He next attempted to influence the univerſity of Oxford; perſuaded that as that body had been the foremoſt to eſtabliſh, by their famous decree, the doctrine of paſſive obedience, they would not heſitate to put their principles in practice. The preſidentſhip of Magdalen college happening to be vacant, the king ſent his mandate to the vice-preſident and fellows, requiring them to elect one Anthony Farmer, a man of a very indifferent character, who had promiſed to declare himſelf a catholic on his being elected into that office. The college abſolutely refuſed to comply, as being contrary to their ſtatutes, and actually elected Dr. Hough to be their preſident. The king was highly offended, and ſummoned the electors, together with Dr. Hough, before the court of high-commiſſion, where the vice-preſident was ſuſpended, and the election declared void. But the univerſity having proved that Farmer's character was notoriouſly bad, the king ſent them a ſecond mandate, commanding them to elect Dr. Parker, biſhop of Oxford, a reputed papiſt. The fellows, determined to ſupport their choice, refuſed to obey the ſecond mandate: they cited the ſtatutes, and the oaths they had taken to prove, that they were obliged to purſue the method they had done, or be guilty of perjury. They proved that Parker was no better qualified than Farmer, having never been fellow either of Magdalen or New College, and therefore incapable of being elected their preſident.

Incenſed at their refractory behaviour, and hoping to conquer their obſtinacy by his preſence, the king repaired to Oxford, under pretence of making a ſummer's progreſs; and having ſummoned the fellows before him, he reproached them in the moſt virulent terms for their diſloyalty, arrogance and preſumption, as he termed their firm attachment to the ſtatutes of the college. He concluded with commanding them, in the moſt peremptory manner, to elect the biſhop of Oxford, or prepare to feel the weight of his royal diſpleaſure. But his threats loſt their effect. Determined to ſupport the choice they had made, they continued firm to their purpoſe; and the king, having expoſed himſelf to the contempt of the whole nation, returned with confuſion to London. The eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, however, exerted all their authority, and the preſident and twenty-five fellows were expelled. Parker was eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of his office, and the places of the deprived fellows ſupplied with papiſts. This action, which was contrary to all the laws of juſtice and equity, convinced the people, that the king intended to reduce them to the moſt abject ſlavery. The bittereſt reflections, the moſt pathetic remonſtrances, and the loudeſt complaints againſt the court, now made the ſubject of almoſt every publication. But James was determined to proceed, and to ſhew the ſovereign contempt with which he treated every complaint, he gave a ſolemn audience to the pope's nuncio.

About this time Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, given to the proteſtants by Henry IV. by virtue of which they had enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion. But the perſecuting ſpirit of Lewis would no longer ſuffer them to enjoy a privilege which enriched his kingdom. They were now perſecuted with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, that they were determined to ſeek, in a foreign country, that ſecurity they were ſo unjuſtly denied in their own. Above half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France, carrying with them, beſides an immenſe ſum of money, thoſe arts and manufactures which had ſo greatly tended to augment the opulence of that kingdom. Numbers of theſe diſtreſſed proteſtants came over into England, and the pathetic accounts they gave of their ſufferings, rendered the name of papiſt more abhorred than ever.

Senſible that the opinions of the prince and princeſs of Orange, who were adored by the people, would have great influence in England, James was very deſirous of knowing their ſentiments with regard to the revocation of the teſt and penal laws. The prince had hitherto conducted himſelf with the moſt profound policy, giving the king every demonſtration of reſpect and attachment; never interfering in the affairs of England; appearing only to attend to the general intereſt of Europe. The increaſing ambition, and haughty deportment of Lewis XIV. had alarmed all the neighbouring powers; and his cruel behaviour to his proteſtant ſubjects, repreſented him in the light of an odious perſecutor. Their ſufferings were commiſerated by the powers to whom they fled for protection, and inſpired them with the glorious reſolution of procuring them redreſs. The prince of Orange excited the other courts againſt France, and by his influence the league of Augſburgh was negotiated. While the prince was thus employed, the meſſengers of James, who were charged with a commiſſion to procure, if poſſible, the prince's approbation of the meaſures he was purſuing in England, arrived at the Hague. Aware of the conſequence of expoſing himſelf to the hatred of a people whom he might one day govern, he gave James to underſtand, that if on one hand he approved the revocation of penal laws, as a friend to toleration, he regarded, on the other, the teſt oath, as a neceſſary means to preſerve the eſtabliſhed worſhip; that an excluſion from public offices was not a puniſhment; and that Holland, though ſhe tolerated all ſects without diſtinction, intruſted thoſe offices to ſuch only as profeſſed the national religion. Theſe ſentiments were not long a ſecret in England, and gave as much joy to the people as mortification to the king.

A. D. 1688. This diſcovery had, however, no power to deter James from purſuing the meaſures he had formed. He publiſhed, on the twenty-ſecond of April, a ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience, couched in nearly the ſame terms as the former: but he now ſubjoined an order, commanding the miniſters to read it in their churches immediately after divine ſervice. James was perſuaded that the clergy would not comply with the royal mandate, and determined, in that caſe, to make them feel the weight of power. He was not miſtaken; the far greater part of the clergy conſidered it as an inſult upon their order, and abſolutely refuſed compliance. Among theſe, ſeven prelates nobly ſtood forth in defence of their religion. Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chicheſter; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Briſtol; with Sancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury at their head, repaired to court, and preſented, on their knees, a reſpectful petition to the king, in which they repreſented to his majeſty, that the declaration being founded on a power which the parliament had often pronounced illegal, they could not in prudence, honour or conſcience, publiſh it in the dioceſes over which they preſided. Impatient of controul, and diſtinguiſhed for obſtinacy, James reſented this oppoſition in a manner unbecoming either a monarch or a man. He reprehended them in the moſt contumelious language, and told them, that if they had forgotten he was the ſupreme head of the church, he knew how to make them acknowledge his power. They were ſoon after ſummoned before the council, and inſulted by the inhuman Jefferies with his uſual brutality. He told them, that unleſs they inſtantly retracted their aſſertions and withdrew their petition, he would ſend them all to the Tower. They anſwered, "that they ſhould ſubmit to his majeſty's pleaſure, whatever it might be; that their own conſciences told them, they had done nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the ſacred character with which they were inveſted; and that they depended upon the king for protection." A warrant was immediately iſſued for committing them to the Tower.

Determined to proceed to extremities, but aware of the conſequences that the ſight of ſo many perſons inveſted with a ſacred character being ſent as criminals to priſon, might occaſion among the people, the court took the precaution of ſending them by water. But this artifice was in vain. The alarm was ſpread, and the ſhore from Whitehall to the Tower, crowded with multitudes of people, who with one voice deplored their fate, and intreated their bleſſing on their knees. Even the ſoldiers ſent to guard them were moved to pity, fell on their knees, requeſting their benediction, and expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt manner, their deteſta- of their perſecutors.

Two days after the biſhops were ſent to the Tower, the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. The nation, perſuaded that the king would be deterred by no crime to eſtabliſh the Romiſh religion in England, diſputed the reality of this prince's birth; and many writers, even in our times, are not ſatisfied of his legitimacy. The king, and the whole catholic party, however, celebrated this happy event with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy: while the proteſtants were affected with a melancholy that bordered on deſpair.

While the attention of the nation was engaged in this event, the trial of the biſhops came on in the court of king's bench. They were attended from the Tower by twenty-nine temporal peers, and a prodigious concourſe of gentlemen, followed by multitudes of people, who waited, with the utmoſt anxiety, the iſſue of a cauſe on which they thought the fate of both their liberty and religion depended. The council for the biſhops defended their cauſe with a boldneſs of expreſſion, and force of reaſon, that did honour to their talents, and their love of liberty. Two of the judges, Powell and Holloway, declared themſelves in favour of the priſoners, and the jury brought in their verdict "not guilty." An univerſal ſhout of joyful acclamation filled the hall. Thoſe who were waiting without in the utmoſt anxiety catched the ſound, which ſpread in a moment through the whole capital, and was ſoon conveyed to the remoteſt parts of the kingdom. It happened that the king had that day reviewed his army, and was juſt retired into the general's tent, when the news of the biſhops acquittal reached the camp; on which the whole army gave a loud ſhout, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of joy. The king enquiring with ſome degree of aſtoniſhment, into the cauſe, lord Feverſham anſwered, "It is nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing," replied the king, "but ſo much the worſe for them."

This proof of the people's affection for their religion and liberties, had, however, no effect upon James. He determined to purſue the ſame meaſures which had already hurried him to the brink of the precipice. It is not perhaps eaſy to find in all the annals of hiſtory an inſtance of ſuch infatuation in a man, who, in other reſpects, was far from being deficient either in ſenſe or accompliſhments. It is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than anger. He knew he had only a handful of catholic ſoldiers that could be depended upon; and that the whole nation beſide would defend their religion and liberties to the laſt. Death only was capable of wreſting them out of their hands. But this had no effect upon the conduct of the king: he purſued his courſe and was undone.

He was, however, greatly alarmed with regard to the rejoicings made in the army on the acquittal of the biſhops, and determined to be ſatisfied how far he might depend upon the aſſiſtance of his forces. He accordingly ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up, and appeared himſelf at their head. After walking for ſome time between the ranks, and commending their appearance, he gave orders that all the officers and ſoldiers who would not contribute to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws, ſhould lay down their arms; but his aſtoniſhment is better conceived than expreſſed, when he ſaw the whole regiment, captains, and a few popiſh ſoldiers only excepted, lay down their muſquets on the ground. He ſtood ſpeechleſs for ſome minutes, and then with a ſullen air bid them take up their arms, adding, that for the future he would not do them the honour of aſking their advice. Nor were the ſeamen in the royal navy more ready to ſecond his deſigns. Vice-admiral Strickland having ordered maſs to be ſaid on board his own ſhip in the Downs, the ſailors were enraged to ſuch a degree, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they were reſtrained from throwing the prieſts overboard. James was, however, ſtill obſtinate: he determined to new model both the army and navy. He accordingly ſent for ſix regiments from Ireland, compoſed chiefly of catholics, and ſent orders for three regiments to advance from Scotland.

There was now no myſtery in the meaſures intended to be purſued by the king. The flimſy veil of pretence was withdrawn, and it was evident he was determined to make uſe of force, where influence was unable to prevail. The chains of ſlavery were forging, and no time was to be loſt to prevent their being rivetted on a free people. A cloſe union was accordingly formed between the church and nonconformiſts in defence of their liberties; and it was determined to invite the prince of Orange into England, as the only perſon capable of ſaving the nation, which now tottered on the brink of ruin. He liſtened to their complaints, and by means of his agents cultivated the favour of all parties. The Tories, and ſuch of the clergy who had ſupported the pernicious doctrine of non-reſiſtance, abandoned that deſtructive tenet, and joined the Whigs. Several of the nobility and gentry paſſing over to the continent on various pretences, repaired to the Hague, and convinced the prince that the whole nation was ready to join him, and wanted only a leader to head them in their noble deſign of reſtoring their country to liberty.

William conſented to give them all the aſſiſtance in his power, and made the neceſſary preparations, without imagining he was going to take poſſeſſion of a throne. Though he acted in concert with the confederates at Augſburgh, the ſecret was long impenetrable. The preparations of the Dutch appeared to be made againſt France. The count d'Avaux, more quick-ſighted than James, penetrated at laſt the bottom of this intrigue, and informed his maſter of the real deſign of the armament fitting out with ſo much ſecrecy and expedition. Lewis immediately communicated the diſcovery to James, and offered him a ſquadron to join his fleet, and even to raiſe the ſiege of Philipſburgh, and march his troops into the Low Countries, in order to intimidate the Dutch by the fear of an invaſion. Carried away with a blind confidence, James was deaf to all advice, and rejected the offer of Lewis. "I am not," ſaid he, "reduced to the condition of cardinal Furſtemberg, nor obliged to ſeek the protection of France." Theſe officious offers of Lewis had, however, their effect on the Engliſh. They were now perſuaded that James had ſigned a ſecret treaty with the French monarch, and this opinion animated the ſpirit of revolt.

Every thing being ſettled at the Hague, the nobility and gentry in the intereſt of the prince of Orange diſperſed themſelves in their different counties, in order to gain the populace over to their party, and prevail upon them to take up arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The ſtates of Holland declared their intention of aſſiſting the Engliſh. The electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the whole houſe of Lunenburgh, agreed to aſſemble all their forces, in order to protect the United Provinces during the abſence of the ſtadtholder.

The illuſion now vaniſhed when it was too late. The Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague informed his maſter, that every thing was ready for an embarkation of the forces; and that the grand penſioner Fagel openly avowed that the armament was intended to invade England. Diſtreſſed and terrified at the news, James retracted, and ſeemed deſirous of reforming his meaſures. He reſtored the friends of the teſt and penal laws to their places; he careſſed the perſecuted biſhops; he diſſolved the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; he reſtored the charters of London and other cities; and endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of the Dutch, by promiſing to enter into ſuch alliances as they thought neceſſary to the welfare of Europe. But his indiſcretions, to call his meaſures by the ſofteſt name, had rendered the evil incurable; and had this ſudden change been even admitted as ſincere, ſtill there was the utmoſt danger of his arbitrary principles returning the moment the danger was over.

A manifeſto, publiſhed by the prince of Orange, prepared the way for an invaſion. Copies of this paper were ſent over into England, and diſtributed in every part of the kingdom. In this declaration the prince diſclaimed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, all thoughts of conqueſt, or of diſturbing the king in the enjoyment of his crown; declaring he had no other deſign than to maintain the proteſtant religion, the laws and liberties of England, and to procure the aſſembling a free parliament, which might provide for the public liberty, and enquire into the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales.

Soon after the publication of this manifeſto, the prince of Orange ſailed from Holland with a fleet of fifty ſail of Dutch men of war, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, attended by many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry. But a violent ſtorm ſoon overtook the armament, and ſeparated the ſhips ſo effectually, that hardly four were ſeen together. Fortunately, none of them were loſt; but ſome of them put into one port, and ſome into another. The news of this diſaſter no ſooner reached England, than James, perſuaded that the danger was over, repented of the conceſſions he had made to his proteſtant ſubjects, recalled ſeveral popular acts, and ſeemed again determined to purſue the ſame meaſures that had already puſhed him to the very brink of ruin.

The damage was ſoon repaired, and the forces landed in Torbay on the fifth of November. The prince marched immediately to Exeter, where he continued till the fifteenth before he was joined by any perſons of condition: the conſequences of Monmouth's rebellion had ſtruck the people with terror; and though they were very deſirous of ſupporting their liberties, both civil and religious, they were fearful of being the firſt in joining the prince, leſt a defeat ſhould renew the former ſcenes of horror. Alarmed at this backwardneſs of the Engliſh, the prince was on the point of re-embarking his forces, when Sir Edward Seymour, major Barrington, and ſeveral other gentlemen of intereſt and fortune, appeared at the head-quarters; and offered the prince to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. They were received with the utmoſt politeneſs, and were ſoon followed by ſeveral more of the nobility and gentry. The whole kingdom was now in commotion. The earl of Devonſhire declared for the prince in Derby, the earl of Danby ſeized York, lord Delamere took up arms in Cheſhire, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared his intentions of defending the religion and liberties of his country. None offered their ſervice to the king: no preparations for oppoſing the invader were made in any part of the kingdom. Even the army gave ſufficient indications that they would not draw their ſwords againſt the deliverer of their country. Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, and colonel of a regiment of dragoons, left the camp, and carried with him both his own regiment and three others to the prince. Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, followed the example of lord Cornbury, and deſerted his unfortunate maſter.

Convinced by fatal experience, that no dependence could be placed on the army, James left the camp, and returned to London, where he was informed that prince George of Denmark, his ſon in-law, and the princeſs Anne, his favourite daughter, had alſo abandoned him. In this ſcene of complicated diſtreſs, he cried out, "Great God, have pity on me; my own children have forſaken me!" He aſſembled all the proteſtant peers that remained in or near the capital, and deſired they would give him their advice in this diſtreſsful ſituation. They unanimouſly declared, that the only way, in their opinion, to divert the threatening ſtorm, was to ſummon a free parliament; and to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange. The king very readily embraced the propoſal. The lord chancellor was directed to iſſue the neceſſary writs. All the papiſts about the court were removed from their places. Sir Edward Hales, lieutenant of the Tower, was diſmiſſed, and Sir Bevil Skelton appointed in his room. Father Peters, whoſe pernicious counſels had plunged the king into this abyſs of miſery, perceiving the ſtorm ready to burſt on his devoted head, deſerted his maſter in his diſtreſs, and eſcaped into France.

The prince received the marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Northampton, and lord Godolphin, who were ſent by the king to negotiate a treaty, with great reſpect; and delivered to them a paper, containing certain propoſals; the heads of which were, that a free parliament ſhould be called; that all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed, and diſcharged from all employments; that all proclamations againſt the prince ſhould be recalled; that the command of the Tower ſhould be given to the lord-mayor of London; that if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould alſo reſide there, with an equal number of guards, or that both the king and prince ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London; that both armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the capital, and that no new forces ſhould be landed in the kingdom; that Tilbury-fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates; that till the parliament met, part of the public revenue ſhould be aſſigned for the ſupport of the prince's army; and that, in order to prevent an invaſion from France, or other foreign power, Portſmouth ſhould be committed to the care of ſome perſon equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

James now looked upon his fortunes as deſperate. He ſaw himſelf abandoned by his ſervants, his friends and his children. He ſaw the religion he was ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing on the point of being eradicated; and determined to ſeek protection in a foreign country. He, however, diſſembled his ſentiments, and declared, that the terms were as moderate, or even more ſo, than he could expect in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. But fearful of throwing himſelf on the mercy of his parliament, he loſt all his firmneſs; and when every thing wore the aſpect of an approaching peace and reconciliation, the king, after ſending away the queen and prince ſecretly to Graveſend, diſappeared himſelf, during the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Labadie. The king's departure was no ſooner known, than the populace aſſembled, pulled down the maſs-houſes, and inſulted thoſe of the foreign ambaſſadors, from a perſuaſion that the Roman catholics had there depoſited the principal part of their riches. Conſcious of the reaſons he had given the nation by his infamous counſels and deciſions, Jefferies attempted to make his eſcape; but being diſcovered in a houſe at Wapping, the populace ſeized him; and the lord-mayor was obliged to ſend him to the Tower, in order to prevent his being torn in pieces. He did not long ſurvive this ſevere diſcipline; he died ſoon after in the Tower of the bruiſes he had received.

Feverſham was no ſooner informed that his maſter had deſerted the throne, than he diſbanded his forces, but without paying their arrears, or taking from them their arms. Thus a lawleſs banditti was let looſe to plunder the country. A report was at the ſame time ſpread all over the kingdom, that the diſbanded Iriſh, who ſerved in Feverſham's army, were every where employed in burning towns; and that nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the proteſtants was expected. The people were confounded; they were ſeized with an univerſal terror; the capital was illuminated, that the enemy might not ſurprize it during the darkneſs of the night; and every perſon was in arms to defend his own houſe againſt the attempts of a cruel enemy. Next day, however, put an end to the confuſion: it was known that the report was totally deſtitute of foundation, and the people ſoon recovered from their ſurprize.

On the fourteenth of December, the prince of Orange arrived at Windſor, in order to ſettle the affairs of government; it being ſuppoſed that the king had abſolutely reſigned the reins of government, and retired to France. But in the midſt of their deliberations, advice arrived, that his majeſty had been diſcovered on board a ſhip at Feverſham, in Kent, where he was waiting for a wind to carry him over to the continent. Before he was known, the populace, who miſtook him for ſome papiſt of quality attempting to make his eſcape, treated him with great indignity, brought him on ſhore, and lodged him in the town. The lords immediately ſent the earls of Middleton, Ayleſbury, Yarmouth, and Feverſham, with a party of the guards, to attend his majeſty to London. Touched with the ſight of majeſty in diſtreſs, the people forgot his errors, and received him with ſhouts and acclamations of joy. On his arrival, an expreſs was diſpatched to the prince, to acquaint him with this unexpected event.

On the king's arrival at Whitehall, he again reſumed the reins of government; and an order of council was immediately publiſhed for ſuppreſſing tumults, and preventing the demolition of all kinds of ſtructures, and putting a ſtop to outrages of every kind. The next day the earl of Feverſham was ſent by his majeſty to the prince, inviting him to take up his reſidence in St. James's palace, attended with any number of guards he thought proper, in order to open the conferences for ſettling the government of the kingdom, and redreſſing the grievances complained of by the people. But the prince, inſtead of returning any anſwer to this meſſage, retained the earl of Feverſham priſoner. The Dutch guards were detached to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall; and the lords Hallifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, were ſent about midnight by the prince, requeſting the king to remove early the next morning to Ham, a ſeat belonging to the dutcheſs of Lauderdale.

James had now loſt all remains of ſpirit and reſolution. He patiently ſubmitted to this ignominious treatment, and only deſired that he might remove to Rocheſter, inſtead of Ham. His requeſt was very readily granted; but he continued only a few days in that city; embarking privately, on the twenty-fourth of December, on board a ſhip in the river; and, after a ſhort paſſage, was landed ſafely at Ambleteuſe, in Picardy. He was received by Lewis with more than royal magnificence, and every method made uſe of to ſoothe his care.

James left a paper behind him, containing his reaſons for withdrawing a ſecond time. "The world "(ſaid he) cannot wonder at my conduct, after the "prince of Orange had confined the earl of Feverſham, who was ſent to treat with him in a friendly "manner; and commanding his own guards to take "poſſeſſion of Whitehall at eleven at night, without "giving the leaſt intimation of his deſign; and even "ſending me an order at midnight to be gone. After "this, I had little to hope from one who had invaded "my kingdom, and called the legitimacy of my ſon "in queſtion. I appeal to all who know me, even "to the prince himſelf, whether they could believe "me guilty of ſo unnatural a villany? I was born "free; I deſire to remain ſo; and have, for that reaſon, withdrawn myſelf again, but ſo as to be within "call whenever the eyes of the nation ſhall be open "to ſee how they have been abuſed and impoſed "upon by the ſpecious pretences of religion and "property."

This may be conſidered as the laſt act of James in England; and that a final period was now put to his reign, which might have been as happy as that of any of his predeceſſors, had not his miſtaken notions of prerogative, his exceſſive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible ſeverity of temper, hurried him into meaſures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people, who could no longer ſubmit to a prince whom they ſaw altogether guided by the violent counſels of a popiſh, jeſuitical faction, and blindly adopting their ſlaviſh ſuperſtition.

James having thus deſerted his kingdom, it became neceſſary to appoint ſome perſon to hold the reins of government, and prevent that anarchy and confuſion that muſt enſue when there is no viſible authority to carry the laws into execution. The prince of Orange, too politic to ſeize the crown, too much a friend to freedom to expoſe himſelf to the reproach of tyranny; at the ſame time, depending on the favour of the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer, left the ſettlement of the government entirely to the laws. A parliament, under the name of a Convention, was ſummoned; and the commons ſoon reſolved, that James II. having attempted to overturn the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and people; having violated the fundamental laws, by the advice of Jeſuits, and other pernicious perſons, had abdicated the government and vacated the throne. But this reſolution met with great oppoſition in the upper houſe, where the Tories, though they had greatly relaxed their tenets with regard to the royal prerogative, diſplayed all their abilities. It was firſt debated, whether any national contract ever actually exiſted between the king and people, and the queſtion was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeven voices. The next queſtion was, Whether James had broken this contract, and this was alſo carried in the affirmative. The laſt queſtion was, Whether James had vacated the throne, and this paſſed in the negative. So unexpected a deciſion produced a memorable conference between the two houſes; the reſult of which was, that king James had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby become vacant.

A. D. 1689. During theſe debates, the fugitive king continued in France, where both he and his family were royally entertained by Lewis XIV. But the behaviour of James rendered him contemptible in the eyes of all Europe. His ſole companions were the Jeſuits: he viſited them at their colleges, told them he was one of their fraternity, and, as ſuch, requeſted their prayers. This weakneſs of mind in a prince, together with the puſillanimous manner in which he had loſt his crown, rendered him ſo deſpicable, that the French courtiers diverted themſelves with turning him into ridicule. Nor did his great regard for the catholic religion, and his having ſacrificed his crown in endeavouring to eſtabliſh it in England, gain him the leaſt eſteem. The archbiſhop of Rheims, brother to Louvois, the prime miniſter, ſaid openly in James's anti-chamber, "Is not this a pious man to give up three kingdoms for a maſs?"

Lewis, however, more generous than his courtiers, endeavoured to ſupport him in this ſcene of diſtreſs. His liberality had hardly any bounds, and he made great preparations for re-eſtabliſhing him on the throne he had ſo meanly deſerted. Rouſed from his lethargy by this generous and ſpirited conduct of his old friend and ally, James endeavoured to prevent the conſequences of his imprudent retreat, and, if poſſible, recall his ſubjects to a ſenſe of their duty. He accordingly wrote two letters to the houſe of convention, nearly of the ſame import with that he had left behind him at Rocheſter, only adding a promiſe on the word of a king, that he would, on his return to England, ſummon a free parliament, and ſettle the government according to their deciſions: requiring, in the mean time, their advice with regard to the manner of his returning to his kingdom. He concluded with aſſuring them that he would paſs an act of oblivion to all his ſubjects who had forfeited their allegiance, ſome few only excepted. Theſe letters, though preſented to both houſes of convention were ſent back unopened.

The offers of James being diſregarded, the next queſtion was, who ſhould fill the vacant throne. Some were for a regent, others for a king. To change the right of ſucceſſion appeared, to the former, a breach of the fundamental laws of the kingdom; to appoint a regent who ſhould govern with a precarious authority, was, in the opinion of the latter, nothing leſs than opening a door to confuſion and diſcord. While this queſtion was depending, the prince of Orange ſummoned ſeveral of the peers, and told them, "that he meant not to interfere in the deliberations of the convention; and that it reſted entirely with that body to fix upon the moſt advantageous ſyſtem of government; but he thought himſelf bound to inform them, that if they fixed upon a regency he would not accept of a title of which he ſaw the inconveniences; that if they gave the crown to the princeſs, his ſpouſe, with whoſe merit he was well acquainted, he ſhould, for his own part, prefer a private condition to that of a crown, which would depend upon the life of another; that, on either of theſe ſuppoſitions, it would be impoſſible for him to ſecond their reſolutions; and that a precarious dignity could not induce him to abandon thoſe important objects which would ſoon call him back to the continent."

The princeſs Mary, devoted to her huſband, entered into his views, as well as the princeſs Anne her ſiſter. The former declared, "that being the prince's wife ſhe would never accept of any honour, but in conjunction with her huſband; and ſhould take it very unkindly in any one, who ſhould endeavour to ſeperate their intereſts."

Theſe reſolutions put an end to all debates in the convention, and the two houſes agreed that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly as king and queen of England; but that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted in the prince alone; and that the princeſs Anne ſhould ſucceed after their death. This reſolution was not, however, carried without a very conſiderable oppoſition. Echard ſays the majority was only twenty; the numbers being ſixty-five againſt forty-five.

The princeſs of Orange, to whom an expreſs had been ſent on that occaſion, arrived in London from Holland on the twelfth of February; and the next day, the prince and princeſs being ſeated in two large chairs in the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, both houſes of convention waited upon them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, the following "declaration of their rights," which they ſaid had been violated by king James.

"1. That the pretended power of diſpenſing laws, " or the execution of laws by regal authority, with" out conſent of parliament, is illegal.

"2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with " laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, " as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is " illegal.

"3. That the commiſſion for erecting the court " of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all " other commiſſions and courts of like natures, are " illegal and pernicious.

"4. That the levying of money for the uſe of the " crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant " of parliament for longer time, or in any other man" ner than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is ille" gal.

"5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition " the king, and all commitments and proſecutions " for ſuch petitioning is illegal.

"6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army " within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be " with the conſent of the parliament, is againſt " law.

"7. That the ſubjects being proteſtants may have " arms for their defence, ſuitable to their condition, " and as allowed by law.

"8. That elections of members of parliament " ought to be free.

"9. That the freedom of ſpeech, or debates and " proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeach" ed or queſtioned in any court or place, out of par" liament.

"10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, " nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual " puniſhments inflicted.

"11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and " returned; and jurors which paſs verdicts on men " for high-treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

"12. That all grants and promiſes of fines and " forfeitures of particular perſons before conviction " are illegal and void.

"13. And that, for redreſs of all grievances, and " for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving " of the laws, parliaments ought to be held fre" quently."

"And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all " and ſingular the premiſes as their undoubted rights " and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, " doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the " people, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought in any" wiſe to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or ex" ample."

Such were the rights and liberties demanded by the convention, and the declaration in which they were contained, concluded in the following manner.

"Having therefore an entire confidence that his " highneſs the prince of Orange will perfect the de" liverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill " preſerve them from the violation of their rights " which they have here aſſerted, and from all other " attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, " the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſ" ſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, That William " and Mary prince and princeſs of Orange, be, and " be declared, king and queen of England, France " and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belong" ing, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the " ſaid kingdoms and dominions to them the ſaid " prince and princeſs during their lives and the life " of the ſurvivor of them, and that the ſole and full " exerciſe of the royal power be only in, and execu" ted by, the ſaid prince of Orange, in the names " of the ſaid prince and princeſs, during their joint " lives; and after their deceaſe the ſaid crown and " royal dignity of the ſaid kingdom and dominions

“ to belong to the heirs of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and, in default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in default of ſuch iſſue to the heirs of the ſaid prince of Orange.”

As ſoon as the reading of this declaration was finiſhed, the marquis of Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The offer was accepted in the politeſt and moſt obliging manner by ther highneſſes; and they were the ſame day proclaimed by the name of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

Inſtead of the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſuppreſſed by the declaration, new oaths in the following forms were ſubſtituted. “ I ſincerely promiſe and ſwear that I will be faithful to their majeſties king William and queen Mary. So help me God.

“ I ſwear that from the bottom of my heart I abhor, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other perſon whatever; and I declare that no prince, no perſon, no prelate, ſtate or potentate hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God.”

Before we leave this remarkable period, it will be neceſſary to review the ſtate of the Engliſh military and commercial eſtabliſhments, and the improvements made in the arts and ſciences ſince the reſtoration of monarchy.

The militia of England during the reign of the two laſt princes, had been greatly neglected; a ſtanding army being thought better adapted to promote the ſafety of the nation, when the princes on the continent kept ſuch large bodies of troops in pay: But the navy was greatly improved. In 1660, when Charles was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, he found the navy reduced to the low condition of ſixty-three ſhips. In 1678, it conſiſted of eighty-three. At the revolution the number of ſhips amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-three; and forty thouſand ſailors were neceſſary for manning the the whole. James, when duke of York, invented the ſignals ſtill uſed at ſea.

During this period, which conſiſted of no more than twenty-eight years, the number of merchant ſhips were more than double what they were at the death of Cromwell; an evident proof of the increaſe of the Engliſh trade. The art of navigation was very favourable to commerce, and produced the intended effect in every quarter of the globe. The colonies in America were conſiderably improved, and the produce of the new world added luſtre to the old.

In the firſt year of the reign of Charles II. Sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the iſland of Barbadoes, having acquired a prodigious fortune, removed to Jamaica, where he inſtructed the young Engliſh planters in the cultivation of the ſugar cane, for which eminent ſervice, and others of a ſimilar nature, he was appointed governor of the iſland. And in the ſame year an act paſſed in favour of the Flemings eſtabliſhed at Colcheſter, who firſt brought into England the manufacture of baize.

In the year 1661, Charles II. granted a new excluſive charter to the Eaſt India company, by the old name of the governor and company of merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies.

About the ſame time, the worſted manufacture eſtabliſhed at Norwich, and other places in Norfolk, was prodigiouſly increaſed, and the ſilk manufacture in London was arrived to that height, that it found employment for above forty thouſand men, women, and children.

In 1668 Charles II. granted the town, port, and iſland of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies, in full property for ever to the Eaſt India company, to hold it in free common ſoccage of the imperial crown of England, under an annual rent of ten pounds, to be paid yearly on the thirtieth of September at the cuſtom-houſe in London.

The general balance of trade in the year 1668, was greatly againſt the Engliſh, the exports being leſs than the imports by no leſs a ſum than two millions, one hundred thirty-two thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-four pounds, eighteen ſhillings. This amazing loſs was chiefly owing to our having an unlimited intercourſe with France; a trade which was afterwards prohibited.

In the year 1670, the wear of muſlins was firſt introduced from India; before that time cambrics, Sileſia lawns, and other linens from France and Germany, ſupplied its place. Theſe linens were received in return for our woollen manufactures of different ſpecies, which were at this time exported thither in very large quantities. The ſame year the Hudſon's bay company was eſtabliſhed.

About the year 1676, the printing of callicoes was firſt eſtabliſhed in London: and about the ſame time the weaver's loom engine was introduced from Holland. The ſame year one hundred and two ſhips were employed in the cod fiſhery at Newfoundland; and the total value of the fiſh and oil was computed at three hundred, eighty-ſix thouſand four hundred pounds.

In the year 1680 the colony of Penſylvania in North America was eſtabliſhed by William Penn, an eminent quaker. He propoſed to make it a retreat for the people of his own perſuaſion, who met with great diſturbance here on account of their religious tenets. Numbers went over with him, and were ſoon joined by many more from various parts of England and Ireland. At his firſt arrival in that country he found many Engliſh families, and a conſiderable number of Dutch and Swedes. Theſe all readily ſubmitted to his wiſe and excellent regulations, which, together with his gentle and generous behaviour, ſoon endeared him to the planters, and extended his fame to ſuch remote places, that vaſt numbers of people flocked from all parts of Europe to people his new colony of Penſylvania. It is now one of the moſt flouriſhing countries in America.

The Turkey company was at this time in a very flouriſhing condition; they exported great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and other Engliſh commodities, to the great advantage of this country. Their exports about the year 1681, amounted to near half a million ſterling; in return for which they brought home raw ſilks, grogram, yarns, galls and other drugs, cotton, &c. The greater part of which being manufactured here, afforded bread to great numbers of poor families.

The year 1685 was famous for the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Lewis XIV. This revolution, though infinitely diſtreſsful to many thouſands of individuals in France, proved of the utmoſt advantage to all the proteſtant countries in Europe, eſpecially to England; where many thouſands of thoſe unhappy French manufacturers, particularly in the ſilk branch, ſettled in Spitalfields; while a vaſt number of other artiſts helped to fill the ſuburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. It was computed that near ſixty thouſand of theſe refugee families retired hither, to the great improvement of our arts and manufactures, and the introduction of new ones. And if we ſuppoſe that theſe fifty thouſand families brought one with another ſixty pounds in money and effects, they muſt have added near three millions ſterling to the riches of the nation.

The ſciences made great improvement during this period. In 1660 Charles II. eſtabliſhed, by letters patent, the Royal Society of London, ſo famous for its tranſactions and the learning of its members. But this patent was all Charles contributed to the advancement of the ſciences. They indeed ſtruck deep root, and attracted the admiration of all Europe; but

but it was not owing to the bounty of the king, or the encouragement of the great and the wealthy. Among the philoſophers that flouriſhed in this period we can boaſt, among a great variety of others, of a Boyle, a Locke, and a Newton.

Boyle, who was born the ſame year the great chancellor Bacon died, ſeems to have inherited the penetrating genius of that illuſtrious philoſopher. We are at a loſs which to admire moſt his extenſive knowledge or his exalted piety. Theſe excellencies kept pace with each other: but the former never rendered him vain, or the latter enthuſiaſtical. He was himſelf the chriſtian virtuoſo he ſo well deſcribed. He particularly applied himſelf to chemiſtry; and made ſuch diſcoveries in that branch of ſcience as would hardly be credited by a leſs authority than his own. He greatly improved the air-pump, invented by Otto Guericke, by which he was enabled to make a great variety of new and various experiments on the air and other bodies. Hence he was enabled to write a treatiſe on the weight and ſpring of the air; a work which acquired him the great reputation he ſo well deſerved. He was a ſtrenuous ſupporter of the mechanical philoſophy, recommended by the great Bacon, and carried to ſuch an amazing degree of perfection by himſelf and his illuſtrious aſſociates.

In Sir Iſaac Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the greateſt and moſt penetrating genius the world ever ſaw. This prodigious man was ſatisfied it was time to baniſh from natural philoſophy all vague hypotheſes and conjectures; or, at leaſt, to lay no ſtreſs upon them, and that this ſcience ſhould be entirely ſubjected to experiment and geometry. It was perhaps with this view that he began by inventing the doctrine of fluxions and infinite ſeries, whoſe uſe in geometry is very evtenſive; but of ſtill greater advantage in determining the complicated effects obſerved in nature, where every thing ſeems to be performed by ſpecies of infinite progreſſions. He diſcovered the force that retains the planets in their orbits; he ſhewed us at once how to diſtinguiſh the cauſes of their motions, and to calculate them with an exactneſs that could hardly have been expected from the joint labour of ages. His immortal Principia appeared during the ſhort reign of James II. a work that at once aſtoniſhed the world, and occaſioned the greateſt revolution in the ſcience of philoſopy ever known before. It affords an illuſtrious proof of the vaſt power of the human mind: it being the higheſt inſtance that ever was, and, probably, ever will be given, of the exertion of that faculty. He formed a ſyſtem of optics entirely new, and ſhewed mankind the nature of the rays of light by decompounding them. He merits our higheſt acknowledgements for the infinite number of diſcoveries with which he has enriched philoſophy, and for his caution in keeping that ſcience within proper bounds: the firſt cauſes of the phænomena of nature always were, and ever will be a ſecret to mankind.

Locke attempted the metaphyſical parts of ſcience, which Newton neglected, or at leaſt never publiſhed his thoughts on that ſubject. Metaphyſics may be ſaid to have been invented by Locke, as philoſophy was by Newton. He rightly judged that the abſtractions and ridiculous queſtions which had till then been debated, and falſely ſuppoſed the ſubſtance of philoſophy, ought entirely to be rejected. Accordingly on examination he found, that theſe abſtractions, and the abuſe of words were the primary ſource of all our errors. In order to diſcover the nature of the ſoul, its ideas and affections, he declined the ſtudy of books, as they would only have been productive of errors; he entered deep into himſelf, and after contemplating and ſurveying what he experienced, publiſhed, in the reign of James II. his “ Eſſay on Human Underſtanding,” which he preſented to mankind as a mirror in which they might view themſelves. He reduced the ſcience to what it really is, The experimental philoſophy of the ſoul.

Polite literature did not make the ſame progreſs in England during this period, though the nation abounded with men of great genius and abilities. Their productions fell far ſhort of that correctneſs and delicacy we ſo much admire in the ancients. Moſt of the writers of this age remain monuments of genius perverted by indecency and bad taſte: the immeaſurable licentiouſneſs indulged in the court of Charles II. was more deſtructive of polite learning, than the fanatical enthuſiaſm that prevailed during the commonwealth.

Dryden was the great reformer of Engliſh verſification, and a ſtriking inſtance how far a great genius can be perverted by the bad taſte and licentiouſneſs of the age. The unhappy effects of his penury and dependence tended greatly to enervate his performances. He was not at liberty to purſue his own inclination, but frequently obliged to proſtitute his pen to ſuch perſons and things, as a man of his genius and talents muſt have deſpiſed. He failed in moſt of his dramatic writings; the prefaces, prologues and epilogues, are generally more valuable than the pieces to which they are affixed. There was a native fire in this poet which poverty could not damp, nor old age itſelf extinguiſh. He was ſtill improving as a writer, while he was declining as a man; and was far advanced in years when he wrote his “ Alexander's Feaſt,” which ſtands confeſſedly at the head of lyric poems, and is written in the true ſpirit of the ancients. His Abſolem on Achitophel contributed to the triumph of the Tories over the Whigs towards the end of Charles's reign, and is one of the beſt performances of this celebrated writer.

Few poets ever touched the paſſions with a more maſterly hand than Otway. He was acquainted with all the avenues to the human heart, and at once knew and felt all its emotions. He could rouſe us into rage, or melt us into tenderneſs. His language is the language of nature, and therefore the ſimpleſt imaginable. Hence his tragedies were received with ſilent tears rather than loud burſts of applauſe.

Butler ſtands unrivalled in burleſque poetry. His Hudibras is a remarkable inſtance of the force of human genius. It abounds with uncommon learning, new rhymes, and original thoughts. Its images are truly and naturally ridiculous: we are never ſhocked with exceſſive diſtortions and grimace; nor is human nature degraded into monkeys. It abounds with ſtrokes of temporary ſatire; there are alſo ſome characters and alluſions which cannot be diſcovered at this diſtance of time.

But notwithſtanding all the merit of Dryden, Otway, and Butler, the court ſuffered them to live in poverty, and die in diſtreſs. Charles with more wit and knowledge, perhaps, than Lewis XIV. knew not ſo well how to immortalize himſelf by rewarding genius. This is more ſurprizing in Butler than in any other, as the royal cauſe derived very ſingular advantages from his poem, which diſplayed the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the parliamentary party, in the moſt ridiculous point of light.

Wicherly was a careleſs and negligent writer. His comedies are conformable to his perſonal character, which conſiſted of a large ſhare of wit, more libertiniſm, and very little virtue. Theſe acquiſitions were indeed conſidered in the reign of Charles II. as the firſt qualifications of a fine gentleman, and the ſtrongeſt recommendations to the favour of the court. His “ Plain Dealer,” and his “ Country Wife,” are eſteemed the beſt of his productions. The character of the widow Blackacre in the former, is truly original, and the maſter-piece of Wicherly.

The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Mulgrave, Dorſet, and Roſcommon, wrote in a good taſte; but their pieces are either feeble or careleſs. They, however, tended greatly to reform the licentious manner of writing ſo generally practiſed in this age of pleaſure and diſſipation.

But among all the writers of this period, Sir William Temple was, perhaps, the only one, who kept himſelf unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs which overwhelmed the nation. He was truly an honour to his country. To the gift of genius and the acquiſition of philoſophy, he added what was then ſo uncommon, the merit of reſpecting morality, and the laws. He was as much above the common level of politicians, as he was above the common herd of authors.

Among a great number of phyſicians that flouriſhed in this reign, Dr. Thomas Sydenham is juſtly placed at the head of that profeſſion. He was a perſon of great penetration and experience, and added conſiderable improvements to the healing art. He dared to deviate from the common practice, where nature and reaſon pointed out a better method; and was the firſt that introduced a cool regimen in the ſmall pox; a diſcovery which has been ſince followed with amazing ſucceſs. His works are ſtill in the higheſt eſteem with the faculty.

Beſides Sydenham, Willis, Sir George Ent, Gliſſon, Plunket, and Sir William Petty made ſeveral uſeful diſcoveries in phyſic, anatomy and botany.

Such was the ſtate of commerce and learning at this remarkable period of hiſtory, when the liberties of Engliſhmen, which had been ſo often invaded by former princes, were eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation.

# BOOK XIII.

## From the Revolution to the Acceſſion of George I.

## WILLIAM III. and MARY II. King and Queen of England.

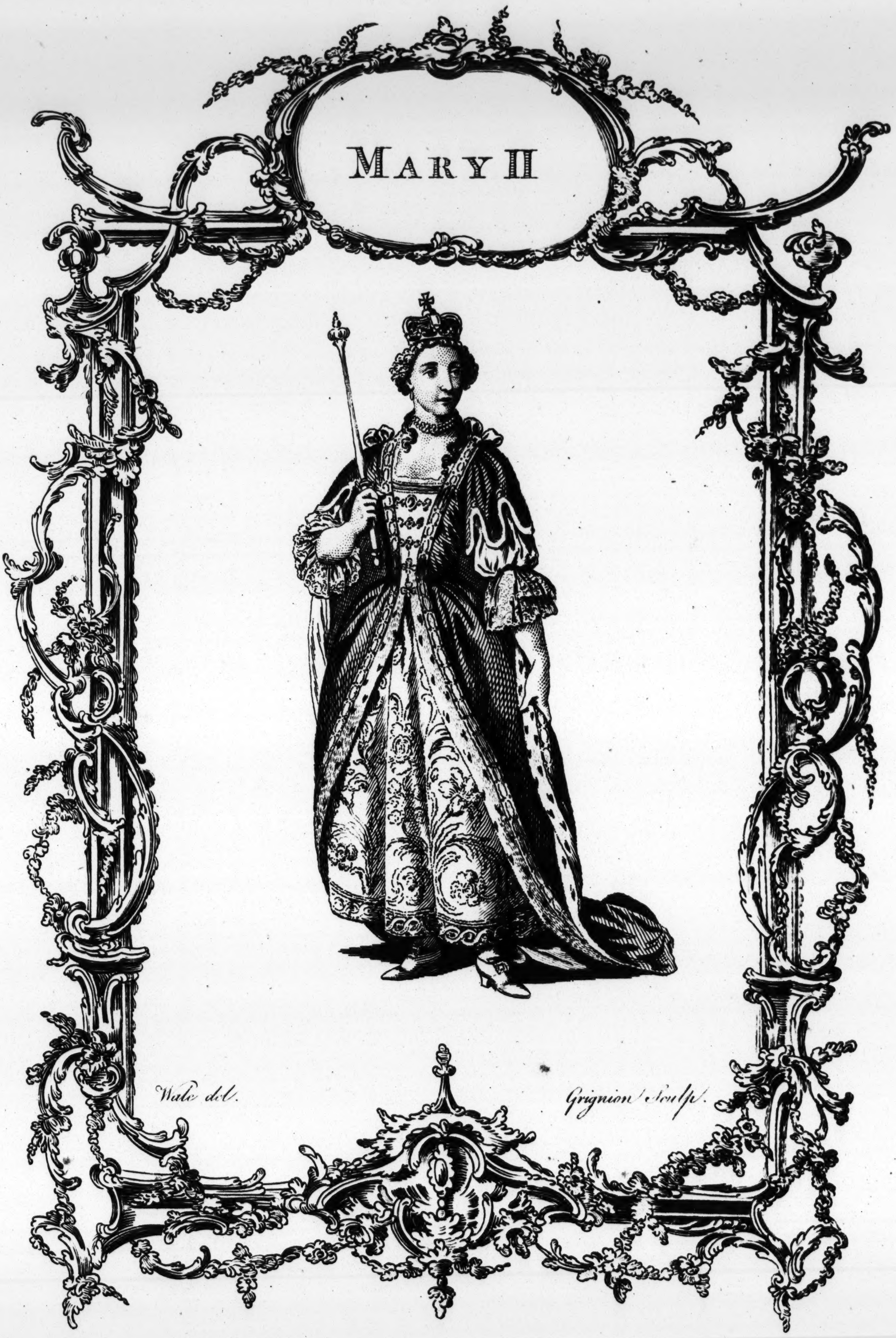
A. D. 1689. IT was highly conſiſtent with the genius and ſpirit of the Engliſh to place the friend of liberty on the throne; eſpecially as they did not ſtrip the crown of any of its juſt prerogatives, when they preſented it to the prince of Orange. The power of ſummoning, proroguing, and diſſolving parliaments, of chuſing members of the privy council, and of making war and peace, was ſtill inveſted in the king. William on his part was extremely deſirous of giving no offence to the Engliſh in his exerciſe of the royal authority. His council was compoſed of perſons who had always been the friends of liberty, and could therefore give no offence to thoſe who were true lovers of their country.

There was, however, a party in the nation who beheld the exaltation of the prince of Orange in a very different light, and could by no means be prevailed upon to approve of the revolution. The papiſts made indeed the bulk, but not the whole of this party. The former had very ſufficient reaſons to diſapprove of the new ſettlement; but they were joined by a conſiderable number of proteſtants, who, either from the ſtrong impreſſions they had received from the late doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, could not think it lawful to reſiſt James, or from their being perſuaded that the hereditary right of the crown was indefeaſible, joined the catholics. The laſt abſolutely refuſed to take the oaths to the preſent government, and were thence ſtiled nonjurors. Theſe parties diſturbed the operations of the miniſtry during this whole reign, and prevented the people from reaping all the advantages they might otherwiſe have obtained from the revolution.

Before any of the principal acts of government could be performed, it was neceſſary to aſſemble a parliament, or give that title to the convention. The latter was choſen as the eaſieſt and moſt expeditious method. Accordingly William, on the twenty-third of February, gave the royal aſſent to a bill, to "remove and prevent all queſtions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and ſetting of this preſent parliament." By this act the convention, which had ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, was changed into a parliament. This bill being paſſed, the king repaired to the houſe of lords, and delivered a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he thanked them for the great confidence they had repoſed in him by intruſting him with the Engliſh ſceptre, and aſſured them it ſhould be his ſtudy to preſerve the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, particularly in theſe kingdoms, and concluded with an earneſt requeſt, that they would concur in the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve the domeſtic peace, and promote the happineſs of the nation. He ſoon after ſent a meſſage to the houſe, aſſuring them that he had received certain advice, that James had ſailed with an armament from Breſt to invade Ireland. Deſirous of convincing the world that they would ſupport his majeſty, both houſes came to a reſolution to aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be levied by monthly aſſeſſments. Both houſes waited on his majeſty to inform him of this reſolution.

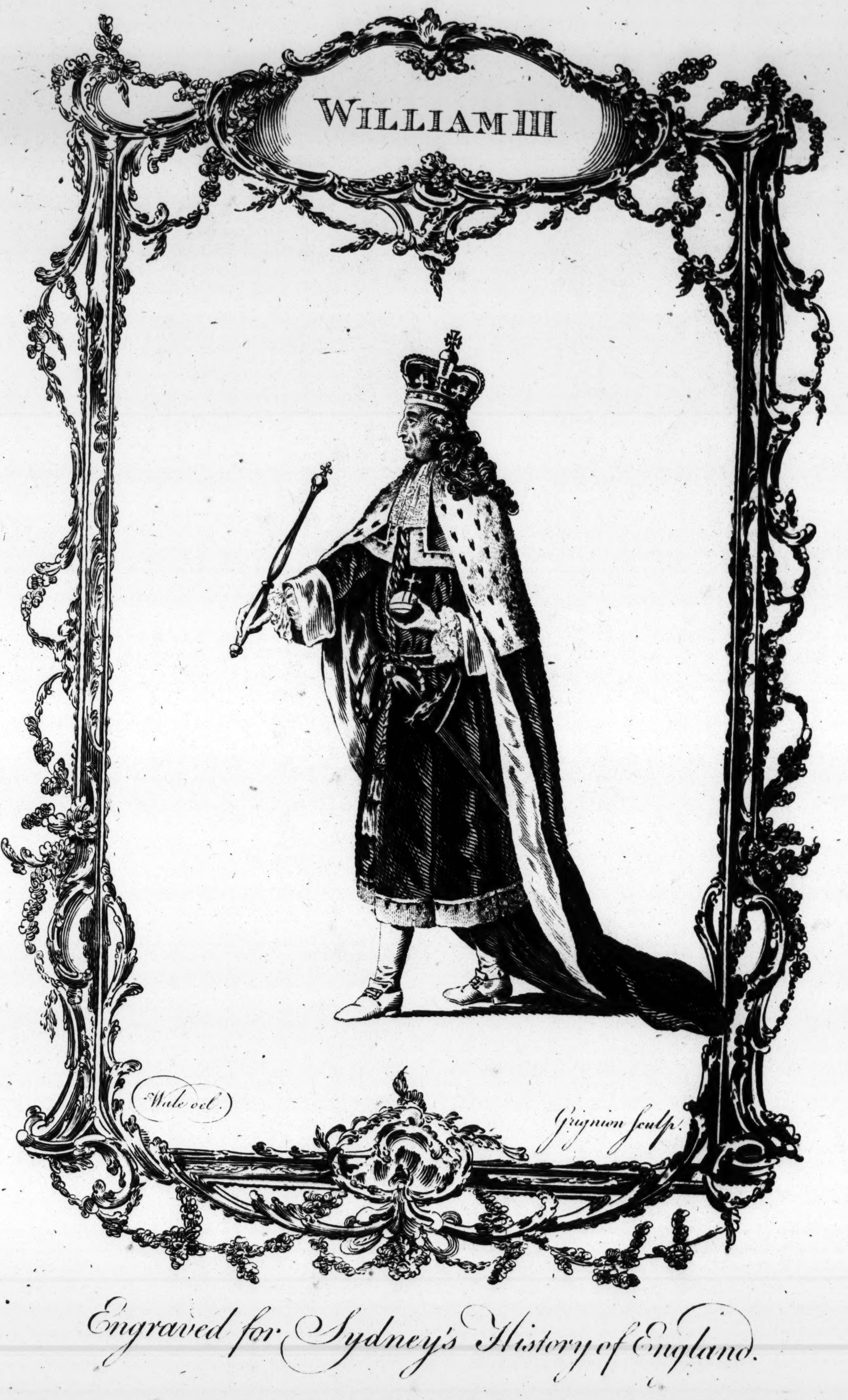
This complaiſance in the parliament was, however, far from being unanimous; ſeveral of the peers both ſpiritual and temporal, refuſed to take the oaths to the preſent government, and did not therefore attend their duty in parliament. Among the former were Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Turner, biſhop of Ely; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lake, of Chicheſter; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worceſter; and Frampton, of Glouceſter: the four firſt had been impriſoned in the Tower by James, for refuſing to publiſh his declaration for liberty of conſcience. The temporal peers who refuſed the oaths, were the duke of Newcaſtle; the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth and Stafford; with the lords Griffin and Stowel.

William's friends were not deſerted like thoſe of Charles the ſecond; they were rewarded for their fidelity. Among the reſt Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had for ſome time reſided in Holland, and came over with the prince as his chaplain, was promoted to the ſee of Saliſbury. The king, at once an enemy to perſecution, and a friend to Calviniſm, was very deſirous of procuring the proteſtant diſſenters a ſhare in the government; but he could not prevail upon the parliament to aboliſh the ſacramental teſt in favour of the preſbyterians. They, however, paſſed a bill under the title of "An act for exempting his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." This law is ſtill in force, and generally called the Act of Toleration. About the ſame time William acquired great popularity by recommending to the parliament the abolition of hearth-money, a tax which


MARY II
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM


WILLIAM III
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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which was conſidered as a heavy burden on the poor. Pleaſed with the attention paid to their intereſts, the people looked upon their new ſovereign as their father, and paid him the tribute of gratitude and affection.

The many ſhameful embezzlements of the public revenue before the revolution, now induced the parliament to provide a remedy for preventing ſuch flagitious practices for the future. They reſolved to allot a ſeparate fund for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and ſubject the reſt of the public revenue to the controul of parliament. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Civil Liſt, an appellation it ſtill retains. They alſo voted, that theſe ſums ſhould be granted only from year to year, or, at moſt, for a very ſhort term. This appropriation of the public revenue was of infinite advantage to the nation, and the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the people's liberties. They were now no longer apprehenſive of ſeeing the aids they granted laviſhed away by the ſovereign in articles of profuſion, or applied to the nefarious purpoſes of ſupporting armies to wreſt from the generous donors their moſt invaluable privileges.

On the ſixteenth of December, the king gave the royal aſſent to the bill of rights, and ſucceſſion, agreeable to the declaration of rights made to the king and queen when they accepted the crown. A remarkable clauſe was added to the bill, by which all papiſts, and all perſons marrying papiſts, were excluded from the throne.

This manner of applying the public money could not be very agreeable to William, whoſe revenue was granted only for a ſhort and limited time. The ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds was granted him for the ſupport of the crown in time of peace. William conſidered this meaſure as a mark of their diffidence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from all his predeceſſors, and thought it an ungrateful return for the great ſervices he had done the nation. The Tories, deſirous of diſtreſſing the Whigs, now made a tender of their ſervices to the king, who recommended an act of indemnity to the parliament, in order to profit by their aſſiſtance; but ſo many frivolous objections were made to it, merely to prolong the time, that it was dropped at the end of the ſeſſion. This increaſed the difference between the two parties, and gave great uneaſineſs to the government.

The authority of William was acknowledged in Scotland as well as in England, notwithſtanding all the efforts and emiſſaries of the dethroned monarch. James, who was now in Ireland, wrote to the Scottiſh convention, ſolliciting the members to maintain his lawful rights againſt the uſurper. He promiſed them immediate aſſiſtance; he offered pardon to all who would return to their duty, and threatened the ſevereſt puniſhments to thoſe who ſhould perſevere in their rebellion. But both his promiſes and threatenings produced not the deſired effect. Indeed, in his ſituation, they were vain, and almoſt ridiculous. The duke of Hamilton, preſident of the aſſembly, eaſily carried the votes againſt a prince, who was equally obnoxious on account of his religious and political principles. They voted, that James, by being a papiſt, and having exerciſed the royal authority without taking the oaths preſcribed by the law; by having attacked the fundamental conſtitution of a limited monarchy, and violated the laws and liberties of the nation, had forfeited all right to the crown, and, in conſequence of that forfeiture, the throne was now vacant. This vote was immediately paſſed into a law, under the title of "An act for ſettling the crown of Scotland upon the king and queen of England." All attempts to aſſiſt James were prohibited; William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland; and commiſſioners ſent to London with the act which eſtabliſhed their authority.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners, after making a ſolemn tender of the crown of that kingdom to their majeſties, propoſed the form of an oath, containing, among other things, a promiſe to extirpate hereſy. William abſolutely refuſed at firſt to take this oath, proteſting he would never lay himſelf under an obligation of being a perſecutor: he was too fond of liberty himſelf, to be deſirous of deſtroying it in others. The commiſſioners aſſured him, that the intention of the oath was very different, and on that declaration he accepted the crown of Scotland.

The meeting of the ſtates of that kingdom was now, by virtue of a commiſſion from their majeſties to the duke of Hamilton, changed into a parliament. But complaints ſoon aroſe in that aſſembly againſt the king, who thought himſelf empowered to appoint the judges, and left ſome of the national grievances unredreſſed. Prelacy was, however, once more aboliſhed in Scotland, but the preſbyterian diſcipline was not eſtabliſhed, owing to ſome diſputes between the king and the parliament. The principal of theſe articles reſpected the lords. It was the cuſtom for the king's commiſſioner to nominate eight biſhops, who ſhould chuſe eight lords, and theſe eight barons and eight burgeſſes. Theſe jointly formed a committee, under the title of "Lords of Articles," having an excluſive right to propoſe a reformation of abuſes, and ſuch meaſures as they thought uſeful to the kingdom. This important privilege was claimed by the Scottiſh parliament. William, in part, refuſed their requeſt. He conſented that the ſtates ſhould chuſe the lords, and deliberate on ſuch articles as the latter ſhould reject. But this was not thought ſufficient; they wanted more extenſive privileges; while the king, fearful that they meant to reſume that liberty which had ſo often degenerated into licentiouſneſs, and unwilling to enter into conteſts with the parliament, as they might have been attended with dangerous conſequences in the inſancy of his reign, prorogued the aſſembly.

It muſt not, however, be imagined, that this revolution in Scotland was attended with no oppoſition. The duke of Gordon, ſtill faithful to the Stuart family, defended the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was now blocked up by the troops of the city. He ſtood a regular ſiege; but having neglected to furniſh the place with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, he was forced to capitulate on terms very advantageous to the garriſon, though he generouſly declined to ſollicit any for himſelf. He was, indeed, perſuaded, that it would have been abſolutely inconſiſtent with the duty he owed his maſter, to conſult his own intereſt while he was defending the royal cauſe.

While the caſtle of Edinburgh was inveſted, the earl of Dundee, at the head of a body of Scotch highlanders, attacked the Engliſh, under the command of lieutenant-general Mackay, with the utmoſt fury, routed a large diviſion of them at the firſt onſet, and would, in all probability, have obtained a complete victory, had he not unfortunately been killed by a random ſhot. His death put an end to the conteſt. The highlanders loſt their courage with their general; and one misfortune treading on the heels of another, they laid down their arms, and accepted the amneſty offered by the Engliſh.

James ſucceeded no better in Ireland than in Scotland. His behaviour, indeed, ſoon loſt him the affections of his beſt friends. The earl of Tyrconnel, attached to him both by gratitude and a ſimilarity of religious ſentiments, exerted himſelf in the ſervice of his maſter. He had ſecured the moſt important places in the kingdom before the king abandoned the Engliſh throne. Inſtigated at once by the motives of religion, policy and prudence, he treated the unhappy proteſtants with ſo much ſeverity and rigour, that they abandoned their reſidence, and fled for protection to their brethren in the north of Ireland, where Kilmore, Coleraine, Inniſkilling, and Londonderry, declared for William.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, when Lewis XIV. undertook to ſupport his old friend and ally in the recovery of one part at leaſt of his dominions. Perhaps there was hardly ever a more ſtriking contraſt than between theſe two princes. The one acted the part of a generous monarch, the other that of a mere devotee, always ſurrounded by Jeſuits, and neglecting his own buſineſs and ſituation, that he might attend to their eccleſiaſtical controverſies aud metaphyſical diſtinctions. Little ſucceſs could be expected from the attempts of a prince of ſo bigotted a diſpoſition. Lewis, however, furniſhed him with five thouſand forces, under the command of M. de Lauſun. Theſe troops were embarked at Breſt on board a fleet conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a ſufficient number of tranſports. Lewis alſo furniſhed him with arms for forty thouſand men, a large ſum of money, and ſuperb equipages. At their parting, the French monarch embraced him, and ſaid, "I cannot wiſh you better than that I may never ſee you more."

James ſailed from Breſt on the ſeventh of March; and on the twenty-ſecond landed at Kingſale, in Ireland. He immediately ſet out for Cork, where he was received by the magiſtrates in their formalities. The people alſo expreſſed their zeal and their joy in the moſt extravagant manner. The earl of Tyrconnel joined him with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe. But theſe happy beginnings ſoon terminated unfortunately. James took no care to gain the affections of his ſubjects. Inſtead of endeavouring to gain the proteſtants over to his intereſt by acts of kindneſs and popularity, he exaſperated them ſtill more by his cruelty and arrogance.

On his approaching the capital, the catholic biſhops and prieſts met him at the Caſtle-gate in ſolemn proceſſion, having the hoſt carried before them. He immediately diſmiſſed all the proteſtant members of the council, and filled their ſeats with papiſts. He publiſhed, indeed, ſeveral proclamations, promiſing protection to all his ſubjects in general who ſhould preſerve their conſtancy; but ſo little regard was paid to his promiſes, that they all reſolved to imitate the example of their friends, and ſtand in their own defence. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of Coleraine and Kilmore, and exerciſed the moſt brutal cruelty on all of that perſuaſion who fell into his hands. Terrified at theſe inhuman proceedings, and alarmed by the report of a general maſſacre intended to be perpetrated on all who adhered to the reformed religion, they fled from all parts of the country, and ſhut themſelves up in Londonderry, fully determined to ſuffer all the horrors of famine, rather than ſubmit to ſo brutal an enemy. An expreſs was diſpatched to England, imploring immediate aſſiſtance. Some arms and ammunition were directly ſent them; and about the middle of April, two regiments, under the command of the colonels Richards and Cunningham, arrived in Loughfoyle.

By this time James's army had reached the neighbourhood of Londonderry; and advice of the enemy's approach was ſent to Lundy, the governor, by Mr. Walker, a proteſtant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of himſelf and his brethren. Lundy immediately ſummoned a council of war, at which both Richards and Cunningham aſſiſted. Whether the members were affected with cowardice or treachery, is uncertain; but they came to a reſolution, that the town was untenable, and that it would therefore be imprudent to land the regiments. Walker was of a very different opinion, and uſed every argument in his power to prevail upon the governor to take the field immediately, and bring on a general engagement with the enemy; promiſing that the proteſtant inhabitants would do their duty, and fall nobly in the conteſt, rather than ſubmit to an enemy whoſe very religion rendered them inhumanly cruel. But all his endeavours were in vain: the puſillanimous ſoul of the governor was not to be rouzed to action by perſuaſions and arguments. He concealed himſelf in his chamber, and Richards and Cunningham eſcaped on board their ſhips.

Exaſperated at this cowardly behaviour of thoſe who ought to have exerted themſelves in inſpiring the inhabitants with courage, Walker, and major Baker, the deputy governor, reſolved to defend their religion and liberties to the laſt extremity, and bury themſelves under the ruins of the town, rather than ſubmit to the enemy. They immediately formed the inhabitants, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, into different regiments; taught them the manner of uſing their arms, the firing of cannon, and other particulars neceſſary to be known at this alarming criſis. Their religious ſentiments inſpired them with a noble contempt of death, and they determined to conquer or periſh.

While Walker and his worthy aſſociate were employed in diſciplining their little army, Rozon, the French general, approached the walls, and began to play upon the town from ſeveral batteries. But the inhabitants, though the fortifications were in a very poor condition, and defended only by twenty pieces of artillery, bravely repelled all the attacks of the enemy. James was with the army at the opening of the trenches, but ſoon after returned to Dublin to open the ſeſſion of parliament. Exaſperated at the noble defence made by the inhabitants, Rozon, a perſon of more than ſavage brutality, cauſed four thouſand proteſtants to be ſtripped naked, and in that condition driven cloſe to the walls of the town, as ſo many victims deſtined to deſtruction, which the ſurrender of the place alone could preſerve. But this infernal contrivance produced not the deſired effect. Walker cauſed gibbets to be erected on the walls, and informed the French general, that unleſs he ſuffered theſe wretched people to retire, he would immediately hang up every catholic in the town, together with all the priſoners they had taken in their ſallies. Convinced, by the noble defence the inhabitants had already made, that the threat would be immediately carried into execution, Rozon ordered the unhappy proteſtants to be releaſed; but the brutal cruelties they had already ſuffered, rendered his mercy now of little effect; the greater part of them fell victims to hunger and diſtreſs.

The diſtreſs of famine, which now raged with uncommon violence, increaſed the horrors of the ſiege. The poor inhabitants eat their dogs, cats, mice, and leather; and even theſe wretched reſources at laſt began to fail; and they were on the point of coming to the dreadful reſolution of feeding upon their priſoners, when major-general Kirk, who had rendered himſelf ſo infamous for his cruelties after Monmouth's rebellion, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thouſand men. He had received orders to relieve the town at all events; and accordingly ſent three ſhips, laden with proviſions, up the river, under the protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy well knew that it would be impoſſible to conquer the town by famine, unleſs all communication with the ſea, by means of the river, was cut off. They had accordingly erected ſeveral ſtrong batteries on both ſides of the ſtream, and drawn a ſtrong boom acroſs the channel. Theſe precautions were thought ſufficient to render every attempt made by ſea, for the relief of the place, abortive. But here the enemy were miſtaken. One of the ſhips, taking the advantage of the tide and a ſtrong gale of wind, advanced through the fire of the batteries, with full ſail, againſt the boom. The ſhock was too violent to be reſiſted; the boom gave way, and the ſhips reached the town in ſafety, amidſt the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants.

Rozon now perceived that any farther attempts to reduce the place would be in vain. He raiſed the ſiege, and retired from before the town, where he had loſt nine thouſand men. Kirk entered the place with his reinforcement; and Walker, at the joint requeſt of the garriſon and inhabitants, paſſed over into England, where the king and queen received him with all the honour he ſo juſtly deſerved for his diſtinguiſhed valour.

Misfortunes had no effect to alter the conduct of James. Still inclined to deſpotiſm, ſtill immoderate in his zeal, he behaved in Ireland as if he had been ſtudious to render both his government and perſon odious to the Engliſh. He again publiſhed a declaration, inſiſting on his impartiality with regard to the proteſtants, on the preference he gave them, on the care he took to protect them, and to maintain a perfect liberty of conſcience; but his conduct belied his promiſes. The Iriſh parliament, conſiſting chiefly of catholics, annulled the act by which the proteſtants were maintained in the poſſeſſion of thoſe eſtates which had been taken from the catholics. The conſequence was, that they were ſtripped of all their poſſeſſions with the utmoſt ſeverity; and, to complete their ruin, a bill of attainder was preferred againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from the kingdom, or held any correſpondence with James's enemies. About three thouſand were included in this proſcription. The proteſtant clergy loſt their juriſdiction and privileges, and were driven from many of their churches. Theſe meaſures would have been dangerous even in time of peace; in thoſe troubles they were infinitely more ſo. James directed every thing, without foreſeeing the conſequences of his indiſcretion. He was hurried headlong by the current of blind zeal. He was, however, deſirous of reſtoring the churches to the proteſtants; but the papiſts refuſed to obey; they diſavowed his authority whenever they diſapproved his orders. He had been reduced to the neceſſity of coining copper money, and to give it a nominal value far ſuperior to what it was intrinſically worth, in order to pay his troops. This, together with exorbitant taxes and ruinous expedients, were the reſources of his prepoſterous government. Whether James acted from himſelf, or from the advice of others, he ought to have foreſeen, that this abuſe of a tottering authority would by no means contribute to render it more permanent.

Deſirous of terminating, as ſoon as poſſible, the troubles in Ireland, king William ſent admiral Herbert with twelve ſhips of the line, one fire-ſhip, and four tenders, to intercept a ſquadron of French ſhips then fitting out for the aſſiſtance of James, under the command of Chateau Renaud. Soon after the Engliſh admiral arrived on the Iriſh coaſt, he diſcovered, on the firſt of May, the French fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and five fire-ſhips, lying at anchor in Bantry-bay. The French admiral no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh, than he got under ſail, and ſtood out of the bay, to bring on an engagement, encouraged by having at once a ſuperior fleet, and the advantage of the wind. Herbert did every thing in his power to gain the weather-gage of the enemy; but finding his attempts were in vain, he prudently declined an engagement, which muſt have been fought under every diſadvantage. He therefore ſtood off to ſea, and maintained, for ſome time, a running fight with the enemy; but, on the approach of evening, Renaud tacked, and ſtood again into the bay.

Preparations were, in the mean time, making, for ſending an army over to Ireland; but, by ſome unaccountable neglect in thoſe to whom the management of military affairs was intruſted, James had been ſix months in Ireland before an Engliſh army was ready to embark for that kingdom. At laſt eighteen regiments of foot, five of dragoons, and a ſuitable train of artillery, being ready, the duke of Schomberg was appointed general, and the forces landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus on the thirteenth of Auguſt. About ten thouſand foot and dragoons were detached to take poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, which was abandoned by the enemy at their approach. They, however, retired no farther than Carrickfergus, where they propoſed to make a ſtand againſt the Engliſh; but the latter attacked the place with ſo much intrepidity, that they were maſters of it in four days. Newry, Dundalk, and other places opened their gates at the firſt ſummons; and had not ſo many delays have been made in ſending the general the train of artillery he had left behind him in England, Schomberg would have made a much greater progreſs; but in conſequence of this ſtrange conduct he was obliged to continue inactive during the remainder of the campaign. On the approach of winter, both the Engliſh and Iriſh retired into quarters.

The ſame delays that had prevented Schomberg from purſuing his conqueſt, alſo rendered the deſigns of the naval armaments abortive. Admiral Herbert, now earl of Torrington, did not ſail again for Ireland till the ſeaſon was far advanced. His intention was to ſurprize the city of Cork, but was diverted from his purpoſe by falſe intelligence, that James with his whole army was encamped in the neighbourhood. It was therefore thought imprudent to attack the city, and the whole fleet, after a ſhort ſtay on the Iriſh coaſt, returned to England, and came to an anchor in Torbay.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth of October, the king repaired to the houſe of peers, and in his ſpeech from the throne, explained the neceſſity of their granting an immediate ſupply for carrying on the war in Ireland; and that they would determine ſpeedily with regard to the meaſures they intended to purſue in reſpect to the grand alliance formed againſt France. After his majeſty's ſpeech had been taken into conſideration, they unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt him in reducing Ireland, and in joining his allies abroad, for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France. And to make good theſe reſolutions, they voted a ſupply of two millions, to be raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate.

Party diſputes between the Whigs and the Tories were now carried to the greateſt height. William was not calculated for joining in theſe conteſts; he ſaw them with regret and concern. Cold, reſerved, ſilent, generally ſhut up in his cloſet, without a taſte for any thing but the chace, moſt commonly at Hampton-court, becauſe the air of London did not agree with his conſtitution, he was by no means popular, and began to loſe the affections of the Engliſh. He ſaw his error, and policy for once prevailed over nature. He ſuddenly adopted the old popular cuſtoms, was preſent at horſe races, and ſhewed himſelf affable and complaiſant. He dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the title of citizen, and ſubmitted to be appointed maſter of the Grocers company, a condeſcenſion which would have been too great, had he known, at the ſame time, how to ſupport his dignity.

The church of England, which hated popery, was far from being fond of Calviniſm in the prince; and William, who was ſufficiently aware of the dangers attending religious diſputes, made another effort for uniting the church and preſbyterians. But his endeavours were ſoon rendered abortive. The lower houſe of convocation oppoſed the attempt with the utmoſt firmneſs. On this occaſion they had recourſe to the phraſe uſed by the ancient barons: "We will not have the laws of England changed." This increaſed the animoſity, already ſufficiently alarming, between the two parties. The Tories, perſuaded they ſhould gain the aſcendant by making their court to the king, made him the moſt pompous promiſes of ſupplies, provided he would paſs an act of oblivion and diſſolve the preſent parliament. The Whigs ſoon diſcovered the deſign of their antagoniſts, and in order to render their attempt abortive, they introduced a bill for reſtoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges; to which a clauſe was added, denouncing the ſevereſt penalties againſt thoſe who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters. The Tories oppoſed this clauſe with their utmoſt force, and it was at length rejected. The bill itſelf, however, paſſed both houſes; but the lords were ſo equally divided on this occaſion, that the majority conſiſted of a ſingle voice only. Both parties now made the ſtrongeſt applications to the king to bring him over to their reſpective intereſts. William was under the greateſt perplexity how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs had given him ſufficient reaſon to think that they were tinctured with republican principles, and conſequently enemies to the regal power. He was therefore perſuaded, that by giving the royal aſſent to the bill, he muſt in a manner be dependent wholly on them, and therefore retain nothing more than the ſhadow of a king. On the other hand, he was no ſtranger to the attachment of the Tories to the divine indefeaſible right of kings, and therefore it would be higheſt imprudence to place in them an unlimited confidence. Theſe conſiderations, and the violent heats between the two parties ſo greatly affected him, that he was on the point of reſigning the Engliſh ſceptre, and retiring into Holland. The warmeſt of his friends interpoſed their influence, and by their perſuaſion William was prevailed upon to lay his plan aſide. Determined not to reſign the crown which had been ſo generouſly given him, he declared his intention of paſſing over into Ireland and heading his own army.

A. D. 1690. This declaration was agreeable to neither party. The friends of the revolution were fearful leaſt the fatigues of a campaign, and the bad climate of the country, excluſive of the chance of war, might have a fatal effect on the weak and tender conſtitution of the king, whoſe death, at this juncture, would probably involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. The Tories oppoſed it from a very different motive. They knew the military abilities of William, and therefore dreaded his taking the field againſt their old maſter. Both parties therefore for once agreed in their oppoſition, and determined to preſent an addreſs againſt his intended expedition. William, aware of their intention, came to the houſe on the ſeventeenth of January, and in a ſpeech which he made to both houſes, declared, in form, his intention of paſſing over into Ireland. He told them, that having already ventured his life to preſerve the laws and liberties of England, he was willing once more to expoſe it, in order to ſecure the enjoyment of theſe bleſſings. Having ended his ſpeech he prorogued the parliament till the twenty-ſecond of April; but on the ſixth of February it was diſſolved by proclamation, and the writs were iſſued for electing a new one to meet on the twentieth of March.

The election was ſo favourable to the Tories, that they had a conſiderable majority in the lower houſe, and the aſſembly was agitated with the moſt violent debates. Two bills in particular were violently oppoſed and as violently defended. The one for ratifying the acts of the preceding parliament; the other for requiring all perſons in office, on pain of impriſonment, to take an oath, abjuring king James. The firſt paſſed notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the moſt violent amongſt the Tories. The houſe was apprehenſive of the conſequences, if that parliament, by virtue of which the preſent government was eſtabliſhed, ſhould be declared illegal. The ſecond, which the Whigs ſupported in concert with the miniſtry, with all their power, was more obſtinately oppoſed. The king, apprehenſive that an open rupture between the two parties would be the conſequence, deſired the miniſtry to give up the point. This interpoſition of the king ſo highly diſguſted the earl of Shrewſbury, then ſecretary of ſtate, that he immediately reſigned his poſt; nor could all the remonſtrances of the king, who was no ſtranger to his great abilities, prevail upon him to keep the ſeals, till his return from Ireland. The Whigs had alſo the mortification to ſee an act of oblivion paſſed in favour of their antagoniſts.

After conſtituting the queen regent, during his abſence, William embarked for Ireland on the fourth of June, and on the fourteenth landed at Carrickfergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction. The gallant Schomberg, grown old in arms, had not fulfilled the expectations of the people. His troops had been ſickly and far inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy. He had therefore carefully avoided an engagement with the Iriſh; but this delay, though the effect of prudence, and which deſerved the higheſt applauſe, was the ſubject of complaint. So difficult is it to pleaſe a populace who have not the opportunity of judging equitably of the actions of great men!

The military affairs in Ireland put on a different aſpect on the king's arrival. His army was now ſuperior to that of the enemy, and William was at once more active and more ſucceſsful. James determined to venture the whole on the event of a battle: William was equally deſirous that one deciſive engagement ſhould put a final period to all competition for the ſovereignty of Ireland. Both therefore moved towards each other in order of battle; the river Boyne ſeparated the two armies, each of which conſiſted of near forty thouſand men.

Before the battle began, William, deſirous of reconnoitring the ſituation of the enemy, advanced to the bank of the river. His perſon was known by ſeveral of the officers in James's army, and two field pieces were brought down to the river's bank through a hidden pathway, and planted againſt his perſon. The firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes cloſe to his ſide, and the ſecond, rebounding from the ground, grazed his right ſhoulder, and occaſioned a conſiderable contuſion. The enemy, believing he was ſlain, gave way to the moſt extravagant expreſſions of joy. The news flew like lightening to France. The partizans of James, ſtill blind and credulous in their prejudices, made public rejoicings, which certainly did honour to the prince they inſulted.

William to prevent any confuſion in his own army, rode through the ranks, and by that means effectually removed the impreſſions which this falſe rumour might otherwiſe have produced on the ſpirits of his troops. It was now determined in a council of war to croſs the river, and give the enemy battle the next day. The Engliſh accordingly forded the ſtream, ſtood the ſhock of the Iriſh cavalry, and broke in upon, and diſperſed the infantry. In this attack La Caillemont was killed at the head of the French refugees who ſerved in William's army. Schomberg, informed of the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and that the French refugees were without a leader, paſſed the ſtream immediately to head them. He had no ſooner reached the oppoſite bank, than he rode full ſpeed to the French proteſtants, and putting himſelf at their head, he cried out, "Behold your perſecutors." Animated by his example, the refugees attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury; but a party of James's guards, returning towards the main body of their army, ſurrounded Schomberg. Exaſperated at the attempt, and deſirous of revenging the inſult, the refugees fired upon them with too little caution, one of the balls ſtriking the general put an end to his life. Thus fell the famous Schomberg in the eighty-third year of his age, after a long life replete with military glory.

This misfortune was like to have been fatal to the whole army. The forces that had hitherto fought with ſuch remarkable intrepidity, ſeemed to have loſt their courage with their general: their arms remained inactive in their hands; they gazed at each other with ſilent aſtoniſhment, and gave ground apace. The enemy perceived it, and animated with ſo fortunate an incident, returned to the charge with ſuch ardour and intrepidity, as ſeemed to command ſucceſs. William, who might be ſaid to be every where during the whole action, perceived the advantage of the enemy, and brought up the left wing at the very moment when they were going to fall upon the center. Intimidated at his approach they halted, faced about and retreated to the village of Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs. There they made ſo brave a ſtand, that the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon, unable to ſuſtain their fire, gave way: the Iniſkilleners themſelves ſeemed unwilling to advance. Alarmed at this backwardneſs, William rode up to the latter, and in a ſharp tone of voice aſked them, if this was the behaviour he was to expect from them? Stung with this reproach, they reſumed their uſual courage, and returned to the charge with irreſiſtible fury; and the enemy, after a very bloody conflict, was driven back with conſiderable loſs. General Hamilton, who had inſpired the Iriſh with courage and intrepidity during the whole action was now taken priſoner. This loſs was deciſive. William met with no farther oppoſition, but from the French and Swiſs guards, who retreated in good order.

In this battle James loſt about fifteen hundred men, among whom were the lords Dungan, and Carlingford, Sir Neile O'Neile, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. The Engliſh loſt about five hundred men, an inconſiderable number in gaining ſo important a battle; had not the duke of Scomberg, the moſt illuſtrious general in Europe, been one of the number.

In this memorable battle the contraſt between the two kings was remarkable. James, merely a ſpectator of an action in which he bore a principal part, was the foremoſt in the retreat. His former courage was ſhook by miſfortunes. He reproached the Iriſh with cowardice, and embarked for France, where he was ſure of living in quiet. William was every where in the thickeſt of the action, encouraging his troops with his preſence, and animating them by his example. They followed with ardor a prince who diſplayed ſuch admirable conduct, reſolution, and preſence of mind. The Iriſh themſelves were ſo ſenſible of this advantage, that they declared, if the Engliſh would change kings with them they would fight the battle over again.

William purſued the victory he had gained over James with great vigilance and ſucceſs. His generals took many places, and he himſelf laid ſiege to Limeric. But the badneſs of the ſeaſon, and the reſiſtance of the inhabitants obliged him to abandon the enterprize.

While the king was employed in the reducing of Ireland, his queen held the Engliſh reins of government with a ſteadineſs and reſolution that gained her the admiration of the whole kingdom. On receiving advice that a powerful fleet was fitted out at Breſt in order to make a deſcent on the weſt of England, the queen ordered the earl of Torrington, who then lay with his fleet in the Downs, to ſail immediately to Portſmouth, and collect a number of ſhips ſufficient to enable him to render the deſign of the enemy abortive. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's advice arrived from Weymouth, that the French fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-eight ſhips of the line and two fireſhips, had entered the channel. The admiral had been lately joined by a ſquadron of Dutch men of war, but ſeveral ſhips expected from Plymouth had hitherto been prevented, by contrary winds, from joining him. A council of war was immediately called, and it ſeemed to be the general opinion that it would be imprudent to meet the enemy, as the whole combined fleet did not exceed fifty-ſix ſail; but before any reſolution was taken an expreſs arrived from the queen, with poſſitive orders to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than ſuffer the enemy to ſail up the channel, and inſult the Engliſh coaſts and harbours.

Purſuant to theſe orders Torrington ſtood out to ſea immediately, with the combined fleets of England and Holland. The enemy ſoon appeared in ſight, and on the thirtieth of June, the engagement began off Beachy-head about nine in the morning. The blue ſquadron engaged the French with the utmoſt bravery, but Torrington kept his diviſion in a line, and fought at too great a diſtance. The Dutch, deſirous of bringing on a cloſer engagement, advanced towards the enemy, and by that means were ſeparated from the Engliſh. Tourville, the French admiral, perceived the imprudent valour of the Dutch had carried them too far, and determined to take advantage of their error. He accordingly collected all his ſhips that were now engaged with the Engliſh, and ſurrounded the Dutch ſquadron. All retreat was now cut off, and the whole ſquadron muſt have been taken, had not Calembourgh the Dutch admiral fortunately ordered his ſhips to drop their anchors with all their ſails ſtanding. This ſaved his ſquadron. The tide ſet ſtrongly up the channel, and there being very little wind, the French, who were ignorant of the ſtratagem, were ſoon hurrried away by the tide, while the Dutch continued ſafe at anchor beyond the reach of their cannon. They had, however, received conſiderable damage; their two vice admirals were killed, and ſeveral of their ſhips ſo greatly ſhattered, that they were obliged to ſink them, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two of their captains, and about four hundred men. The next day the Engliſh admiral called a council of war, in which he was reſolved to retreat without hazarding another engagement, and to deſtroy all the diſabled ſhips ſhould the enemy attempt a purſuit. Torrington accordingly retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, while Tourville, after continuing about five days in the channel returned to Breſt. The nation was at once exaſperated and alarmed at this incident. It was the common opinion, that if Torrington had followed the example of the blue ſquadron, and brought on a cloſe engagement, the enemy muſt have been defeated; the conſequence of which, would in all probability have been fatal to the French, as it was almoſt impoſſible for them to have returned to Breſt, a very conſiderable ſquadron then lying in Plymouth ſound. Torrington's conduct was cenſured by his own admirals, and on his arrival in London, he was ſent to the tower.

This defeat though attended with no alarming conſequences, furniſhed the jacobites with matter ſufficient for an ungenerous triumph. The people, who ſee only the ſurface of things, were ſeized with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions; a deſcent on the coaſt was every day expected; and a general panic was ſpread over the kingdom. The queen alone ſeemed unaffected with this unmanly fear; ſhe behaved with admirable ſpirit and diſcretion. She made uſe of every precaution to render any attempt of the enemy abortive. The principal ſea-ports were put into a good ſtate of defence: proper orders were iſſued for refitting the ſhips and augmenting the navy: the militia of the weſtern counties was embodied; and to ſtrike a greater terror into the domeſtic enemies of the government, a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending ſeveral diſaffected perſons, who were either ſuſpected or accuſed of holding a correſpondence with James and his party, for diſturbing the internal peace of the kingdom.

Pleaſed with this prudent and magnanimous conduct in the queen, ſhe received addreſſes from the city of London and moſt of the principal counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their reſolution of ſupporting her, her royal conſort, and the preſent government, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Theſe addreſſes were very grateful to the queen, who purſued her meaſures with ſuch prudence and ſucceſs, that the clamour gradually ſubſided, and the tongue of envy was huſhed to peace.

Soon after William had left Ireland, the celebrated earl of Marlborough landed at the head of five thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Corke, and being joined by nearly the ſame number under thecommand of the duke of Wirtemberg and general Scrivenmore, he undertook to reduce ſeveral of the places in Ireland. Succeſs attended all his meaſures; he took the towns of Corke and Kingſale, which were of the laſt importance to James on account of their maritime ſituation; and the count de Lauzun, who commanded the French troops in Ireland, deſpairing of James's cauſe, thought proper to evacuate the kingdom.

The greater part of Europe was now in arms againſt France; the treaty of Auſburgh, was not ſufficient to cruſh the power of Lewis XIV. The prince of Waldeck, general of the confederates, who had conquered d'Humieres at Valcour, was beaten at Fleurus by the marſhal de Luxembourgh, the pupil and imitator of the great Condé. There now ſeemed a neceſſity for all the powers engaged in the alliance to exert themſelves in the common cauſe, or ſubmit to receive a peace dictated by the moſt ambitious monarch in Europe.

William opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the ſecond of October with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed the aſſembly, that he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, in which he had met with great ſucceſs, and doubted not but he ſhould have finiſhed the arduous taſk, if the neceſſary ſupplies had been granted him in time during the laſt ſeſſion. He put them in mind alſo, that he had aſked no revenue for himſelf, but what he had ſubjected to be charged for the uſe of the war; recommended to them the care of clearing his revenue, ſo as to enable him to ſubſiſt, and maintain the charge of the civil government. Then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with ſpirit and concord; and that who ever ſhould endeavour to divert their attention from the important ſubjects he had recommended to them, could neither be his friends, nor the friends of the kingdom.

Both houſes of parliament addreſſed him ſeparately on this ſpeech, in which they congratulated him on his ſucceſs in Ireland, and on the queen's happy adminiſtration during his abſence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely expoſed his invaluable life, on which the whole proteſtant intereſt of Europe depended;" and concluded with aſſuring him, "that they ſhould always be ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power: and as the beſt and trueſt way of expreſſing their gratitude, they would endeavour effectually to ſupport his government againſt all his enemies."

Nor were they long before they carried theſe aſſurances into execution: for the very day their addreſs was preſented, they voted a ſupply of four millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year: a larger ſum than had ever before been granted by an Engliſh parliament to their prince. Among other taxes for raiſing this prodigious ſum, a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound was impoſed; the exciſe upon beer and ale was doubled; a duty was laid on all India goods, foreign wrought ſilks, and ſeveral other commodities imported; and a duty was impoſed upon new wines and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. They alſo voted that one million ſhould be raiſed by the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, and that a bill ſhould be prepared for confiſcating theſe eſtates, with a clauſe empowering his majeſty to grant one third of them to thoſe who had ſerved in the war: but this bill failed in the houſe of lords.

A. D. 1691. On the fifth of January, the king, impatient of being in Holland where a congreſs was appointed to be held by the allies, came to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, he put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he aſſured both houſes, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of their liberality and diſpatch; that the ſupplies they had granted ſhould be faithfully employed in the ſervices for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, till that affair ſhould be fully ſettled in parliament, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. That he hoped they would take care to propagate in their ſeveral counties, the ſame principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had ſo eminently diſplayed in parliament: and that he truſted the good underſtanding between him and his ſubjects, would be more than ſufficient to defeat the deſigns of their ſecret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies.

After putting an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, the king embarked for Holland on the ſixteenth of January, in order to aſſiſt at a congreſs of the confederate princes and ſtates, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert meaſures for the defence of the liberties of Europe againſt the encroachments of France. On his arrival in the capital of the United Provinces, the ſtates general, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, and other colleges, waited on the king with congratulations on his ſafe arrival. On the twenty-ſixth of January, he made a public entry, and was received with great pomp, and the ſincereſt expreſſions of joy. Triumphal arches were erected in the principal ſtreets through which he paſſed, filled with inſcriptions expreſſing his great and generous actions in defence of public liberty.

The congreſs was opened ſoon after his arrival. It conſiſted of the imperial miniſters, thoſe from Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Brandenburgh, Saxony, Trieves, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatine, Savoy, Zell, Munſter, Heſſe-Caſſel, Wolfenbuttle, Hanover, Holſtein Gottorp, Liege, and thoſe from king William. The whole forming one of the moſt glorious aſſemblies mentioned in the annals of hiſtory, and convened for the nobleſt purpoſe, that of oppoſing the ambitious encroachments of an arbitrary prince, and ſecuring the peace, tranquillity, and liberties of a whole continent.

William opened the congreſs with a very pathetic ſpeech, in which he diſplayed, in the moſt forcible colours, "the imminent danger to which they were at preſent expoſed; plainly demonſtrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate change of meaſures: that this was not the time to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already maſter of the principal fortreſſes which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would ſoon be able to poſſeſs himſelf of all the inferior fortifications, if a ſpirit of diviſion, ſelfiſhneſs, and irreſolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to conſider his own intereſt as involved in the good of the whole: that the forces of the enemy were numerous and powerful; and, if not prevented, would ſweep every thing before them like a torrent: that it was in vain to oppoſe the pretenſions of injuſtice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitleſs proteſtations: that not the reſolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of ſome men of fortune built on a ſandy foundation, would be ſufficient; but that of powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution to accompliſh the glorious work: that all theſe muſt be inſtantly employed againſt the common enemy, if they meant to check his progreſs, and to ſnatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he was now ſubjecting to a cruel and heavy yoke." He concluded with aſſuring them, "That, for his own part, he would neither ſpare his forces, his credit, nor his own perſon, to effect ſo noble a deſign; but would appear in the ſpring at the head of his troops, to fulfil faithfully his royal promiſes."

This ſpeech was received with great applauſe by the whole aſſembly, and produced the moſt happy effect. A reſolution was immediately taken to employ two hundred and five thouſand men againſt France, of which the ſeveral princes and ſtates were to furniſh the following proportions: the king of England, twenty thouſand; the emperor, twenty thouſand; the king of Spain in Flanders, twenty thouſand; the ſtates-general, twenty-five thouſand; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, twenty thouſand; the elector of Bavaria, eighteen thouſand; the elector of Saxony, twelve thouſand; the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, eight thouſand; the circles of Suabia and Franconia, ten thouſand; the duke of Wirtemberg, ſix thouſand; the elector of Brandenburg, twenty thouſand; the elector Palatine, four thouſand; the prince of Liege, ſix thouſand; and the prince of Lunenburgh, ſixteen thouſand. Had theſe engagements been punctually fulfilled, a final ſtop would ſoon have been put to the conqueſts of France; but this was far from being the caſe. Few of the princes took any care to ſend their full quota of troops to the general rendezvous; ſo that England and Holland were obliged to bear almoſt the whole expence and burden of the war.

While William was thus nobly oppoſing the power of France in the Low Countries, his general in Ireland, baron Ginckle, ruined the remains of James's intereſt in that kingdom. Athlone was taken by ſtorm, and almoſt under the eye of the Iriſh army. A deciſive battle was fought at Agrim, where the catholic forces were totally routed; and Tyrconnel, the principal friend of James, was ſo affected with that fatal misfortune, that he died of grief. The taking of Limerick crowned the ſucceſs of Ginckle. He granted the inhabitants an honourable capitulation, in which all the other places that had not yet ſubmitted were comprehended. It was declared, that whoever ſhould acknowledge the authority of William and Mary, a few perſons only excepted, ſhould be reſtored to their fortunes, privileges and immunities, and enjoy the protection of the laws; that each perſon ſhould have liberty to retire, with his family and effects, into any other country except England or Scotland; that ſuch as choſe this alternative, ſhould be provided with carriages and tranſport veſſels; that the Roman catholics ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, as far as was conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland, and in the ſame manner they had enjoyed it in the reign of Charles II. Whether the proteſtants were ſatisfied with this treaty is not abſolutely known; but Ginckle was ordered to put an end to the war; and his expedition was ſo much the more glorious, as Lewis XIV. had ſent a reinforcement of troops, and large quantities of ammunition and proviſions, to Limerick. But notwithſtanding the amneſty and liberty of conſcience, above twelve thouſand Iriſh choſe rather to baniſh themſelves, than ſubmit to the government. France was the kingdom they choſe for their retreat, and where they were thanked by James for their fidelity. It would have been more to his honour, and, perhaps, to his advantage, had he put himſelf at their head, and ſupported the declining ſtate of a kingdom ſo firmly attached to his ſervice.

William returned to England in the month of April, and exerted all his abilities in reſtoring peace to his kingdom, which had been greatly diſturbed during his abſence by the ſecret practices of the malecontents. A conſpiracy had been formed for reſtoring James, and ſeveral perſons apprehended juſt as they were going to ſail for France. This rendered the plot abortive. The king having thus put an end to a contrivance that ſeemed to threaten the peace of England, embarked for Holland on the ſecond of May, in order to put himſelf at the head of the confederate army.

The French had taken the field much ſooner than the allies. Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thouſand men, was advancing to beſiege Bruſſels; while the marquis de Boufflers, with another army, ſat down before Liege. William loſt no time in putting himſelf at the head of the allied army, and ſoon rendered both enterprizes abortive. The French were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of both places almoſt as ſoon as the trenches were opened. He endeavoured to bring Luxemburgh to an engagement; but in this he was diſappointed; that general was unwilling to engage an army greatly ſuperior to his own; and the campaign ended in Flanders without any conſiderable advantage being gained on either ſide.

On the nineteenth of October, William landed in England from the continent; and on the twenty-ſecond opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he informed both houſes, “That he hoped the ſucceſs his forces had met with in Ireland would be a powerful inducement to their aſſiſting him with freſh ſupplies. He recommended the keeping a ſtrong fleet at ſea, and an army of ſixty-five thouſand men aſhore, that they might annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part: adding, that they had now an opportunity of eſtabliſhing their future quiet and proſperity on a firm foundation; an opportunity which, if now neglected, might never return.

The parliament congratulated William on his ſucceſs, and declared their readineſs to ſupport him in the neceſſary war in which he was engaged againſt France. They alſo thanked general Ginckle for his ſervices, and the king created him earl of Athlone. But in the promiſe given by the parliament, there was, in general, more flattery than ſincerity. A ſecret diſcontent was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. The idea of keeping on foot an army of ſixty thouſand men alarmed the people. It was thought very ſtrange, that a greater number of troops ſhould now be thought neceſſary than in times of the greateſt danger: it was even inſinuated, that ſo numerous an army might be employed to eſtabliſh the throne of deſpotiſm on the ruins of the people's liberties. They complained, that they bore the whole burden of the war without reaping any of the profits. The moſt mortifying reflections were thrown out on the conduct of the miniſtry and the character of the king. He was charged with ill-nature and ingratitude, chiefly on account of the earl of Marlborough, who, inſtead of being rewarded for his ſervices, was diſgraced. He was alſo accuſed of employing corruption in electing members to ſerve in parliament. The Jacobites exaggerated all theſe grievances; and the Whigs, who had ſufficient reaſon to complain, were not more tender with regard to the reputation of the miniſters. Theſe reflections, however, produced no alarming conſequences; the commons voted upwards of a million and a half for the ſervice of the navy and ordnance, and above two millions for the ſervice of the land forces.

A. D. 1692. The funds for the year being at laſt ſettled, the king came to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fourth of February; and, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn for his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had provided for the neceſſities of the ſtate: adding, that he intended ſpeedily to paſs over to the continent, in order to head the allied army in perſon.

Scotland, during theſe tranſactions, was greatly agitated. William, ever ſince the commencement of his reign, had treated the preſbyterians with great reſpect; but that fiery ſect ſoon diſpleaſed him by their ſtrange conduct. He changed his opinion, and conferred his favours wholly on the friends of epiſcopacy. Theſe, in their turn, abuſed the credit they had obtained over a people whom they hated. Their behaviour enraged the preſbyterians, and the diſſolution of their aſſembly was conſidered as an act of tyranny. They, however, continued their meetings, though expreſs orders had been ſent from the king to the contrary, and became the implacable cenſors of government. William had, indeed, given them reaſon for complaint, by maſſacring a number of the Scots highlanders, though Macdonald, their chief, had taken the oaths to the government. An enemy of that leader had repreſented him at court as an obſtinate rebel. Poſſibly the king was a ſtranger to his ſubmiſſion, and a cruel order was as cruelly executed. Part of the inhabitants of the valley of Glencow was alſo put to the ſword, their houſes burnt, their cattle carried off, and their wives and children left without ſupport amidſt their native ſnow. Thus the few whom the ſword had ſpared fell victims to cold and hunger. This cruel execution occaſioned ſuch heavy complaints, that the king ordered the authors and abettors of it to be impeached. He declared he was ignorant of the contents of an order ſigned by his own hand. Terror only reſtrained the Scots highlanders from taking a ſevere revenge: they mourned in ſilence the loſs of their friends, who merited a much better fate, but were never thoroughly friends to William's government.

Soon after the king's departure for Holland, Lewis XIV. engaged with the Jacobites in England to make another effort for reſtoring James to his throne. An invaſion was projected, and it was agreed that the troops ſhould be landed on the coaſt of Suſſex. So much precaution had been taken in France in carrying on the neceſſary preparations, that every thing was ready for executing the deſign before it was ſo much as ſuſpected in England. The land forces conſiſted of four battalions of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, and about nine thouſand French, commanded by the marſhal de Belfondes; ſo that the whole amounted to twenty thouſand men. A fleet of three hundred tranſports was collected, and provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. The troops were ready to embark, and waited only the arrival of the count d'Etrees with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, appointed to eſcort the tranſports; while Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet.

James ſent over colonel Parker about the beginning of the year, to give his friends intelligence of his deſign. Parker, not content with executing his commiſſion, formed a plot with one Johnſon for aſſaſſinating king William; but before an opportunity offered for executing their barbarous deſign, the king embarked for Holland, which rendered the whole abortive.

Soon after the king's departure, James ſent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's; in which he openly avowed his intentions of uſing all the means in his power to recover the throne of his anceſtors; and boaſted of having obtained aſſiſtance from France ſufficient, he hoped, to render the attempt ſucceſsful. At the ſame time he exhorted all his faithful ſubjects to continue in their fidelity. He offered pardon and rewards to all the prince of Orange's ſoldiers, and others who ſhould think proper to join him; and even proceeded ſo far as to except by name from this indemnity no leſs than thirteen noblemen, two biſhops, ſeven barons, and a great number of the clergy and gentry. This declaration was ordered to be publiſhed as ſoon as the troops were ready to be embarked.

Parker and his agents were, in the mean time, buſily employed in enliſting men privately in the northern counties; while Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to lord Montgomery and colonel Holman, employed themſelves in forming two regiments of horſe in London, ready to join James on his landing. But their zeal for the ſervice of their maſter carried them too far. Perſuaded that every perſon in the kingdom who was not a zealous friend to the eſtabliſhed government would readily join in an attempt to overturn it, they made no difficulty of applying to all who had ſhewn the leaſt diſſatisfaction at the public meaſures. Rear admiral Carter was known to have ſtrenuouſly defended the rights of the people, and on this foundation only they made application to him as a friend to the dethroned monarch. Their bigotted prejudices prevented them from reflecting, that he who was a true friend to liberty, muſt be an enemy to James, and every other prince who laboured to eſtabliſh his throne on the ruins of Engliſh freedom. Carter immediately informed the queen and council of the offers that had been made him by Fountaine and Holman. Alarmed at this diſcovery, and deſirous of procuring the neceſſary information, Carter was deſired to continue his correſpondence with the conſpirators, and pretend an inclination of joining them. He fully performed the requeſt of the council; and the conſpirators, who exulted in having gained over to their intereſt ſo able an officer, made him acquainted with all their ſecrets. They immediately diſpatched an expreſs to lord Melfort, James's ſecretary, informing him of their ſucceſs in corrupting Carter, who would take care to bring over all the officers of his ſquadron. At the ſame time, they deſired he would preſs the king of France to ſend peremptory orders to Tourville to ſail directly, without waiting for d'Etrees. This proved the deſtruction of the whole ſcheme. James repaired to La Hogue, on the coaſt of Normandy, where the troops were ready to embark, and Tourville was ordered to ſail immediately.

The manifeſto of James was now publiſhed, in which the ſeverities of the prince of Orange's government, the enormous expences to which he had put the nation, were enumerated, and the people invited to return to the allegiance of their native prince. He promiſed to protect the church of England, to eſtabliſh an entire liberty of conſcience, to make trade and navigation flouriſh, to redreſs all the grievances, and to confirm the happineſs of the nation. Theſe fine promiſes were not, however, ſufficient to efface the remembrance of the many grievances which had forced the people to drive him from the throne. Whatever diſcontents might prevail in England, the animoſity againſt James was much ſtronger than the murmurs againſt his rival.

This declaration was hardly publiſhed, before the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of thirty-ſix ſail of the line, under the command of admiral Allemonde, joined the Engliſh at St. Helen's; and admiral Ruſſel, who commanded in chief, received orders to put to ſea immediately. The trained bands of London and Weſtminſter, amounting to about ten thouſand men, were drawn up in Hyde-Park, and reviewed by the queen in perſon.

On the eighteenth of May, admiral Ruſſel left St. Helen's, and ſtood over towards the coaſt of France. About three the next morning, the ſcouts, to the weſtward of the fleet, made the ſignal for diſcovering the enemy, and orders were immediately given for forming the line of battle. This was ſoon effected, and the whole fleet ſtood towards the enemy in the following order. The Dutch ſquadron formed the van; the red ſquadron the center; and the blue ſquadron the rear. The French admiral was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw the combined fleets of England and Holland. He had received no advice of this junction, and flattered himſelf with being able to defeat the Engliſh, unaſſiſted by their ally. He might, however, have declined an engagement; but having received poſitive orders to fight the enemy, he reſolved to obey, and exert all his endeavours to execute the commands of his maſter, in the manner becoming a good officer and an intrepid ſeaman.

The combined fleet conſiſted of ninety-nine ſhips of the line, and the French only ſixty-three. About half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, a ſhip of one hundred and ten guns, brought to, began the fight with admiral Ruſſel, and continued the engagement about an hour and a half, when he began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails and top-ſail yards being very much damaged.

Hitherto the wind had been weſterly, but it now flew about to the north-weſt; and ſoon after, five ſhips of the enemy poſted themſelves, three a-head, and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and continued firing very ſmartly till about three o'clock; ſo that Ruſſel and his two ſeconds, Churchill and Aylmer, had ſix or ſeven ſhips upon them at once. About four a thick fog came up, and the firing on both ſides ceaſed; but it clearing up in a little time, the French admiral was diſcovered towing away to the northward, and Ruſſel ordered all the ſhips of his diviſion to do the like. A ſmall breeze from the eaſtward now ſprung up, and the ſignal was immediately made for chacing. About this time a continued firing was heard to the weſtward; and it ſoon appeared that Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, having got to windward of Tourville's ſquadron, had attacked their admiral of the blue. After the engagement had continued for ſome time, the ſhips of both ſquadrons came to an anchor. In the mean time, admiral Ruſſel ordered all the ſhips of his diviſion to ſtand to the weſtward during the night, from a perſuaſion that the French would do all in their power to eſcape to Breſt. He was not miſtaken; for in the morning he found himſelf much nearer to the enemy than thoſe who had come to an anchor. About eight at night a firing was heard to the weſtward, and continued about half an hour; part of the Engliſh blue ſquadron having fallen in with ſome ſhips of the enemy during the fog; and in that diſpute rear-admiral Carter was ſlain. Finding his laſt moments were at hand, he begged his captain to fight his ſhip as long as ſhe would ſwim; a ſufficient proof that there was not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect his zeal for the ſervice of his country.

The fog continued during the whole night, with very little wind; and in the morning it was ſo hazy, that very few of the enemy's ſhips could be ſeen; but the weather clearing up about eight, the Dutch, who were at ſome diſtance to the ſouthward, made the ſignal for ſeeing the French fleet, and ſoon after, thirty-four ſail were diſcovered about two or three leagues diſtant to the ſouth-weſt, the wind being then at north-eaſt. The Engliſh now crowded all the ſail poſſible; and between eleven and twelve the wind came about to the ſouth-weſt, when the French ſtood away to the weſtward, and the Engliſh after them. About eleven the next day the Royal Sun ran aſhore, while two other large ſhips of the enemy ſtood as near her as poſſible. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, was now ordered to deſtroy the Royal Sun, while the reſt of the fleet continued their purſuit of the enemy. This ſervice he effectually performed, and the fineſt ſhip in the French navy was reduced to aſhes.

About four in the afternoon, eighteen of the French ſhips which had reached Cape Barfleur, haled in for La Hogue, and came to an anchor cloſe under the ſhore. The next day Ruſſel ordered Mr. Rooke, vice-admiral of the blue, with his ſquadron, the fire-ſhips, and all the boats of the fleet, to ſtand in and deſtroy thoſe ſhips. He obeyed his orders, and burnt thirteen men of war, ſeveral tranſports, and ſome ſmall veſſels, loaded with ammunition.

In this famous engagement two ſhips of one hundred and four guns, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of ſeventy-ſix, four of ſixty, and two of fifty-ſix guns, belonging to the enemy, were deſtroyed. James ſaw this deſtruction, and was ſo ſenſibly affected by the misfortune, that, in a letter he wrote to the king of France on this occaſion, he begged he would leave him to his fate. "I have hitherto (ſaid he) ſupported, with ſome conſtancy and reſolution, the weight of my misfortunes, while I myſelf was the only ſufferer; but this diſaſter has overwhelmed me with grief, and left me no room for comfort. I know too well that my own unlucky ſtar has drawn this misfortune upon your forces, always victorious but when they fought for my intereſt, and therefore I no longer merit the ſupport of ſo great a monarch. Let me therefore intreat your majeſty to concern yourſelf no longer for a prince ſo dreadfully unfortunate; but permit me to retire, with my family, to ſome corner of the world, where I may ceaſe to obſtruct the courſe of your majeſty's ſucceſſes and conqueſts, and where it will be the greateſt of my conſolations to hear of the quick return of your majeſty's wonted triumphs, both by ſea and land, over both your enemies and mine. This, I doubt not, will ſoon be the caſe, when my intereſt ſhall be no longer intermixed with your's." Lewis endeavoured to alleviate his afflictions by every method in his power. He wrote him an anſwer, filled with the kindeſt expreſſions, and promiſed never to forſake him in his misfortunes.

The queen was no ſooner informed of this victory, than ſhe ſent thirty thouſand pounds to Portſmouth, in order to its being diſtributed among the ſailors; ordered medals to be ſtruck for the officers; and cauſed the bodies of admiral Carter and colonel Haſtings, who had fallen in the engagement, to be honourably interred. The French, in their turn, were threatened with an invaſion, and about ſeven thouſand men embarked on board the fleet for that purpoſe. Great expectations were formed with regard to this expedition; but the advanced ſeaſon of the year was thought a ſufficient reaſon for laying it aſide, and the troops were ſent over to ſerve in Flanders.

But if Lewis was unfortunate at ſea, it was different with regard to his army in the Low Countries. He took Namur in perſon. The marſhal de Luxembourgh, who covered the ſiege, conducted the whole with ſuch addreſs, that William, at the head of a numerous and powerful army, could neither paſs the Maes, nor throw any ſuccours into that important place. Luxembourg, though then extremely ill, gained a victory over him, ſome time after, at Steinkirk; but William found inexhauſtible reſources in his genius. He kept the field as if he had not been conquered, and the joy which this victory occaſioned in France was a kind of triumph for him. It is often as glorious to repair the misfortunes of a defeat, as to gain a victory. About this time a conſpiracy, formed againſt the life of king William, was diſcovered. The whole was attributed to the French miniſter, and, indeed, with ſufficient reaſon.

The Engliſh malecontents were greatly diſſatisfied with the affairs on the continent. They thought not ſo much of the propriety of oppoſing a monarch who was the common diſturber of Europe, as of the conſequences of a war, which would at laſt beggar and depopulate the kingdom. The king (ſaid they) is ſacrificing the ſtate to foreigners. The intereſt and neceſſities of the Engliſh affect him much leſs than the advantages of the Dutch; impriſonments and illegal violences make the former feel all the weight of deſpotiſm; the miniſtry pay no regard to the laws, or to public liberty; each prefers his own intereſt to that of his country; and even thoſe evils will only prove a prelude to greater, unleſs a ſpeedy remedy be applied." It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the principles of the nation were greatly altered. Meanneſs roſe to affluence, affluence led to luxury, and luxury to corruption. The ſcandalous practice of purchaſing votes in parliament had grown common, and the diſorder ſpread with rapidity. So that the ſpirit of party, which exaggerates every thing, had an ample field for the exerciſe of its malignancy. William accordingly, on his return from Holland, found the affairs of the kingdom in a greater ferment than ever. The moſt violent debates were carried on in the houſe of lords, on account of the impriſonment of certain peers; and it was reſolved that the judges, and others, who had cauſed the priſoners to be arreſted for high-treaſon, ought, according to the act of habeas corpus, to have admitted them to bail, unleſs two witneſſes were ready to declare upon oath, that they were really guilty; but theſe they could not produce. Alarmed at the ferment, and dreading the conſequences, William immediately ſet the priſoners at liberty. On the other hand, the commons entered into inquiries, why the victory at ſea had not been purſued? Why the intended deſcent had been laid aſide? and why proper care had not been taken to cover the trade, by having convoys ſtationed at proper places? They alſo deliberated on preſenting a remonſtrance to the king on different ſubjects; but the influence of the ordinary means of corruption ſoon put an end to the deſign, and induced them to grant large and extravagant ſupplies. Two millions were deſtined for the navy, and more than three for the army and the continental war. They voted fifty-four thouſand men, of whom twenty thouſand were to remain in the kingdom, for its defence. Eſtates real and perſonal, except the pay of military officers, were taxed at the rate of four ſhillings in the pound. The lords added a clauſe to the bill, implying, that they had taxed themſelves. This gave offence to the commons, who affirmed it to be a violation of the right they poſſeſſed in all regulations of parliamentary ſupplies. The lords gave up the diſpute, but declared they did it only in conſideration of the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate. But notwithſtanding the almoſt ſervile compliance of the parliament, ſome meaſures were attempted contrary to the views of the court. It was propoſed to annihilate the Eaſt-India Company, which was charged with great abuſes; and to paſs an act to render parliaments triennial, in order to prevent bribery and corruption at elections. But the miniſtry had ſufficient influence and addreſs to render theſe deſigns abortive.

A. D. 1693. On the thirty-firſt of March, the king embarked at Graveſend, and landed ſafely at the Maeſe on the ſecond of April. He ſoon after put himſelf at the head of the allied army, and advanced againſt the enemy. Luxembourg ſurprized and attacked him at Nerwind with a ſuperior army. The king loſt not a moment. He drew up his forces in order of battle, expoſed himſelf to every kind of danger, but was obliged at laſt to give way to the numbers of the enemy. Though vanquiſhed, he made a glorious retreat, and was ſtill reſpectable. Nor did the French reap any other advantage from their victory than that of making themſelves maſters of Charleroy. William was thought to have gained more real honour in the battle of Nerwind than when he triumphed at the Boyne. His very enemies were charmed with his conduct. It was a common ſaying in the French camp, that "they wanted only ſuch a king to make themſelves maſters of Chriſtendom." The prince of Conti, in a letter he wrote to his conſort, uſed the following expreſſion: "I ſaw the king expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; and ſurely ſo much valour very well deſerves the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wears." The king of France himſelf is reported to have ſaid, "That Luxembourg's behaviour was like that of the prince of Conti, but William's like that of marſhal Turenne."

Germany and Piedmont were alſo at the ſame time the theatres of war. The Palatinate was inhumanly ravaged by the duke of Lorges. The duke of Savoy, who, the preceding year, had ſpread deſolation through Dauphiny, was defeated near Marſeilles by Catinat. But Lewis XIV. notwithſtanding ſo many victories, found enemies in every quarter, capable of making the ſtrongeſt reſiſtance. The dreadful ſcourge of war, after ſtrewing the plains with the bodies of the dead, frequently leaves nothing more behind than vain exultations on the ſide of the victor. The more dreadful ſcourge of famine followed that of war. Two harveſts had failed, and the vintage had ſuffered greatly; ſo that the French had neither bread nor wine. The utmoſt diligence was uſed to import corn from other countries; and the famous Dubart ſeaſonably purchaſed large quantities both in Sweden and Denmark, conveying it ſafely into the harbours of France.

The affairs at ſea were not advantageous to England. The French had, in ſome meaſure, repaired their loſſes at La Hogue, and the commerce of the allies ſuffered greatly. The Engliſh and Dutch fleets were, indeed, very ſtrong, and ſailed early. The admirals were not at firſt reſtrained by any particular inſtructions, but ordered in general to deſtroy the ſhips of the enemy, and protect the trade; but they afterwards received particular inſtructions with regard to a large fleet of near four hundred ſail of merchant ſhips belonging to England, Holland, and Hamburgh. After ſeveral councils held on this occaſion, it was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean ſquadron, ſhould proceed together thirty leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt from Uſhant; when Sir George Rooke, who was appointed to command the ſquadron deſtined to convoy them, was to proceed with them towards the ports to which they were bound. Accordingly Sir George, with all the Turkey ſhips, left the main body of the fleet on the ſixth of June; and ſteering for the Streights, left by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St. Ubes, and other ports. When he was within ſixty leagues of Cape St. Vincent, he diſcovered part of the French fleet; on which he immediately called a council of war, where it was reſolved, that as the wind was northerly, and a freſh gale, the merchant ſhips ſhould make the beſt of their way to Cadiz. This reſolution was hardly taken, before the whole fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of eighty ſail, under the command of Tourville, was diſcovered. Rooke was perſuaded there was now no time to retreat; but Vandergoes, the Dutch vice-admiral, informed him, that he choſe to avoid an engagement, which he thought extremely hazardous. Rooke therefore followed his advice, and they both ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, that the heavy ſhips might work up to windward. At the ſame time, the Sheerneſs was diſpatched with orders to the ſmall ſhips, near the land, to endeavour to keep cloſe under the ſhore during the night, and take ſhelter in Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. About ſix in the evening, the van of the enemy came up with the ſternmoſt of the confederate fleet, conſiſting of three Dutch men of war. Theſe bravely fought, firſt eleven, and then ſeven of the enemy's ſhips, for five hours together. They had the good fortune to clear themſelves from the former; but were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, after making a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. The Dutch merchant ſhips immediately tacked and ſtood in for the ſhore, and the enemy after them. Rooke ſtood off to ſea during the night; and the next morning fifty-four of the merchant ſhips, and ſeveral men of war, were about him; but no more than two of the latter belonged to the Dutch. Five ſail of the enemy's ſhips were ſeen to leeward, and two to windward; the latter kept in ſight of him till it was night. The next day the admiral called a council of war, where it was determined to ſail directly to the Madeiras, in order to procure water, and thence either to Cork or Kingſale. This reſolution was accordingly executed, and Sir George conducted that part of the fleet back to Ireland in ſafety.

Had the enemy purſued their firſt advantage with the ſame conduct and reſolution, hardly a ſhip could have eſcaped; for when the Dutch tacked and ſtood in for the ſhore, the van of the French were within cannon-ſhot of the Engliſh admiral; but their tacking after the Dutch gave the other part of the fleet an opportunity of eſcaping. The loſs was, however, very conſiderable, and fell chiefly on the Hollanders, who loſt on this occaſion above eighty ſail of merchant ſhips, and three men of war. The Engliſh loſt only one man of war, and about five merchantmen.

About the latter end of October, the king returned to England; and on the ſeventh of November, opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am always glad to meet you here; and I could heartily wiſh that our ſatisfaction were not leſſened at preſent by reflecting upon the diſadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miſcarriages in our affairs at ſea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occaſioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which reflects ſo great diſgrace upon the nation, I have reſented it extremely; and as I will take care that thoſe who have not done their duty ſhall be puniſhed, ſo I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, that our power at ſea may be rightly managed for the future: and it will well deſerve your conſideration, whether we are not defective, both in the number of our ſhipping, and in proper ports to the weſtward, for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is ſo eſſential to the welfare of theſe kingdoms.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very ſenſible of the good affection wherewith you have always aſſiſted me to ſupport the charges of the war, which have been very great; and yet I am perſuaded that the experience of this ſummer is ſufficient to convince us all, that, to arrive at a good end of it, there will be a neceſſity of increaſing our forces, both by ſea and land, the next year. Our allies have reſolved to add to theirs; and I will not doubt, that you will have ſuch regard to the preſent exigence, as that you will give me a ſuitable ſupply to enable me to do the like. I muſt therefore earneſtly recommend it to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to take ſuch timely reſolutions, as that your ſupplies may be effectual, and our preparations ſo forward, as will be neceſſary both for the honour and ſecurity of the nation."

The commons in anſwer to this ſpeech, unanimouſly declared they would ſupport his majeſty and his government, and grant ſufficient ſupply for the vigorous proſecution of the war. But before they proceeded to take the ſupplies into conſideration, they began an enquiry into cauſes of the miſcarriage of the fleet during the laſt ſummer, and the beſt methods for ſecuring the trade of the nation. But the enquiring into the miſcarriage of the fleet was attended with no diſcoveries; a miſmanagement appeared ſome where; but it was found impoſſible to fix it on any individuals.

This enquiry being finiſhed, the commons proceeded to deliberate on the ſupplies, and voted, that five hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed towards diſcharging the wages due to the ſeamen; and that a farther ſum of two millions be granted to their majeſties for the maintenance of the fleet, including the ordnance: that the number of forces in their majeſties pay be increaſed to ſix new regiments of Engliſh dragoons, and fifteen new regiments of Engliſh foot: that eighty-three thouſand one hundred and twenty-one men, including commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers, were neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be employed in England and beyond the ſeas: and that the ſum of two millions, five hundred thirty-five thouſand, five hundred and ninety pounds be granted for the maintenance of the land forces. They alſo voted one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds to make good the annuity deficiency, and two hundred ninety-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two pounds to make good the deficiency of the poll-bill. Thus the ſupplies voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year, amounted to near five millions and a half, and were raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; by an increaſe of annuities; a farther exciſe on beer, and a duty on ſalt.

After finiſhing theſe votes, the commons paſſed a bill for rendering all members of their houſe incapable of truſt and profit. This bill alſo paſſed the upper houſe, and lay ready for the royal aſſent; but when the king came to the houſe of peers to paſs the land-tax bill, he thought proper to refuſe it. This refuſal alarmed the commons: the whole houſe was turned into a committee on the ſtate of the nation, and it was reſolved, "That whoever adviſed the king not to give the royal aſſent to the act which was to redreſs a grievance, and take off a ſcandal from the commons in parliament, is an enemy to their majeſties and the kingdom; and that a repreſentation be made to the king to lay before him how few inſtances have been, in former reigns, of denying the royal aſſent to bills for the redreſs of grievances; and the grief of the commons for his not having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public bills, and in particular to this bill, which tends ſo much to clear the reputation of this houſe, after having voted ſo freely to ſupply the public occaſions."

Theſe reſolutions being formed into a repreſentation, it was preſented by the whole houſe to the king, who was pleaſed to make the following anſwer:

"Gentlemen,

"I am very ſenſible of the good offices you have expreſſed for me on many occaſions, and the zeal you have ſhewn for our common intereſt; I ſhall make uſe of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher eſteem for the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, than myſelf; and that I ſhall ever have a great regard for the advice of parliament.

"I am perſuaded that nothing can ſo much conduce to the welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the king and people, which I ſhall by all means endeavour to preſerve; and I aſſure you I ſhall look upon ſuch perſons as my enemies, who ſhall adviſe any thing that may leſſen it."

This anſwer, however kind, was not thought ſufficient by many of the members of the houſe of commons, and a motion was made, "that application be made to the king for a farther anſwer." This occaſioned a very warm debate; but the queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative.

Another bill for naturalizing foreign proteſtants, engaged the attention of the public. It was repreſented on one hand, that the ravages of war, the depopulation of the kingdom, the decay of agriculture, the wealth and induſtry of the refugees, already eſtabliſhed in England, the proſpect of increaſing their numbers, and thereby giving ſubjects to the ſtate, and freſh reſources to commerce and manufactures, were conſidered as objects of the laſt importance, and urged in behalf of the bill. On the other hand it was alledged, that foreigners engaged in the manufactures of the Engliſh, would infallibly be of great prejudice to them; that after amaſſing fortunes at their expence, they would leave the kingdom, and return with their riches to their native country; that numbers of artificers were ſtarving for want of employment, and that the evil inſtead of being leſſened would be increaſed by this meaſure. In ſhort, to admit ſo many non-conformiſts into the number of natural born ſubjects, was to expoſe the church of England to danger which ſhould be avoided. The laſt obſervation was urged with great warmth; and prevailed with many who conſidered the church and ſtate as a prey to foreigners. Popular prejudices are often formidable. The court party ſaw the difficulty, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, withdrew the bill till a more favourable opportunity.

While the parliament were employed in ſettling the ſupplies, captain Bembow bombarded St. Maloes four days together, but with no remarkable ſucceſs. The engineer in this expedition had prepared a fire-ſhip of a new conſtruction, which was intended to be laid as cloſe to the walls as poſſible, and there ſet on fire, the exploſion of which it was imagined would have produced very great effects. But in conducting her to the place intended, ſhe ran on a rock; and the engineer perceiving it would now be impoſſible to execute the deſign, ſet her on fire. The exploſion was prodigious; all the windows in St. Maloes were broken, the roofs of ſeveral houſes torn off, and the earth trembled for three miles round. Had ſhe been carried cloſe to the walls as intended, and there ſet on fire, great part of the town muſt have been deſtroyed.

A. D. 1694. About the latter end of February advice arrived, that a fleet of merchant ſhips, under a convoy of men of war, commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler, having ſailed from Gibraltar up the Streights, met with a moſt violent ſtorm, which continued the whole day and the ſucceeding night, and occaſioned the moſt melancholy misfortune. The Suſſex, the ſhip on board of which Sir Francis carried his flag, foundered, and he himſelf with his whole crew, except two Moors, periſhed; the Cambridge and Lumley-caſtle men of war, the Serpent bomb-ketch, and the Mary ketch, together with ſix merchantmen, were driven aſhore, to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, and moſt of their men loſt. The ſame fate attended three Dutch ſhips richly laden; but rear-admiral Nevill, and three Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to eſcape into Cadiz.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the money bills being all paſſed, and the king deſirous of opening the campaign early, came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty thanked them for the zeal they had expreſſed for the government, and for the large ſupplies they had granted; promiſed to do his part towards rendering the efforts againſt the common enemy ſucceſsful, and intreated them to be careful to preſerve the public peace during his abſence.

The confederate fleet ſailed early in the ſpring; but they were neither able to block up the French in Breſt, nor to bring them to a general engagement at ſea. They induſtriouſly avoided a battle: the defeat at La Hogue was not yet forgotten; another ſuch misfortune would have almoſt annihilated their maritime power. They ſailed from Breſt before the Engliſh appeared, and continued their courſe to the Mediterranean; Lewis having formed very dangerous deſigns againſt Spain. William knew this, and gave orders to admiral Ruſſel to follow them; but being informed that a fleet of French merchantmen was lying in Bertram-bay bound to the weſtward, the admiral detached captain Pickard and the Roebuck fire-ſhip to take or deſtroy them. He executed his orders with ſucceſs: the fleet conſiſted of fifty-five ſail, of which he burnt or ſunk thirty-five, and drove their convoy among the rocks, where ſhe was ſet on fire, and ſoon after blew up. Two armed ſloops that attended her were alſo deſtroyed.

A project for deſtroying Breſt had been for ſome time concerted, and an attempt was now made for carrying it into execution. The land forces were commanded by lieutenant-general Talmaſh; and on the fifth of June, lord Berkeley, admiral of the blue ſquadron, parted from admiral Ruſſel, with twenty-nine men of war of the line, beſides ſmall frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips and tranſports. On the ſeventh he came to an anchor between Bertram-bay and Camaret, a ſmall neck of land in the mouth of the river of Breſt.

On the eighth it was reſolved that eight ſhips of the line ſhould enter the bay in order to cover the landing of the troops, and, if poſſible, to ſilence the batteries of the enemy. The marquis of Carmarthen, who commanded this ſquadron, was no ſooner within reach of the enemy's mortars, than they began to play upon them with the utmoſt fury from the point de Filettes and the weſtern point of Camaret. Three batteries more were now opened upon them, ſituated in different parts of the bay. But notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, the marquis poſted the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that they gave great aſſiſtance to the land forces, and ſilenced ſome of the batteries.

While the ſhips were thus playing upon the enemy, Talmaſh landed at the head of about nine hundred men, under a little rock on the ſouth ſide of a ſmall bay, where they were immediately charged with ſo much vigour by the French marines, that they were obliged to retire to their boats in great confuſion. But it happening to be ebb tide, moſt of their boats were faſt aground, ſo that the greater part of the men were either killed or taken priſoners. Among the reſt the brave Talmaſh was mortally wounded. The reſt of the boats eſcaped to the ſhips; and the marquis, perceiving it was impoſſible to ſucceed, ſtood out of the bay, with the loſs of the Weſep, a ſmall Duch man of war, and four hundred men. Of the forces that landed near four hundred were either killed or taken priſoners, and about the ſame number deſperately wounded. Such was the conſequence of an expedition which had no chance of ſucceeding. The ſecret had not been kept, and the French had time ſufficient to take meaſures abundantly ſufficient to render the attempt abortive had nine thouſand inſtead of nine hundred men been landed.

The campaign in Flanders was marked with no event of conſequence. The allies endeavoured to penetrate into the French territories but were prevented by Luxembourgh, who poſted his army in ſuch a manner, that William, deſpairing of ſucceſs, inveſted Huy, which ſoon ſurrendered. The advantage was, however, on the ſide of the allies, and many entertained thoughts that the French would now be willing to make a peace upon equitable terms. They were miſtaken; Lewis was not yet ſufficiently humbled to give peace to Europe.

The king being returned to England, he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them, that though no great advantage had been gained, a ſtop had been put to the progreſs of the French arms; that having had ſo much experience of their affections and their zeal for the public, he could not doubt of their being willing to aſſiſt him with ſupplies ſufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, the only means of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace. He concluded with earneſtly recommending a bill for the encouragement of ſeamen. "You muſt be ſenſible," ſaid he, "how much a law of this nature would tend to the advancement of trade, and of the naval ſtrength of this kingdom; which is our great intereſt, and ought to be our principal care."

The parliament made no difficulty of complying with the king's requeſt. The ſupplies, which amounted to near five millions were readily granted. But at the ſame time the commons brought in a bill for the more frequent calling of parliaments. This bill went hand in hand with thoſe for the ſupply, and having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſecond of December. By this bill it was enacted that a new parliament ſhould be called every third year, and that the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved before the end of the ſucceeding year. The paſſing of this bill gave great joy to the people. They were perſuaded that the manner of procuring votes at elections by bribery and corruption would now be laid aſide; and that the commons would recover at once their ſtrength and reputation.

The very day this bill was brought into parliament, Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, ſincerely lamented by all who eſteemed piety and virtue. He was a perſon of great judgment, clear underſtanding, and a tender and compaſſionate heart: a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and forgiving enemy. Without affectation, bigotry, or ſuperſtition, he was truly religious. His notions of morality were at once excellent and ſublime. His reaſoning was clear, eaſy and ſolid. He enforced the precepts of the goſpel, in pure and elegant language. His ſermons were ſo greatly admired that they were eſteemed the beſt examples of ſacred declamation in any language; nor have they yet loſt their eſteem.

Both the king and queen were greatly affected at the death of this pious prelate. The queen for ſeveral days mentioned him in the tendereſt manner, and never without tears. He died ſo poor, that if the king had not given up his firſt-fruits, his debts could not have been paid. He was too charitable to acquire riches, and the only legacy he left to his family was his works. Dr. Tenniſon, biſhop of Lincoln, was judged the moſt proper to ſupply his place, and he was accordingly tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury.

The queen herſelf did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate. She was taken ill about a month after his death. She was ſeized with the ſmall-pox on the twenty-firſt of December, and died on the twenty-eighth, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign. She was an excellent princeſs, and adorned with moſt of the virtues that render the ſex amiable. Her charity was very extenſive, but entirely void of oſtentation; and her example of conjugal fondneſs was greatly ſuperior to what is generally found in her exalted ſtation. The nation teſtified their loſs by their tears; for the queen was univerſally lamented.

Senſible that his majeſty's intereſt was greatly weakened by the death of the queen, both houſes of parliament attended on his majeſty with their addreſs of condoleance, on the thirty-firſt of December: that of the lords was as follows:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, do with inexpreſſible grief humbly aſſure your majeſty of the deep ſenſe we have of the loſs your majeſty, and the whole kingdom, doth ſuſtain, by the death of that excellent princeſs, our ſovereign lady the queen; moſt humbly beſeeching your majeſty that you would not indulge your grief upon this ſad occaſion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal perſon; in whoſe preſervation, not only the welfare of your own ſubjects, but of all chriſtendom, is ſo much concerned. We farther beg leave on this ſad occaſion, humbly to renew to your majeſty the hearty and ſincere aſſurances of our utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt all our enemies both at home and abroad, and of all other demonſtrations of the greateſt duty and affection, that can poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful ſubjects."

The king returned a very gracious anſwer, which was couched in the following terms: "I heartily thank you for your kindneſs to me, but much more for the ſenſe you ſhew of our great loſs, which is above what I can expreſs." The whole nation followed the example of the two houſes of parliament, and conſolatory addreſſes were preſented to the king from all quarters of the kingdom. The princeſs of Denmark, who had for ſome time been refuſed admittance to her ſiſter, wrote the following letter to the king on this mournful occaſion.

"Sir,

"I beg your majeſty's favourable acceptance of my ſincere and hearty ſorrow for your great affliction in the loſs of the queen; and I do aſſure your majeſty I am as ſenſibly touched with this ſad misfortune, as if I had never been ſo unfortunate as to have fallen under her diſpleaſure.

"It is my earneſt deſire your majeſty would give me leave to wait upon you, as ſoon as it can be without inconveniency to you, and without danger of increaſing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myſelf, not only of repeating this, but of aſſuring your majeſty of my real intentions to omit no occaſion of giving you conſtant proofs of my ſincere reſpect and concern for your perſon and intereſt, as becomes

Sir,

Your majeſty's ſiſter,

and ſervant,

ANNE."

This letter produced the deſired effect. Pleaſed with diſcovering that the princeſs was forming no party againſt him, he liſtened to the inſtances of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them. The princeſs waited upon the king at Kenſington, and was received with the ſtrongeſt marks of eſteem. St. James's palace was appointed for her reſidence, and the king made her a preſent of the greateſt part of the late queen's jewels. But though a reconciliation took place, it was without friendſhip; a political regard only ſubſiſted between them.

A. D. 1685. The queen, after lying in ſtate at Whitehall, was interred with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-abbey. Not only her majeſty's houſhold, but all the judges, ſerjeants at law, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and, which raiſed the mournful pomp to the higheſt pitch of ſplendor, both houſes of parliament attended the royal corpſe to the abbey, where a funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

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# WILLIAM III. alone.

A. D. 1695. THE enemies of the government ungenerouſly took advantage of the death of queen Mary for diſtreſſing their country. The earl of Rocheſter propoſed a doubt in the houſe of lords with regard to the legality of the preſent parliament. This doubt was certainly very ill founded: becauſe the calling of a parliament is part of the executive power, which had been lodged in the king by the act of ſettlement. Had this objection been deemed of force ſufficient to have procured the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, the conſequence might have been fatal to the liberties of Europe, as all the preparations for opening the enſuing campaign muſt have been ſuſpended till a new parliament could have been aſſembled. But the obſervation was happily thought ſo frivolous by the houſe that it was not ſeconded.

The commons now applied themſelves to the diſcovery of ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies; but were ſoon ſtopped in their progreſs by the diſcovery of an alarming ſcene of bribery and corruption; in which not only the agents of the army, and ſome members of parliament, but even the privy-counſellors themſelves, were deeply concerned. The enquiry into theſe corrupt practices was as accidental as it was neceſſary. It was occaſioned by the juſt complaints of ſome inhabitants of Royſton, in Hertfordſhire, againſt the abuſes of officers and ſoldiers in demanding ſubſiſtence-money. Their petition being laid before the houſe of commons, and the petitioners, together with Mr. Tracy Pauncefort, agent of colonel Haſtings's regiment, and the officers complained of being heard and examined, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the officers and ſoldiers of the army demanding and exacting ſubſiſtence money in their quarters, or on their march, is arbitrary and illegal, and a great violation of the rights and liberties of the ſubject:" and it was ordered, "That the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the public accounts do lay before the houſe their obſervations of the abuſes and ill practices committed by the agents of the army; and that agent Pauncefort ſhould forthwith lay before the houſe a particular account of all the monies received by him from the earl of Renalagh, and the times of ſuch receipts, ſince the twenty-eighth of May laſt; and how he had paid the ſums, when, and to whom, and what remained in his hand.

Purſuant to this order, Mr. Harley, from the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the public accounts, preſented to the houſe their obſervations on the ill practices committed by the agents; which being taken into conſideration, and Pauncefort, upon bringing in his accounts, being examined, as alſo colonel Haſtings, major Montcal, and ſome other officers and agents, it was reſolved by the houſe, that agent Tracy Pauncefort, for neglecting to pay the ſubſiſtence-money to the officers and ſoldiers quartered at Royſton, having monies in his hands to do the ſame, be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe." About a fortnight after, Pauncefort was again examined; and refuſing to anſwer ſeveral queſtions, though required on pain of being proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That his abſolute refuſal to anſwer to a matter of fact, demanded of him by the houſe, he had violated the privilege, and contemned the authority of the houſe, and the fundamental conſtitution thereof;" and was immediately ſent a priſoner to the Tower for his offence.

The next perſon who felt the weight of the commons reſentment, was Mr. Edward Pauncefort, brother to the agent; who being examined, it was reſolved, "That he, for contriving to cheat colonel Haſtings's regiment, and for giving a bribe to obtain the king's pardon, be taken into cuſtody." Mr. Henry Guy was the next victim. He was a member of the houſe, and ſecretary to the treaſury; but for having taken a bribe of two hundred guineas for procuring the arrears due to a regiment to be paid, was committed to the Tower, and deprived of his poſt. The members were more provoked, becauſe it was generally believed that he, together with the ſpeaker, had been deeply concerned in corrupting the members of the houſe of commons. He had held his poſt in the reigns of the two preceding kings, and the ſhare he had in the ſecret diſtribution of the money, had rendered him a neceſſary aſſiſtant in thoſe meaſures.

Having proceeded to a ſufficient length, the commons agreed to repreſent the whole to the king, ſetting forth the notorious abuſes, ill practices, and intolerable exactions of the colonels and their agents, on the inferior officers and common ſoldiers; and his majeſty promiſed to take the neceſſary care to redreſs theſe grievances. Colonel Haſtings was immediately diſcharged, and his regiment given to Sir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel.

The commons proceeded in their enquiries with regard to ſeveral other ſpecies of corruption, and ſeveral of a very extraordinary nature were diſcovered. But before they had finiſhed their enquiries, the king came to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am come to give you thanks for the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged; and, at the ſame time, to conclude this ſeſſion, which cannot be continued longer without manifeſt prejudice to the end for which theſe ſupplies were given, the ſeaſon of the year making it ſo neceſſary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wiſhed our buſineſs at home would have allowed me to have been there ſooner.

"I will take care to place the adminiſtration of affairs, during my abſence, in ſuch perſons, on whoſe care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, that every one of you, in your ſeveral ſtations, will be aſſiſting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in preſerving the public peace." The king immediately embarked for Holland, after nominating a council of regency, in which neither the princeſs nor prince of Denmark had any ſhare. This occaſioned a freſh ſubject of complaint, and the king's conduct was reflected on with great ſeverity.

This campaign was more favourable to the allies than any of the preceding. William had now the honour of ſtopping the French arms, and even of taking Namur. Marſhal Boufflers, a diſtinguiſhed general, was in the place, with near ſixteen thouſand men; while an army of an hundred thouſand, under the command of marſhal Villeroy, threatened the beſiegers with a battle. The garriſon behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity; but the prudence of William rendered all his attempts abortive. He took Namur in the ſight of the French army. Lewis, enraged at this diſappointment, bombarded Bruſſels, in revenge for the bombardment of Dieppe, Havre de Grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, by the Engliſh the preceding year. The latter alſo attempted new bombardments, but with no remarkable ſucceſs. All Europe was in flames, and exhauſted of men and money, for the quarrel of ſome particular princes, who, perhaps, never ſighed over the calamities of their ſubjects. Diſtreſs, however piercing, had no effect on them; they were deaf to the voice of complaint.

When William returned from the continent, he was received in triumph by his ſubjects. The conqueſt of Namur, in ſo remarkable a manner, merited all their applauſe. On this occaſion he affected a popularity, which being unnatural, was aukward, and could not be laſting. It, however, ſerved to gain him ſeveral friends, and greatly retarded the machinations of his enemies.

The former parliament being diſſolved, a new one met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-ſecond of November; and having elected Paul Foley, Eſq; for the ſpeaker, the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, "That he had engaged in the preſent war by the advice of his firſt parliament; that the laſt had, with great chearfulneſs, aſſiſted him in carrying it on; and that he doubted not but the preſent would as readily ſupport him in it, by granting the neceſſary ſupplies: that he could not but take notice, on this occaſion, of the ſignal bravery of the Engliſh forces during the laſt campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themſelves, and on the nation to which they belonged. He lamented, as a great misfortune, his having been obliged, from the very beginning of his reign, to aſk ſuch large aids of his people; but, at the ſame time, obſerved, they were abſolutely neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war. He took notice, that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil liſt ſuch, that he could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without their care. He told them, that compaſſion obliged him to mention the miſerable condition of the French proteſtants who ſuffered for their religion, and the redreſs of the bad ſtate of the coin, though they would prove an additional charge. He recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, the advancement of trade, particularly that of the Weſt-Indies; and for recruiting the army in ſuch a manner, that the people ſhould have no cauſe to complain: and concluded with exhorting them to uſe diſpatch, and to avoid heats and diviſions."

The firſt bill paſſed by this parliament, was that reſpecting trials for high-treaſon; a ſubject which, though of the laſt importrnce, had hitherto been ſubject to many abuſes. By this bill it was enacted, that the perſon impeached ſhould have a copy of the impeachment five days before the trial came on, and be allowed counſel for his defence: that no perſon ſhould be impeached, but on the teſtimony of two credible witneſſes: that if the impeachment conſiſted of ſeveral articles, the two witneſſes could only be conſidered as one, when their depoſitions were not upon the ſame article: that the perſon accuſed ſhould have a liſt of the witneſſes two days before the trial; and that, three years after the crime was committed, no accuſation ſhould take place, unleſs the crime was an attempt againſt the life of the king. The lords added a clauſe, whereby a peer was to be judged by the whole houſe of lords. Had this law taken place ſooner,

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**PENDERGRASS** *delivering to* **WILLIAM III.**
*a List of the Conspirators concerned in the Assassination-plot.*

ſooner, it would have ſaved the lives of many illuſtrious men, and liberty would have had a rampart againſt deſpotiſm and miniſterial vengeance. It is a deplorable conſideration, that the beneficial ſcience of legiſlation arrives ſo ſlowly at perfection, even in points where the intereſts of humanity are ſo greatly affected.

This celebrated bill being diſpatched, the commons proceeded to take into their conſideration the ſupplies for the ſucceeding year. The neceſſary eſtimates were laid before them, and they voted five millions twenty-four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-three pounds for that ſervice. The funds neceſſary for raiſing this prodigious ſum were the following: 1. By a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, Eaſt-India goods, and other merchandizes. 3. An additional duty upon all French commodities. 4. Duties on low wines or ſpirits of French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon ſalt, glaſs-wares, tobacco-pipes, &c. They alſo ſettled a fund for raiſing five hundred thouſand pounds a year for the civil liſt; and another for raiſing fifteen thouſand pounds a year for the relief of the French proteſtants.

The next ſubject that engaged the attention of the parliament, was the amendment of the current coin; and they reſolved, that the eſtabliſhed ſtandard ſhould be preſerved, with regard to weight and fineneſs; and that the loſs ariſing from calling in the old money ſhould be borne by the public, and a fund was eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. The new coinage was placed under the direction of Sir Iſaac Newton, and Mr. Locke lent his aſſiſtance. Nor is it in ſuch circumſtances only that men of letters may be uſeful to the ſtate.

A. D. 1696. From the very beginning of this reign, conſpiracies, many of them imaginary, had been frequently talked of; but a real plot was now formed, either to carry off or aſſaſſinate William, and reſtore his rival to the throne he had abdicated. The earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, and ſeveral other perſons of leſs diſtinction, were at the head of this conſpiracy. The duke of Berwick, James's natural ſon, paſſed ſecretly through the kingdom, encouraging the Jacobites, and declaring that an invaſion was ready to take place. He conjured them to exert themſelves on this occaſion, and concerted meaſures for rendering the attempt ſucceſsful.

While the conſpirators were labouring, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to increaſe their party, the ruffians, who were to execute the execrable deed, held private meetings in London, where the proper meaſures for carrying it into execution were concerted. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, and a man of undaunted courage, may be conſidered as the leader of this deſperate band. He was a furious bigot to the church of Rome, cloſe, circumſpect, and cruel. He came into England in the beginning of January; and having procured a private commiſſion from James, the reſt of the party implicitly obeyed his orders. This enthuſiaſt undertook the horrid taſk of aſſaſſinating the king, with the aſſiſtance of forty horſe. The king uſually hunted at Richmond on every Saturday; and it was reſolved to attack him in his return to Kenſington, in the lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. This ſcheme was ſo well laid, that it would, probably, have ſucceeded, had not one Pendergraſs revealed the whole the very day before it was intended to be executed.

Pendergraſs was an Iriſh officer, and a Roman catholic, and therefore conſidered as a proper perſon to engage in ſo deſperate an attempt. He was accordingly ſollicited, and ſeemed at firſt very willing to engage. But reflecting on the horrid barbarity of an act deteſted by God and man, he repaired immediately to the earl of Portland, and diſcovered to him the whole ſcheme, begging to be introduced to his majeſty. Portland informed the king of this diſcovery, and Pendergraſs was admitted into his majeſty's cloſet, where he fully revealed all the particulars he knew relative to this horrid conſpiracy. He at firſt, however, refuſed to give up the names of the conſpirators; but, on the king's promiſing that he ſhould not be produced as an evidence, without his own conſent, he gave his majeſty a liſt of the aſſaſſins.

Every meaſure was now taken to render the whole contrivance abortive. Admiral Ruſſel ſailed immediately for the coaſt of France; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired into their harbours; and James, who was arrived at Calais in order to embark, retired to his court at St. Germains, overwhelmed with grief and diſappointment. In the mean time, the king laid the whole deſign before the parliament. Both houſes immediately waited upon his majeſty with the moſt loyal addreſſes; wherein they congratulated him on the eſcape of his royal perſon from the deſigns of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of ſuch villainous and traiterous attempts; and ſolemnly promiſed to ſtand by and defend his royal perſon againſt all his enemies, open and concealed: adding, that if he ſhould fall by a violent attempt, they would ſeverely revenge it on the Roman catholics. They likewiſe drew up an aſſociation to the ſame purpoſe, which was ſigned by all the members of the houſe; wherein they declared king William their rightful and lawful king, and mutually engaged to ſtand by each other in his defence. The king returned them thanks for their zeal for his perſon, and declared he ſhould always be ready to riſque his life in defence of the laws, religion, and liberties of the nation.

Several of the conſpirators were ſeized, tried at the Old Bailey, where they were found guilty of high-treaſon on the cleareſt evidence, and ſuffered at Tyburn.

Sir John Fenwick had a conſiderable ſhare in the conſpiracy. There were two witneſſes againſt him, but one of them diſappeared without giving evidence in the court. He had, however, given a written depoſition, and the legality of this was ſtrongly debated in parliament. The advocates of the perſon accuſed maintained, that, according to all the rules of juriſprudence, the evidence ought to be preſent, and to be confronted by the priſoner; that the depoſitions of the dead were inadmiſſible, and thoſe of the abſent equally void; that the parliament, though not ſubject to the rules of inferior courts, was nevertheleſs ſubject to the eternal and invariable rules of equity; and that the late act relating to proceſſes of high-treaſon, would be openly violated by a contrary practice. Theſe arguments, however plauſible, were too weak to gain a majority. Eſtabliſhed principles gave way to the ſecurity of government. A bill of attainder was paſſed againſt Fenwick, and he was executed purſuant to his ſentence. Several others, among whom Sir John Friend, a brewer in the Minories, was the principal, beſides the conſpirators who were to have executed the horrid deed, ſuffered for their treaſon.

The campaign was opened on the continent by the allies burning a prodigious magazine which had been laid up at Givet, for the uſe of the enemy. But though the beginning was proſperous, and the war continued with the ſame animoſity: the powers engaged in it were no longer capable of making the ſame efforts. Notwithſtanding the ardour of William, the campaign in Flanders had no ſtriking events. Lewis XIV. leſs fortunate than before, was now deſirous of peace. He accordingly diſpatched M. de Callieras, as his ambaſſador to the ſtates-general, for ſettling ſuch preliminaries as might ſerve as a baſis for a treaty. The Dutch, with the conſent of king William, liſtened to the propoſal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which had already been offered by the baron Lillenroot, his ambaſſador at the Hague. Lewis, however, did not wholly depend upon negotiation; he made very advantageous offers to the duke of Savoy, and drew him off from the grand alliance.

This perfidious conduct of the duke greatly enraged the allies: his miniſters, indeed, attempted to excuſe it, by alledging, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to embrace the offers of France, in order to prevent his own ruin; and that common prudence would not ſuffer him to let ſlip an opportunity of procuring ſuch ſingular advantages to his own family.

The campaign in Catalonia, and on the Rhine, was as barren of events as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the ſide of the allies; but all the armies retired into winter quarters in the beginning of October.

As the diſtreſs of the army abroad was chiefly owing to the calling in and recoining the money, ſo the ſame calamity was felt among the manufacturers and labourers, who were moſt of them idle, occaſioned by the ſcarcity of coin, few maſters being able to employ any workmen. An order of council was therefore iſſued in July, directing the juſtices of the peace to meet frequently in their reſpective diviſions, in order to conſult the moſt effectual means to relieve and ſubſiſt the poor, till a ſufficient quantity of money could be iſſued to relieve the preſent ſcarcity. The attorney-general was alſo ordered to proſecute all thoſe who had entered into confederacies not to employ any workmen in the woollen and other manufactures during the preſent ſcarcity of coin.

As ſoon as the armies were gone into winter quarters, William returned to England, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the twentieth of October. He told them, "that he thought it a great happineſs that no diſadvantage had happened abroad, nor any diſorder at home during the laſt ſummer, conſidering the great diſappointments in the funds, and the trouble that had ariſen in receiving the money: that the buſineſs they had before them would be attended with great difficulty, as they were not only to provide for the ſervice of the enſuing year, but alſo to make good the deficiencies of the laſt." He obſerved, "that overtures of peace had indeed been made him; but he was certain they would prove abortive; that the only way to procure an honourable peace was to treat ſword in hand; and therefore the ſupplies for the ſucceeding muſt, at leaſt, be equal to thoſe for the laſt. He alſo preſſed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had granted. He reminded them of the civil liſt and the French proteſtants, and of making ſome farther proviſion for remedying the difficulties relating to the coin, and for recovering the national credit."

The commons, in anſwer to his majeſty's ſpeech, aſſured him in their addreſs, "That though this was the eighth year they had aſſiſted him with large ſupplies, for carrying on this juſt and neceſſary war, they ſhould be neither amuſed nor diverted from their firm reſolution of obtaining, by war, a ſafe and honourable peace:" and concluded with declaring, "That they would continue to ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies, both at home and abroad."

They accordingly voted five millions for the ſea and land ſervice for the ſucceeding year; beſides a ſupply for the civil liſt, and new funds for making good the deficiencies, and ſecuring the public debts, which now amounted to near twelve millions. Notwithſtanding it was ſo vaſtly large, they purſued ſuch vigorous meaſures, that they ſurmounted every difficulty, and placed the credit of the nation on a ſure and ſolid baſis.

A. D. 1697. The parliament having finiſhed the national buſineſs, the king came to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth of April; and after giving the royal aſſent to the bills they had paſſed, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he thanked them for the large ſupplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours for reſtoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of paſſing over to the continent; and begged they would carry with them into their reſpective counties the ſame loyal principles they had ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed in parliament.

The conferences for a peace were opened at Ryſwic on the twenty-ninth of May, and the negotiation proceeded with very little trouble. The demands of Spain, that France ſhould reſtore all the conqueſts that had been made during the war, ſeemed the only difficulty. Lewis was therefore determined to exert all his force againſt that kingdom, in order to induce the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries to accept the offers of France. The city of Barcelona was accordingly beſieged and taken by the duke de Vendôme. De Pontis, a French commodore, was ſent, with a ſmall fleet, to the Weſt-Indies, where he took and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned with an immenſe booty. Theſe ſucceſſes tended greatly to haſten the concluſion of the treaty. Lewis gave up almoſt all his conqueſts. To Spain he reſtored Luxembourg, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, beſides what he had taken in the neighbourhood of the Pyranees. To the Empire, Friburg, Briſac, Philipſburg, &c. And, laſtly, he acknowledged the prince of Orange king of England. Thus William was confirmed in his poſſeſſion of the throne, while France abandoned all the fruits of her victories. Lewis ſubmitted to theſe conditions more from policy than generoſity. The burden of the war was become intolerable. The victors and the vanquiſhed were equally weakened. It was abſolutely neceſſary that the finances ſhould be repaired, and the murmurings of the people ſatiſfied. Lewis, after he had deluged Europe with blood to ſatisfy his ambition, was obliged to purchaſe peace at the expence of his conqueſts.

Soon after the ſigning of this treaty, William returned to England, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy. On the third of December, he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein he obſerved, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was, by their aſſiſtance, brought to the end he had ever propoſed, a ſafe and honourable peace: that he was ſorry, however, to acquaint them, that his ſubjects could not immediately find that relief from the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen ſhort, and there remaining ſo great a debt to the navy and army, beſides what was wanting to ſupport the civil liſt. He obſerved, that the navy was increaſed almoſt double ſince his acceſſion, and could not be ſupported without a proportional increaſe of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing, that the chief ſtrength of England muſt ever conſiſt in a powerful navy: that, conſidering the ſtate of affairs abroad, he was of opinion, that the kingdom could not be ſafe without a land force. He promiſed to rectify whatever abuſes might have crept into any part of the adminiſtration during the war, and effectually to diſcourage prophaneneſs and immorality. He expreſſed his ſatiſfaction with the proofs his people had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his perſon;" and concluded with declaring, "That as he had, at the hazard of his life, reſcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremeſt danger; ſo he ſhould place the chief glory of his reign in preſerving and leaving them entire to poſterity."

The parliament, in their addreſs, complimented him on the peace; and aſſured him, "That they would be always ready to ſupport his majeſty, who had confirmed them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties; and, by putting an end to the war, fully completed their deliverance."

But notwithſtanding theſe congratulations and compliments, they oppoſed his deſigns. This politic and warlike prince was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a ſtanding army, which could not fail of rendering him reſpectable both at home and abroad. The conduct of Lewis, who ſtill retained a conſiderable part of his army, ſeemed to lay the other powers under a neceſſity of doing the ſame. This was a very plauſible reaſon, and adopted by ſeveral of the members; but the majority was alarmed at the king's propoſal. It had an apparent tendency to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm on the ruins of the conſtitution. They were perſuaded the nation would ſoon loſe its privileges, and the people their liberties, if mercenary troops were at the command of the government. "This cuſtom," ſaid they, "being once eſtabliſhed will become a maxim of ſtate; and elections, parliaments, every thing will depend upon the caprice of the court. Is not the kingdom ſufficiently defended by the ocean that ſurrounds it? May not the militia be eſtabliſhed and regularly exerciſed? And will not ſuch men be more zealous in the defence of their country than mercenaries? Will not theſe with a formidable fleet be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt any invaſion?" Theſe arguments ſeemed unanſwerable, and prevailed with the majority. Ten thouſand only of the land forces were retained; and three thouſand added to the marine.

Highly offended with this reſolution of the commons, and perſuaded that they ſuſpected he had formed deſigns againſt their liberties, William declared he would have had nothing to do with the government, if he could have ſuſpected the parliament could have been guilty of ſo much diſtruſt and ingratitude.

A. D. 1698. The commons now applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to the diſcovery of means for the diſcharge of the public debt. The neceſſary ſupplies amounted to near five millions ſterling; and it required all their wiſdom to raiſe ſo large a ſum, after the nation had been impoveriſhed by the late war. The Eaſt India company offered to advance ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the public, at the rate of four per cent. intereſt, provided the legiſlature would ſettle on them the excluſive trade to India. This offer was favourably received by the miniſtry, and would, in all probability, have been accepted, had not another company of merchants made more advantageous propoſals. They offered to lend the government two millions on the ſame terms. They alſo propoſed that their ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint ſtock; but if any number of their members deſired to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe. The laſt propoſal was thought the moſt eligible, and a bill was accordingly brought into parliament, and eaſily paſſed the commons; but on its being ſent up to the lords, the old company petitioned the houſe, and they were heard by their council againſt the bill. They alledged, "that the company had actually acquired, at their own expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Perſia, and other parts, amounting to forty-four thouſand pounds per annum, ariſing from cuſtoms and licences for a great number of particulars: that they had alſo erected forts and ſettlements, and procured ſettlements in the iſland of Sumatra, and on the coaſt of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade muſt have been actually loſt to England: that they had alſo a ſtrong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and alſo many factories, buildings and ſettlements in various other parts, having purchaſed, at high rates, of the Indian princes many valuable privileges and immunities: that they were encouraged to do this from a preſumption that their rights and inheritance would always be objects of the nation's care: that ſince this bill had been brought into parliament, the company had agreed to ſubmit their preſent ſtock to a valuation of fifty per cent. viz. twenty per cent. for their dead ſtock, namely their forts, factories and lands, and thirty per cent. for their quick ſtock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate: and upon theſe terms the company likewiſe offered to raiſe a ſubſcription of two millions."

To this it was anſwered by the council for the new ſubſcribers, "That the old company in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the proviſos they contained, the kings of England, who granted them, having reſerved to themſelves a diſcretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade, excluſive of all others, by his charter alone, it being directly contrary to poſitive laws; nor had his preſent majeſty in fact granted any ſuch excluſive right: that ſeveral recoveries had been made at law againſt the company for proſecuting ſuch pretended right: that his majeſty's meſſage to the commons in the year 1692 plainly ſignified that the concurrence of parliament was neceſſary for making a complete and uſeful ſettlement of this trade: that the company's managers, in order to obtain their laſt new charter and regulations, had made no ſcruple of having recourſe to the indirect methods of bribery and corruption: that it was never eſteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the authority of the great ſeal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that ſuch grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the ſubject; neither did any of our king's think themſelves bound in honour or conſcience to refuſe paſſing an act of parliament for the annulling of ſuch grants: that moreover kings having been often deceived by ſuch grants, they have even frequently been annulled by the common courſe of law."

On the other hand it was replied, and urged, in behalf of the old company, "That the properties of many families, widows, and orphans, would be greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they ſaid made no proviſion for a determined ſtock; ſo that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be loſt to the nation for want of a ſufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing, by thirty years experience, that it requires at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year to carry it on in its full extent: that by this bill the new ſubſcribers were permitted to trade during the three years, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, will create great confuſion, and render the ſaid three years allowed the old company of no benefit, becauſe they are ſtill bound to export to the value of one hundred thouſand pounds annually in our own manufactures, tho' the new ſubſcribers are under no ſuch obligations: that the old company are beſides obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new ſubſcribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade without either: that ſince the laſt ſubſcription in 1693, the company has loſt, either by accidents, or the calamities of war, twelve large ſhips, which, with their cargoes, would have ſold for near a million and a half ſterling; and yet, notwithſtanding ſuch loſſes, they have paid in cuſtoms ſince that period two hundred and ninety-five thouſand pounds, beſides eighty-five thouſand in taxes: that they had, moreover, ſupplied his majeſty in Holland, on a very preſſing occaſion, with ſix thouſand barrels of gunpowder; and had alſo, at a time of great extremity, ſubſcribed eighty thouſand pounds for circulating exchequer bills, at the inſtance of the treaſury; and that many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the ſtock of the preſent company, who muſt be utterly ruined if this bill takes effect."

All theſe arguments, however powerful, were urged in vain. The bill paſſed the lords in favour of the new company, without paying any regard to ancient charters, or the fortunes of a multitude of families. They received their charter on the third of September; and on the fifth his majeſty incorporated them as one joint-ſtock excluſive company, trading to the Eaſt Indies.

But the parliament did not confine their diſquiſitions wholly to the commercial ſtate of the nation, and the ways and means for raiſing the large ſupplies that were become abſolutely neceſſary; they exerted themſelves nobly to prevent that corruption of manners which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. Perſuaded that unleſs care be taken to keep the people's morals from being tainted, wealth and power will only become the ſources of poiſon; that the vices of the citizens are infectious to the body politic; that a ſtate without virtue has almoſt as many enemies as ſubjects; and that its grandeur is a preſage of its ruin: they preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they enumerated the exceſſive irregularities that prevailed, and were daily increaſing; and requeſted him to iſſue orders to the magiſtrates to put the laws in force againſt impiety and debauchery. Their addreſs was very favourably received. The king promiſed to attempt, without delay, a reformation of manners, and teſtified his zeal for the ſuppreſſion of impious books, which uſually corrupt at once both the heart and the underſtanding. Schemes of this nature, however laudable, however neceſſary in themſelves, are ſeldom executed. A ſociety for the reformation of manners, under the protection of his majeſty, was eſtabliſhed; the members of which engaged to inform the magiſtrates of ſuch debaucheries and vices as came within their knowledge. The fines impoſed were deſtined for charitable uſes. A number of eccleſiaſtics were to promote virtue by public lectures; and a liberal proviſion was made for their maintenance. Theſe eſtabliſhmenes, and others of a ſimilar kind, could not fail of being uſeful, eſpecially to the poor. But informations are always odious. It is the buſineſs of people in office to inſpect the conduct of the citizens. And, with regard to the reformation of manners, nothing can be ſufficient but thoſe powerful reſources which government alone can employ with ſucceſs. The example of the court would perhaps be more effectual than any other method that could be practiſed.

While the parliament was laudably employed in contriving ways and means for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, and endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of vice and immorality, Peter Alexowitz, czar of Muſcovy, ſince known by the appellation of Peter the Great, viſited this kingdom. Having formed the noble deſign of civilizing his barbarous ſubjects, of introducing the arts and ſciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his empire by ſea and land equal to thoſe of his politer neighbours, he travelled through moſt countries in Europe to gain inſtruction. He was particularly deſirous of eſtabliſhing a marine, and of having a reſpectable fleet in the Baltic: and therefore his principal intention was to learn the art of ſhip-building. In the ſummer of the preceding year he ſent an ambaſſy to Holland, to regulate ſome points of commerce with the ſtates-general, and accompanied his ambaſſadors diſguiſed as one of their retinue. While he was on this tour he diſcovered himſelf to king William, and had a private interview with that prince at Utrecht, and in conſequence of his invitation he now viſited England. He ſtaid here above three months, during which time he was lodged and entertained with all the magnificence poſſible for a prince, who choſe to remain unknown. He paſſed his time here, as he had done in Holland, in examining the dock-yards, and improving himſelf in the art of ſhip-building; to attain which he worked ſeveral hours every day as a common ſhipwright, in the royal yard at Deptford. At his departure William made him ſeveral magnificent preſents; and particularly the yatch in which he himſelf uſed to paſs over to Holland. She was a very beautiful veſſel, finely adorned, and called the Royal Tranſport. And it being thought abſolutely neceſſary to gain his friendſhip, he was allowed to engage ſeveral Engliſh artificers in his ſervice; and to take two of the ſcholars from Chriſt-church hoſpital; and theſe afterwards laid the foundation of the marine academy at Peterſburgh.

The Scots, deſirous of ſharing in the advantages reſulting from commerce, had formed a commercial company in order to carry on their foreign trade with more ſpirit and advantage. And animated with the ſame ſpirit of ſelf-intereſt which had carried ſo many perſons to the New World, they eſtabliſhed, at a great expence, a colony in the Streights of Darien; the Iſthmus that connects South and North America. This eſtabliſhment did not reſemble the bloody conqueſts of the Spaniards. It was made by agreement with the natives of the country; but the Spaniards complained of it as an infringement of the late treaty. The Engliſh and Dutch conſidered the Scots as dangerous rivals, and the colony they had eſtabliſhed as prejudicial to their commerce. William therefore forbade all correſpondence with this new colony. The Scots, finding themſelves diſappointed of the treaſures they expected, made the moſt violent complaints; and their parliament adopted their cauſe. The moſt animating ſpeeches were made in that aſſembly, and every thing ſeemed to threaten a revolt. The king was alarmed, and it was only by time, addreſs and flattering promiſes, that he put a ſtop to an affair that threatened the moſt alarming conſequences.

Charles II. of Spain had long been in a very declining ſtate; and having no iſſue, the conſequence that might attend his large dominions paſſing either into the Bourbon family, or that of Auſtria, alarmed all Europe. William paſſed over to the continent, where he negotiated a treaty with Lewis XIV. for the diviſion of the Spaniſh monarchy. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the province of Guipuſcoa, and ſeveral other places dependent on Spain, were deſtined to the dauphin; the Milaneſe to the archduke, Charles II. ſon to the emperor; and the reſt to the young prince of Bavaria, who was about eight years of age. That prince died ſoon after the treaty; and it now became neceſſary to negotiate a new one. Bavaria was aſſigned to the archduke; Lorraine added to the poſſeſſions of the dauphin; and Milan given to the duke of Lorraine.

During the king's abſence, the elections for a new parliament were carried on in England with all the appearance of freedom: the miniſtry giving themſelves very little trouble to influence the voters. The returns were, however, generally in favour of revolution principles. The aſſembly met on the third of December, when William opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein he ſtrongly recommended to them the keeping up ſuch a force, as might preſerve that weight and influence they at preſent enjoyed in the affairs of the continent; and their making a farther progreſs in diſcharging the national debt contracted by the war. He concluded with recommending three popular ſubjects to their particular attention: the making proviſion for the poor; the advancement of trade; and the diſcouraging vice and prophaneneſs.

It is remarkable that in this ſpeech William made no mention of the partition treaty he had ſo lately concluded abroad, and which afterwards ſo greatly excited the attention of the kingdom. This was induſtriouſly concealed both from the parliament and the privy-council. Probably he ſuſpected the ſincerity of Lewis, and therefore thought it extremely neceſſary to keep a good body of troops in readineſs to compel the French monarch to obſerve the late treaty in caſe of the king of Spain's death.

Ignorant of the partition treaty, and of the neceſſity of keeping a large body of troops in pay, the parliament took immediately that part of the king's ſpeech into conſideration. William, when he paſſed over to Holland, had left orders with the miniſtry to retain ſixteen thouſand men in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the army was limited to ten thouſand. This arbitrary act ſo irritated the new parliament, that they reſolved to oppoſe the king in all his demands. They accordingly came immediately to the following reſolution, “That all the land forces in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men, and theſe his majeſty's natural born ſubjects, be forthwith paid off and diſbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding twelve thouſand men, all his majeſty's natural born ſubjects, be likewiſe forthwith diſbanded and paid off.” This reſolution being paſſed, a bill was ordered in; and ſoon paſſed both houſes; in conſequence of which not only the French proteſtant regiments, but even the king's favourite Dutch guards were to be removed out of the Britiſh dominions.

William was exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this conduct of the parliament. Their jealouſy ſo deeply affected him, that he actually formed a reſolution of abandoning the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech which he intended to have delivered on that occaſion; but was diverted from his raſh deſign by his moſt intimate friends; and at laſt perſuaded to give the royal aſſent to the bill for reducing the army.

A. D. 1699. Accordingly on the ſecond of February he came to the houſe of peers, and addreſſed himſelf to the parliament in the following manner: "I am come to paſs the bill for diſbanding the forces as ſoon as I knew it was ready for my aſſent. Though the reduction of the army to ſo inconſiderable a number, may, in our preſent circumſtances, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and though I might juſtly complain of the harſh treatment I have received in being deprived of thoſe guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have conſtantly attended me in all my fortunes, yet as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common intereſt, than to ſuffer any jealouſy or miſunderſtanding to ariſe between me and my people, I am firmly reſolved to comply with your requeſt.

"Nevertheleſs, after having thus aſſigned my reaſons for paſſing this bill, I muſt likewiſe in diſcharge of the truſt you have repoſed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceleſs; it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your conſideration, and immediately to provide ſuch a ſtrength as may be deemed neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of that peace we have ſo lately obtained."

Though the king had paſſed the bill for diſbanding the army, he was very unwilling to part with his guards, and accordingly ſent a meſſage to the commons, informing them, "that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intended to ſend them away immedietely, unleſs, out of conſideration to him, the commons could find out ſome way to continue them longer in his ſervice, which his majeſty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable. They reminded him of his former promiſe to diſmiſs all foreign troops. The happineſs of the kingdom, they added, depended on the mutual confidence of the prince and the people. That this confidence required him to intruſt the care of his ſacred perſon to his ſubjects.

The king, finding it would be in vain to contend with the commons, he yielded to neceſſity, and the Dutch guards were tranſported to Holland. It muſt be owned that the behaviour of the lower houſe with regard to the Dutch guards, ſtrongly indicated that they were rather inſpired with the ſpirit of ferocious obſtinacy than genuine patriotiſm. William was perſuaded of this, and took no pains to diſguiſe his ſentiments. "Had I as many places to beſtow," ſaid he one day to the earl of Sunderland, "as there are members in the houſe of commons, I ſhould not know what it was to have my will diſputed."

Nothing is more dangerous to the peace of a kingdom than a diſagreement between the branches of the legiſlative power. The commons made it their ſtudy to thwart and vex the king, who, by his political talents, had, in a great meaſure, governed Europe. They examined into adminiſtration, re-eſtabliſhed the old India company, and declared papiſts incapable of inheriting or purchaſing lands. They deliberated on demanding of the king the removal of lord chancellor Somers; and William ſoon after found it neceſſary to deprive him of the ſeals to pleaſe the Tories, who formed the majority in parliament.

On the fourth of May the king came to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he told them, "that having ſat ſo many months, the ſeaſon of the year, as well as their own particular affairs, made it reaſonable they ſhould enjoy a receſs; that he took it for granted they had finiſhed all the bills they thought neceſſary, and he had given his aſſent to all they had preſented to him; that if any thing elſe was wanting to their ſafety, the ſecurity of the public credit, the diſcharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, the ſuppreſſion of vice, and the employment of the poor, the things he propoſed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and wiſhed no inconveniency might happen in the interval."

The Spaniſh monarch, who was no ſtranger to the treaty of partition, highly reſented their uſurping a power to diſpoſe of his dominions without his conſent. He determined therefore to make a will in favour of the archduke, ſecond ſon to Leopold, the reigning emperor. The queen of Spain alſo uſed her utmoſt endeavours to give the crown to that young prince, to whom ſhe was ſo nearly related. She accordingly new modelled the council; beſtowed the government of Milan upon prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, viceroy of Catalonia, and carried the ſick king to Toledo, under pretence that the air of Madrid was unwholeſome.

But the court of Vienna, by its indiſcreet and imperious conduct, rendered all theſe meaſures abortive. Charles determined not to make a will in favour of the archduke. On the other hand the marquis d'Harcourt, ambaſſador of Lewis XIV. managed the Spaniards with more dexterity and addreſs. Their inveterate antipathy to France decreaſed every day. The grandees were as unwilling as their maſter to diſmember the monarchy: and France alone ſeemed capable of preventing an incident ſo deſtructive to the honour and power of their country. They adviſed Charles therefore to give the preference to a prince of that nation. Pope Innocent XII. who then filled the papal chair, was conſulted on this intereſting ſubject, and approved the meaſure, as agreeable to the laws of Spain, and the intereſt of religion.

Lewis, ignorant of this reſolution in favour of his family, cauſed ſixty thouſand of his beſt troops to advance towards Catalonia, while a great number of ſhips and gallies cruized along the coaſts and entered the Spaniſh harbours. It was now abſolutely neceſſary for ſome meaſures to be taken; and the dying monarch ſacrifiсed the intereſts of his family to thoſe of his kingdom: he nominated the duke of Anjou, youngeſt ſon to the dauphin, heir to his dominions, with this proviſo, however, that the two crowns of France and Spain, ſhould never be united.

On the ſixteenth of November William opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he obſerved, that his calling them together ſo early was owing to an abſolute neceſſity of making ſome farther proviſion for the ſecurity of the kingdom by ſea and land; and recommended particularly the repairing the royal navy and fortifying the harbours. He reminded them alſo of making good the deficiences of the funds, diſcharging the national debt, and providing ſupplies for the enſuing year. He told them, he hoped that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the evident increaſe of their trade, which he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to promote and encourage; that he thought, however, it might receive a farther advantage, by paſſing a bill for puniſhing the unlawful and clandeſtine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were become a burden to the nation: he declared himſelf to be fully aſſured of the love and affections of his people, which he ſhould endeavour to preſerve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, by ſupporting the eſtabliſhed religion, by diſpenſing juſtice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and diſcouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties or dangers to promote their welfare and proſperity." Having particularly declared his intentions, he concluded his ſpeech in the following manner: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's bleſſing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flouriſhing people."

This ſpeech, which certainly breathed nothing but kindneſs, and a concern for the happineſs of his people, gave great offence to the commons. The ſpirit of party magnifies every thing. The expreſſion of "acting with confidence in each other," was conſtrued into an implication of a diſtruſt, or want of confidence in them, and they determined to reſent it. They accordingly returned no addreſs of thanks; but, on the fourth of December, preſented what may be conſidered as a remonſtrance; in which they declared, "That being highly ſenſible nothing was more neceſſary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting of the minds of the people, and the diſappointing the deſigns of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, they eſteemed it their greateſt misfortune, that, after having ſo amply provided for the ſecurity of his majeſty and his government, any jealouſy or diſtruſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection: and, at the ſame time, begged leave to repreſent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and eſtabliſhing an entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, if he would be pleaſed to ſhew marks of his high diſpleaſure towards ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings to his majeſty; and they ſhould, on their part, diſcourage all falſe rumours and reports reflecting on his majeſty and his government, whereby any miſunderſtandings might be created between him and his ſubjects."

The king, aſtoniſhed at this repreſentation, replied, "That no perſon had ever yet dared to miſrepreſent the proceedings of either houſe; and if they had, they would immediately have felt the higheſt marks of his diſpleaſure: and that he took very kindly the aſſurance they gave him of diſcouraging all falſe rumours and reports reflecting on himſelf and his government.

A. D. 1700. Theſe proceedings were ill calculated to produce the harmony ſo neceſſary between the different branches of the legiſlature, for rendering the nation reſpectable abroad, and happy at home. The commons did every thing in their power to mortify the king; and William gave them, in return, many indications of his reſentment. They paſſed a bill of reſumption, whereby the eſtates in Ireland he had given to his favourites were taken from them, and became again the property of the crown. But not ſatisfied with this victory, they proceeded to ſuch abſurd lengths in their career, that they came to a reſolution to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his councils of England or Ireland. But before this addreſs could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers; and, after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion.

While this ill-humour continued between the king and the houſe of commons, Charles II. of Spain paid the debt of nature. The death of this prince, who left no iſſue, ſeemed to threaten the balance of power in Europe. Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were related to him in the ſame degree; and the renunciation of Maria Tereſia of Auſtria, wife to Lewis, and eldeſt daughter to Philip III. appeared to the enemies of France an engagement of very little weight. Nor was this of any great conſequence, becauſe the balance of power would be equally deſtroyed, whether Leopold or Lewis obtained the ſucceſſion. This was the true motive that induced William to ſign the treaty of partition, which, it was apprehended, would prevent a general war, as well as the two contending monarchs from becoming too powerful for the other princes of Europe. He was miſtaken; the emperor refuſed to accede to the treaty; and it appeared, on the death of Charles, that he had bequeathed his dominions to the duke of Anjou.

Lewis, for ſome time, heſitated, whether he ſhould accept the bequeſt or not, from the proſpect of a war more formidable than any in which he had hitherto been engaged. But ambition ſoon decided in favour of the will. He, however, thought it neceſſary to juſtify his conduct to the king of England, and the States-general. In order to this, he repreſented, that the treaty of partition had occaſioned great and general complaints; that it was abſolutely impracticable to carry it into execution; and that, in renouncing this treaty, he made large ſacrifices to peace and the public good, having abandoned Sicily, Naples, and ſeveral other territories which France was to have enjoyed.

Theſe arguments were by no means ſolid, and the known ambition of the houſe of Bourbon gave great uneaſineſs to the powers of Europe. The States-general, for ſome time, refuſed to acknowledge the duke of Anjou king of Spain; but being in no condition to oppoſe the progreſs of Lewis, ſhould he attempt to invade their territories, they made a virtue of neceſſity, by acknowledging that prince king of Spain, under the title of Philip V. William diſſembled his intentions; and conſidering himſelf as deſtined to hold the balance of power, which was now on the point of being deſtroyed by the ambition of the houſe of Bourbon, he reſolved, if poſſible, to form a new league, for rendering their alarming attempts abortive.

The king had met with ſo many mortifications during the laſt parliament, that he determined now to make a change in the miniſtry. He accordingly gave his confidence to the earl of Rocheſter, who was at the head of the Tories, and who undertook that the whole party ſhould exert all their power to ſupport the meaſures adopted by his majeſty. That nobleman was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the privy-ſeal was given to the earl of Tankerville; Sir Charles Hedges was made ſecretary of ſtate; lord Godolphin appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; and the management of the commons intruſted to Mr. Robert Harley. The new miniſtry did not, however, think themſelves ſtrong enough to carry their meaſures in the preſent parliament; and it was therefore determined to diſſolve it by proclamation, and ſummon a new one, to meet on the ſixth of February.

The uſual means of corruption were exerted in electing the members; and venality prevailed ſo far, that the Tories had a very conſiderable majority in the houſe of commons. The duke of Glouceſter, only ſurviving ſon of the prince and princeſs of Denmark, dying on the twenty-ninth of July, it became neceſſary to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown, after the death of the princeſs of Denmark, that young prince being the laſt of ſeventeen children that had proceeded from this marriage.

A. D. 1701. The new parliament meeting on the ſixth of February, was prorogued till the tenth, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker; and the next day his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he mentioned the great loſs the nation had ſuſtained by the death of the duke of Glouceſter, which, he obſerved, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary that a farther proviſion ſhould be made for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line; and therefore earneſtly recommended it to their early and ſerious conſideration. He obſerved, that the death of the king of Spain, together with the declaration he had made with regard to his ſucceſſor, had made ſo great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and that he doubted not but their reſolutions on that important ſubject would be ſuch, as ſhould be moſt conducive to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe. He told them, that conſiderable ſupplies would be neceſſary for the ſervice of the current year; reminded them of the deficiencies and public debts, which were yet unprovided for; and recommended the royal navy particularly to their care; deſired they would exert themſelves in improving the trade of the kingdom, and in making proviſion for the poor.

After providing for the credit of the exchequer-bills, which, on a change of the miniſtry, had fallen near twenty per cent. the commons took into conſideration the great object of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown. After long debates, it was reſolved, that, in order to exclude every catholic prince from the ſucceſſion, the heir ſhould be of the church of England; that if he were a foreigner, the nation ſhould not engage, without conſent of parliament, in any war for the defence of the dominions he might poſſeſs out of the kingdom; that he ſhould not leave England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the ſame conſent; that when this act of limitation ſhould take effect, no foreigner, though a naturalized inhabitant, unleſs of Engliſh extraction, ſhould be admitted into the council, become a member of either houſe, or obtain, by a grant from the crown, any lands or inheritance: that whoever ſhould hold any penſion or lucrative employment under the king, ſhould be incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons; and that a pardon, under the great ſeal, ſhould be of no effect againſt an impeachment of the houſe. Having voted theſe regulations, which greatly reſtrained the prerogative, and implied a ſevere cenſure on the preſent government, it was reſolved, that the princeſs Sophia, dutcheſs-dowager of Hanover, and granddaughter to James I. was the next heir in the proteſtant line, after the reſpective deſcendants of the king and the princeſs of Denmark. A bill was ordered to be brought in on theſe reſolutions; and, after paſſing both houſes, received the royal aſſent on the twelfth of June.

The next object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was the partition treaty. It is ſaid, that Lewis XIV. diſtributed large ſums among the members of the lower houſe, in order to procure their ſuffrages. But however that be, the commons were ſo far from approving the king's meaſures, that they condemned them with the greateſt aſperity. They complained loudly of its having been ſigned without conſent of parliament; and obſerved not even common decency in their debates. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made of the Spaniſh territories, to the diſtribution that highwaymen make of their booty; and Mr. Howe had even the inſolence to call it a felonious treaty; an expreſſion which ſo highly incenſed the king, that he is reported to have ſaid, he would have demanded perſonal ſatisfaction with his ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the diſparity of condition between himſelf and the perſon who had offered ſo outrageous an inſult to his honour.

The peers themſelves were far from approving the treaty, but their debates were guided by prudence and diſcretion. They examined its tendency with candour, and then repreſented it, in an addreſs to the king, as incompatible both with the intereſt of England and the ſafety of Europe. They prayed his majeſty to be adviſed by his own ſubjects, and place his confidence in them rather than in ſtrangers. They added, that ſince the French king's accepting the will of Charles II. was a manifeſt violation of the treaty, they humbly adviſed his majeſty, in future treaties with that prince, to proceed with ſuch caution as might carry a real ſecurity.

Though this addreſs was in reality an inſult upon the king, he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment; and only returned for anſwer, "That their addreſs contained matters of very great moment; and he would always take care, that all treaties he made ſhould be for the honour and ſafety of England."

Lewis XIV. having embraced the will of Charles II. made great preparations for ſupporting the duke of Anjou on the Spaniſh throne; and refuſed to grant any other ſecurity, than that of renewing the peace of Ryſwick. This refuſal being communicated to the parliament, both houſes reſolved to requeſt his majeſty would concert meaſures with the ſtates-general for putting a ſtop to the deſigns of France in the Netherlands; aſſuring him they would always be ready to enable him to fulfil the conditions of the treaty ſubſiſting between England and Holland.

William thanked them for the aſſurances they had given him; and ſaid, he did not doubt but the readineſs they had ſhewn on this occaſion would greatly contribute to the procuring ſuch a ſecurity as they deſired. But he was far from approving their addreſs, as it implied their diſapprobation of a new confederacy, which he was very deſirous of forming. They ſeemed to limit their aſſiſtance to the obtaining a new barrier in the Netherlands, without entering into a war for the recovery of the kingdom of Spain. He therefore thought it moſt prudent to acknowledge the duke of Anjou's title to that crown, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion.

Alarmed and exaſperated at this incident, the emperor loudly complained that he was abandoned by his allies at the very time he ſtood moſt in need of their aſſiſtance. He, however, determined to aſſert his right by force of arms; and accordingly ſent prince Eugene into Italy, at the head of an army, to take poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. Both the pope and the Venetians were attached to the French intereſt, but refuſed to declare themſelves at this important criſis.

The Dutch, who had dearly experienced the ambitious deſigns of the French king, notwithſtanding all his pretenſions of friendſhip and eſteem, exerted themſelves in providing for their own ſecurity, by reinforcing their garriſons, and ſolliciting ſuccours from foreign powers. They alſo wrote a letter to king William, in which they expreſſed the moſt ſincere zeal for the intereſt of England, and earneſtly requeſted that the ſtipulated number of troops might be immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance. The king laid the letter before the parliament, on which the commons came to the following reſolution: "That they will effectually aſſiſt his majeſty to ſupport his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe; and will immediately provide ſuccours for the ſtates-general, purſuant to the treaty."

The lords went farther: they addreſſed his majeſty in a very warm, affectionate manner; requeſting that his majeſty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the ſtates-general, but that he would enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with them for their common preſervation, and invite into it all princes and ſtates that were concerned in the viſible danger ariſing from the union of France with Spain. They alſo exhorted him to enter into ſuch alliances with the emperor as his majeſty ſhould think prudent; aſſuring him of their reſolution to aſſiſt him in the moſt effectual manner.

But though both houſes had declared their reſolutions to ſupport his majeſty, they determined to ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt the partition treaty. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Hallifax, by whoſe advice the treaty was ſuppoſed to have been concluded, were impeached by the commons; but the upper houſe declared the impeachments null and void. This exaſperated the commons, and the moſt alarming animoſities betweed the two houſes ſucceeded.

The whigs now determined to exert their whole power againſt the tory parliament, who were become obnoxious to the people. They openly charged them with being penſioners to the French king, whoſe intereſt they eſpouſed on all occaſions. They repreſented them as implacable enemies to the preſent government; and that all their views and actions tended ultimately to the reſtoration of the abdicated king and his family. They even endeavoured to procure petitions from the city of London, and ſeveral of the principal counties of England, to expreſs their diſapprobation of the proceedings of the commons, and the preſent miniſtry; flattering themſelves with being able, by that means, to procure a revolution in favour of their own party. They, however, failed in general; the county of Kent alone would be prevailed upon to ſend up a petition to parliament: it was conceived in the following terms:

"We the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, grand jury, and other freeholders, at the general quarter-ſeſſions of the peace at Maidſtone in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous eſtate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and conſidering that the fate of us, and our poſterity, depends upon the wiſdom of our repreſentatives in parliament; think ourſelves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable houſe the conſequences, in this conjuncture, of your ſpeedy reſolutions and moſt ſincere endeavour to anſwer the great truſt repoſed in you by our country.

"And in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifeſt that no nation can be great or happy without union; we hope that no pretence whatever ſhall be able to create a miſunderſtanding among ourſelves, or the leaſt diſtruſt of his moſt ſacred majeſty, whoſe great actions for this kingdom are writ in the hearts of his ſubjects, and can never, without the blackeſt ingratitude, be forgot.

"We moſt humbly implore this honourable houſe to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and ſafety may be effectually provided for; that your royal addreſſes may be turned into bills of ſupply; and that his moſt ſacred majeſty, whoſe propitious and unblemiſhed reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which was ſigned by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, ſeveral juſtices of the peace, and all the grand jury and other freeholders, was boldly delivered to the houſe of commons by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Juſtinian Champney, and William Hamilton, Eſqrs. The houſe was immediately in a flame: the petition was voted to be a ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious libel, calculated to deſtroy the conſtitution of parliaments, and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of theſe kingdoms. It was, at the ſame time, ordered, that the five perſons who had preſented it to the houſe ſhould be taken into cuſtody.

This tyrannical exertion of power raiſed a great ferment in the nation, and the moſt indecent reflections were publiſhed againſt the Tories. Among the reſt, a memorial appeared, ſigned Legion, againſt the houſe. "The Engliſh (ſaid the memorialiſts) ought no more to be ſlaves to the parliament, than to the king." They promiſed to ſecond him in all his meaſures, to ſet bounds to the exorbitant power of France; and concluded with this remarkable ſentence, "Our name is Legion, and we are many." Theſe complaints of the people were not unuſeful to the king. The commons ſaw their error, and inſtantly altered their meaſures. They preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, wherein they declared they would ſupport him to the utmoſt; and deſired him to engage in ſuch alliances with the emperor, and other powers, as he ſhould think neceſſary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They voted the ſum of one million and a half for the public expences, thirty thouſand ſeamen, and that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ſent immediately to the aſſiſtance of the States-general.

The miſunderſtanding was, however, ſtill ſo great between the two houſes, that it was thought proper to put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of June, the king came to the houſe of peers; and having ſent for the commons, they attended with their ſpeaker, who, on preſenting the money-bills, made the following ſpeech to his majeſty:

"Sir, it is with great joy and ſatisfaction that I attend your majeſty at this time, ſince your commons have complied with all your majeſty was pleaſed to deſire at their meeting. They have paſſed the bill of ſucceſſion, which has ſettled the crown in a proteſtant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majeſty hath ſettled and preſerved. They have paſſed a bill for taking away thoſe privileges which might have proved burdenſome and oppreſſive to your ſubjects. They have given your majeſty thoſe ſupplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majeſty, when you are abroad, to ſupport your allies, procure either a laſting peace, or to preſerve the liberties of Europe by a neceſſary war."

The king thanked both houſes for the great zeal they had expreſſed for the public ſervice, and their ready compliance with what he had recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the ſupplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preſervation of Europe: and, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills preſented to him, he put an end to the ſeſſion.

The ten thouſand auxiliaries, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, were ordered to embark immediately for Holland; and, after ſettling a regency, his majeſty paſſed over to the continent, where he aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the States. He told them in his ſpeech, "That he always came into that country with joy, but eſpecially in this dangerous conjuncture, becauſe he foreſaw his preſence would be neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate: that he hoped to have paſſed the reſt of his days in repoſe and peace, and to have left that ſtate in a flouriſhing condition; but there had happened ſuch great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be the conſequence: that he could, however, aſſure their High Mightineſſes, that whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to arms, he perſiſted in the ſame zeal he ever had for their ſervice and proſperity; and could declare, that the whole Engliſh nation were ready to aſſiſt the ſtates, and ſtrongly contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common ſecurity."

The ſtates, in their anſwer, which was equally affectionate, told his majeſty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his aſſurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the Engliſh nation, in favour of themſelves and the common cauſe, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people whoſe courage had gained ſo much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their intereſts were inſeparable from thoſe of England."

A treaty was ſoon after ſigned between the emperor, England and Holland, againſt France, for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; and for the ſecurity of England and Holland, with regard to their commerce and navigation, and of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as well as a ſafe barrier to the Dutch.

Marlborough, who was not only at the head of the Engliſh army, but alſo appointed plenipotentiary to the ſtates, ſoon convinced the world that his ſuperior talents were equally adapted to war and negotiation, and rendered his appointment at once glorious to his prince and to himſelf. Prince Eugene had already begun the war in Italy, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of the great reputation he enjoyed.

Every method was now made uſe of, both by France and the allies, for increaſing their forces by ſea and land; but, perhaps, a declaration of war might have been deferred till the next ſummer, if an accident had not happened which haſtened the criſis. James II. paid the debt of nature at St. Germains on the ſixteenth of September, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his exile. Lewis, who ſeemed to bid defiance to the ſeveral powers of Europe confederated againſt him, cauſed the ſon of the deceaſed prince to be declared king of England. He could not have taken a ſurer method to unite the Engliſh againſt him. It was in vain that he declared in a manifeſto he publiſhed on this occaſion, that he meant not to violate the treaty of Ryſwick, or to diſturb William in his poſſeſſion of the crown. The Engliſh, already diſpoſed for war, conſidered themſelves as inſulted, and breathed nothing but vengeance. The city of London, and moſt of the counties in England, tranſmitted addreſſes to his majeſty in Holland, declaring their ſenſe of the indignity offered him, and promiſing to ſupport his government againſt the pretender and all his enemies.

The king returned to his Britiſh dominions on the fifth of November, and ſoon after the parliament was diſſolved, and a new one appointed to meet on the thirtieth of December. The reaſon alledged for the diſſolution of this parliament was, that his majeſty might have the ſenſe of the nation at this alarming conjuncture; but it is more than probable, that the chief inducement was that of preventing a revival of the heats and animoſities between the two houſes, as it was feared they might delay the ſupplies neceſſary for the approaching war.

The parliament met purſuant to the proclamation; and though the Whigs had gained an inconteſtible majority, yet Mr. Harley, who was conſidered as the leader of the tory party, was choſen ſpeaker. The next day the king came to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I promiſe myſelf you are met together, full of that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and the late proceedings of the French king which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people.

"The owning and ſetting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the higheſt indignity offered to me and the nation, but does nearly concern every man who has a regard for the proteſtant religion, or the preſent and future quiet and happineſs of his country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to heart, to conſider what future effectual means may be uſed for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and extinguiſh the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors.

"By the French king's placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppreſs the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual meaſures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and diſpoſes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has ſurrounded his neighbours in ſuch a manner, that though the name of peace may be ſaid to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniencies of war.

"This muſt affect England in the neareſt and moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our trade, which will ſoon become precarious in all the various branches of it; in reſpect to our peace and ſafety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould long continue; and in reſpect to that part which England ought to take in the preſervation of Europe.

"In order to obviate the general calamity with which the reſt of Chriſtendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded ſeveral alliances according to the encouragement given me by both houſes of parliament, which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and which, I doubt not, you will enable me to make good.

"There are ſome other treaties ſtill depending, which ſhall likewiſe be communicated to you as ſoon as perfected.

"It is fit I ſhould tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: All matters are at a ſtand till your reſolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be loſt.

"You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your poſterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the Engliſh nation; but I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay hold of this occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.

"In order to do your part it will be neceſſary to have a great navy, and to provide for the ſecurity of our ſhips in harbour; and alſo that there be ſuch a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I do recommend theſe matters to you with that concern and earneſtneſs which their importance requires: at the ſame time I cannot but preſs you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preſerved, but by keeping ſacred that maxim, that they ſhall never be loſers who truſt to parliamentary ſecurity.

"It is always with regret when I do aſk aids of my people; but you will obſerve that I deſire nothing which relates to any perſonal expence of mine: I am only deſiring you to do all you can for your own ſafety and honour, at ſo critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given ſhould be wholly appropriated to the purpoſe for which it is intended.

"And ſince I am ſpeaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and alſo gave my aſſent to ſeveral bills for ſtating and examining the public accounts, that my ſubjects might have the ſatisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way or examination, that it may appear whether there have been any miſapplications and miſmanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really ariſen from the ſhortneſs of ſupplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you how neceſſary diſpatch will be for carrying on that great public buſineſs, whereon our ſafety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be ſpared will be employed about thoſe other very deſirable things I I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming ſome good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the ſuppreſſion of vice.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of diſputes and differences, and reſolved to act with a general and hearty conſent, for promoting the common cauſe, which alone can make this a happy ſeſſion.

"I ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could befall England, if I could find you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy and fatal animoſities, which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy as to any, even the higheſt offence committed againſt me.

"Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aſide parties and diviſions: let there be no other diſtinction heard amongſt us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the proteſtant religion and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who wiſh for a popiſh prince and a French government.

"I will only add this, if you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by your rightly improving the preſent opportunity."

This truly patriotic ſpeech was received by the nation with great applauſe. Both houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty, but agreed in returning him thanks for his ſpeech, and in aſſuring him that they would ſupport his title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and enable him to make good all his alliances for the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Theſe addreſſes were graciouſly received by his majeſty, who expreſſed the ſatisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection. The whole nation in general were ſatisfied with theſe proceedings, and the utmoſt expedition was uſed in completing the armaments for carrying on the war with vigour, both by ſea and land. Forty thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice, and the ſame number to make up the complement of the army. The commons alſo voted, that whoever would advance or lend the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the fleet, and fifty thouſand pounds for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the land-forces, ſhould be paid the principal, with intereſt after the rate of ſix per cent. out of the firſt aids granted by parliament.

A. D. 1702. The behaviour of Lewis had ſo highly exaſperated the nation, that both houſes joined in an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him that no peace ſhould be concluded with France till reparation was made to the king and the people by the French monarch. They prepared a bill of attainder againſt the pretender, James's ſon; and another, to oblige all perſons in office to take an oath to maintain the eſtabliſhed government, and the church of England, with a toleration for non-conformiſts. Ten peers proteſted againſt this bill, as appearing to them to impoſe a new obligation, as uſeleſs as it was ſevere.

William, now on very good terms with his parliament, was wholly employed in his great deſigns; and though threatened with approaching death, made preparations for the enſuing campaign, determined to put himſelf at the head of his army. But this he never accompliſhed. His life was drawing to a period, and an accident happened which haſtened the melancholy event. His health had been, for ſome time, viſibly declining; and he had retired to Hampton-Court, where he amuſed himſelf with his favourite diverſions of riding and hunting. As he was taking the air on the twenty-firſt of February, in the park of Hampton-Court, he unfortunately fell from his horſe, and broke his collar bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was ſet, and he returned the ſame evening to Kenſington. He ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovery, and on the fourth of March took ſeveral turns in the gallery; but being ſomewhat fatigued, he ſat down on a couch, and fell aſleep. He was ſoon after ſeized with a fever; and, notwithſtanding all attempts to remove his complaint, the diſorder continued to increaſe. He was ſenſible that his end was approaching, and met death with that firmneſs of mind which always diſtinguiſhed him. "I know (ſaid he to his phyſicians) that you have done every thing your art could do to aſſiſt me; but it is uſeleſs, and I ſubmit." He continued ſenſible to the laſt moment, and died about eight in the morning of the eighth of March, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

William poſſeſſed not the amiable and attractive virtues. He had leſs ſenſibility than policy, and ſollicited popularity only occaſionally. But he had merit ſufficient to diſtinguiſh him from the generality of princes. He was a great general, and often gained more by a defeat than the French by a victory. He had inſpired his troops with a confidence and courage that rendered them ſuperior to all danger and bad ſucceſs: and if his actions be fairly weighed in the balance of reaſon, we ſhall, perhaps, think his merit equal to moſt of the kings that ever filled the Engliſh throne. He was conſidered as a friend in whom the moſt unlimited confidence might be placed by moſt of the powers of Europe. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and maintained the moſt inviolable attachment to his allies. Under the weight of labour, and in the languor of ſickneſs, he contended with Lewis XIV. and humbled his proſperous power. He was the prop of Germany, and the ſupport of the proteſtant religion. The Engliſh learned from him the ſtrength of their maritime and commercial power. He governed Holland without deſpotiſm, but with a kind of abſolute authority, founded wholly on confidence and eſteem. Theſe are circumſtances more than ſufficient to immortalize his memory. He was no friend to letters. Nurſed in a camp, amidſt the noiſe of battle, he imbibed not the amiable deſire of being the patron of the muſes. Had he been as attentive as Lewis XIV. to encourage genius, he would have enjoyed the ſame encomiums.

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# ANNE

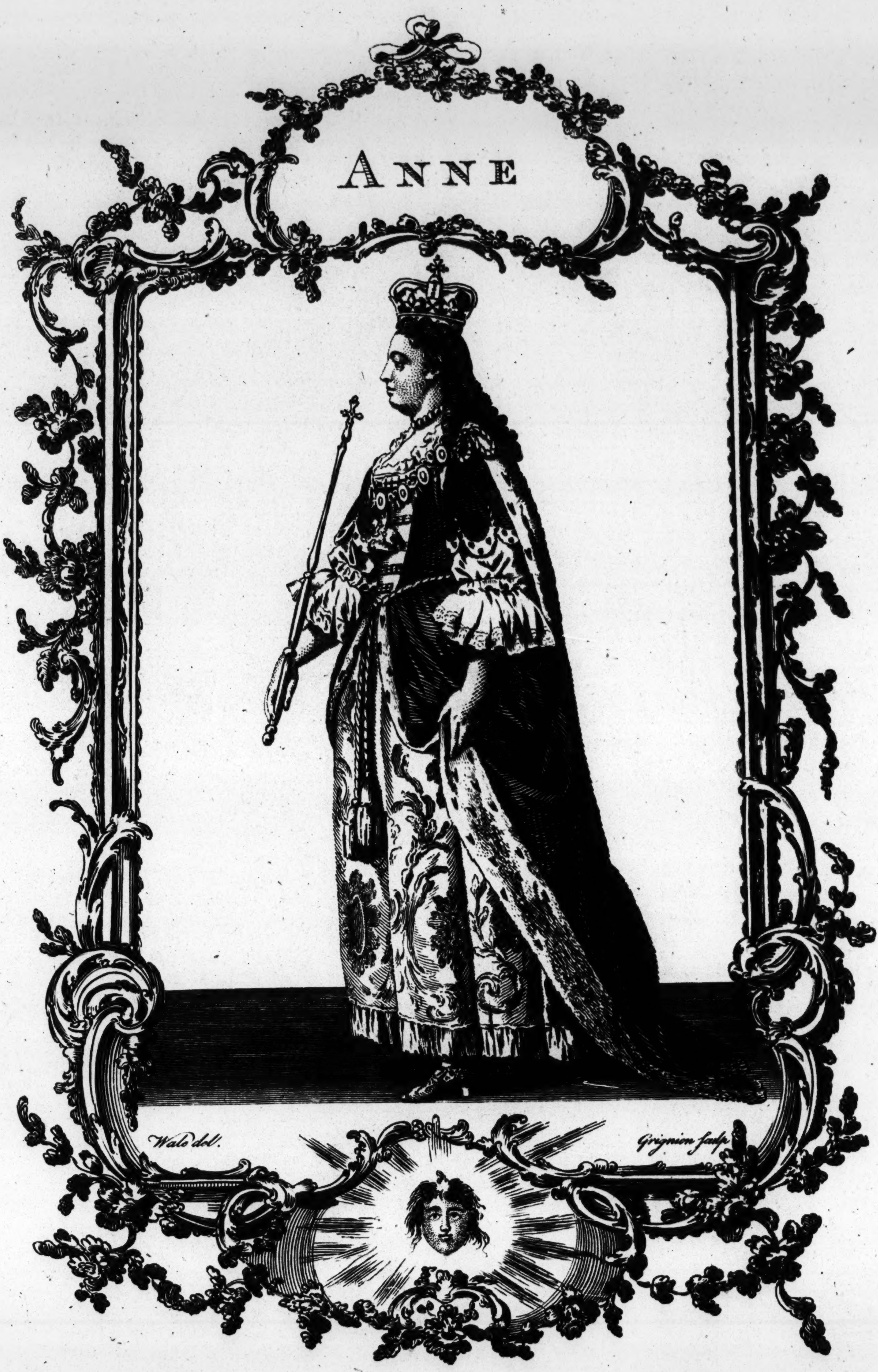
A.D. 1702. ANNE, princeſs of Denmark, ſecond daughter of James II. aſcended the Engliſh throne on the death of king William, purſuant to the act of ſettlement. The privy-council having been aſſembled during the late king's illneſs, waited on the princeſs immediately after his death, and recognized her title to the throne. She received them with the moſt engaging affability, expreſſed her ſenſe of the great loſs the nation had ſuſtained, and of the heavy burden it brought upon herſelf in particular. But added, that the ſincere regard ſhe had to the religion and liberties of her country, would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preſerve them inviolable, to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and the government as by law eſtabliſhed. She alſo declared her reſolution to carry on the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France; and that ſhe would loſe no time in giving her allies the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that ſhe would purſue the true intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates, for the ſupport of the common cauſe.

The whole nation promiſed themſelves a long ſeries of proſperity under the government of this beloved princeſs. Her irreproachable manners, the gravity of her diſpoſition, and her firm attachment to the church, had already rendered her perſon dear to the people. The parliament, which, by virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, continued ſitting after the king's death, declared the princeſs Anne the lawful queen of theſe realms, and iſſued orders for proclaiming her, which was done with great ſolemnity. On the eleventh of March, the queen went to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and delivered the following ſpeech to the parliament:

“My lords and gentlemen,

“I cannot too much lament my own unhappineſs in ſucceeding ſo immediately after the loſs of a king, who was the great ſupport, not only of theſe kingdoms, but of all Europe: and I am extremely ſenſible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

“But the true concern I have for our religion, for the laws and liberties of England, for the maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown in the proteſtant line, and


ANNE
Wale del.
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Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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and for the government in church and ſtate as by law eſtabliſhed, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promiſe myſelf will be ſucceſsful by the bleſſing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection, of which you have given me ſo full aſſurance.

“ The preſent conjuncture of affairs requires the greateſt application and diſpatch; and I am very glad to find in your ſeveral addreſſes ſo unanimous a concurrence in the ſame opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

“ I cannot but think it very neceſſary, upon this occaſion, to deſire you to conſider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been ſo lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and ſecurity of both kingdoms.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I need not put you in mind, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

“ I rely entirely upon your affections for ſupplying it in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt ſuitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It ſhall be my conſtant endeavour to make you the beſt return for that duty and affection you have expreſſed to me by a careful and diligent adminiſtration for the good of all my ſubjects: and as I know my own heart to be entirely Engliſh, I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there is not any thing you can expect or deſire from me, which I ſhall not be ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of England; and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious obſerver of my word.”

Pleaſed with this ſpeech from the throne, both houſes joined in a warm addreſs of thanks to her majeſty; and on the fourteenth of March, they voted, that the ſame revenue which had been ſettled on king William, ſhould be ſettled on her majeſty during her life. The queen loſt no time in informing her allies of her reſolution to purſue the meaſures of his late majeſty. She wrote a letter to the ſtates-general, aſſuring them that they ſhould find the ſame readineſs to purſue the meaſures for preſerving the common liberties of Europe, as they would had the life of the late king been extended to a much longer date. Animated by theſe aſſurances, the ſtates renewed their applications to the neceſſary buſineſs for carrying on the war with vigour; and publiſhed the queen's letter, to refute the reports that had been artfully raiſed by the enemy, that the queen would not purſue the meaſures concerted by king William and the confederates. Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the twenty-eighth of March, in quality of her majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to their high mightineſſes. He confirmed them in their reſolutions for having recourſe to vigorous meaſures, and animated the league that was formed to humble France.

Perſuaded that the alliance formed by the late king would terminate with the breath of William, Lewis could not refrain his joy when the news of that prince's death reached Verſailles. He immediately ſent credentials to his miniſter at the Hague, with inſtructions for renewing the negotiations with the ſtates, in order, if poſſible, to detach them from the grand alliance. The French ambaſſador accordingly preſented a memorial, offering them the friendſhip of his maſter, and very advantageous terms, if they would agree to a treaty of peace. He added, that he doubted not of their accepting his offer, now they were no longer under the influence of the late king. But, at the ſame time, gave them to underſtand, that if, contrary to his expectation, they refuſed his offers, the forces of his maſter were ready to enter upon action; and they muſt now determine, whether they choſe quiet and liberty, or war and ruin. “ The choice (ſaid he) is in your own power, and I hope you will not ſacrifice the happineſs and tranquillity of your country to foreign intereſts.”

The anſwer returned by the ſtates-general was worthy of a people who were determined to preſerve their liberty. “ We have always (ſaid they) cheriſhed a high eſteem for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's friendſhip, nor ever done any thing to incur his diſpleaſure; but the alarming preparations for war ſo near on our frontiers, lay us under the neceſſity of putting ourſelves in a poſture of defence, and of aſking aſſiſtance from our allies. You are miſtaken, Sir, if you think we had not as much liberty to debate, and take ſuch reſolutions as were judged neceſſary for our preſervation, in the life-time of his Britannic majeſty, as at preſent. We cannot, indeed, enough deplore our misfortune, in being deprived of his wiſe conduct and councils, whoſe deſerts the republic can never forget; and we are reſolved to follow the ſame principles, and continue the ſame alliances we entered into during his life-time; and make uſe of ſuch other means as God hath put into our hands for maintaining our liberties and religion.”

This ſpirited anſwer put an end to the negotiation. The French ambaſſador returned to Paris, and the ſtates-general applied themſelves, with the utmoſt vigour, for oppoſing the ambitious deſigns of the French monarch. The allies were animated by the declarations of the queen; and the earl of Marlborough, after concerting meaſures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

When the queen came to the houſe of peers to give the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, among which was that for the better ſupport of her majeſty's houſhold, ſhe told the commons, after returning them thanks for having continued to her the ſame revenue they had ſettled on her predeceſſor, that though it would, in all probability, fall ſhort of what it had formerly produced, ſhe would, nevertheleſs, give directions, that one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be applied this year to the public ſervice. “ I am willing (ſaid ſhe) to ſtreighten myſelf in my own expences, rather than not contribute all I can to the eaſe and relief of my people.”

The parliament were ſo ſtruck with this generous and unexpected declaration, that both houſes preſented an addreſs of thanks to her majeſty, in which they mentioned her unparalleled grace and goodneſs in contributing, out of her own revenue, to the eaſe and relief of her ſubjects.

It was now warmly debated in council, whether the Engliſh ſhould engage as auxiliaries or principals in the war. The tories, with the earl of Rocheſter at their head, ſupported the former, and the whigs the latter. It was urged by thoſe who thought it moſt prudent to act as auxiliaries only, that in the laſt war, the emperor, and ſome other of the allies, had been very remiſs in furniſhing their quotas, and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been loſt, and the whole burden of the war had been, in a manner, thrown upon the Engliſh, who conſtantly ſupplied their deficiencies; and, from a delicate notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel: whereas it would have been otherwiſe, had they acted only as auxiliaries; they would have had nothing more to do than to have ſent their quota of troops; and the burden of the war muſt have been borne by thoſe who were moſt nearly concerned in the quarrel.

This opinion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the whigs, who were now joined by the earl of Marlborough. He obſerved, that the honour of the nation was engaged, on this occaſion, to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed, that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh entered as principals in the quarrel. The majority of the council were of the ſame opinion, and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared againſt France and Spain.

On the fourth of May, the declaration was publiſhed,

liſhed, with the uſual ſolemnities; in which the queen reproached Lewis with interrupting the freedom of commerce and navigation; with having formed a deſign of enſlaving Europe; with having ſeized a conſiderable part of the poſſeſſions of Spain; and with having perſonally inſulted her, by acknowledging the ſon of James II. to be king of England. Theſe charges were all founded on fact, and tended greatly to animate the people againſt the common diſturbers of Europe.

Lord Godolphin was now conſtituted lord high-treaſurer, a poſt his lordſhip had, for ſome time, refuſed, but was at laſt prevailed upon to accept it by the earl of Marlborough, who refuſed to command the forces abroad, unleſs the treaſury was put under the care of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality, in point of remittances, he knew he could depend. Marlborough being thus ſure of the finances, honoured with the higheſt confidence of the queen, ſecure of the favour of the parliament and people, bleſſed with a capacity equal to his intereſt, of indefatigable activity and invincible courage, made the neceſſary preparations for putting himſelf at the head of the allied army.

Lewis XIV. had now no longer thoſe great miniſters, whoſe talents had ſo greatly contributed to the glory of his reign. His finances were hurt both by the late wars and the extravagant magnificence of his court. His miniſter Chamillard, an honeſt man, but of a narrow capacity, a creature of Madame de Maintenon, had the direction of the military department, a charge much too great for his talents. The reſources of government ſeemed, as it were, in the old age of monarchy, and France found herſelf in a very critical ſituation at the very opening of the firſt campaign.

The emperor and the ſtates-general followed the example of the Engliſh, and declared war againſt France and Spain. The declaration of the former turned principally on the flagrant injury that had been done to the Auſtrian family by the French king's accepting of the will of Charles II. in favour of his grandſon, the duke of Anjou. The ſtates-general obſerved, "That Lewis had long ſince caſt his eyes upon their provinces; that he had twice attacked them by a moſt unjuſt war, in order to open himſelf a paſſage to univerſal monarchy: that he was ſo far from intending to preſerve the peace of Ryſwick, that he aimed only at lulling the allies aſleep, by prevailing upon them to lay down their arms; and, by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to render them incapable of making any effectual oppoſition to his ambitious deſigns; for that treaty was hardly ratified, before he began evidently to encroach on their trade, the great ſinew of their ſtrength, by openly refuſing the tariff promiſed by that treaty."

Lewis was highly incenſed at theſe declarations, eſpecially that of the ſtates, which he affected to treat with the utmoſt contempt; but did not publiſh his declaration of war till the beginning of July. He exerted all his power to engage the German princes in his intereſt, and was ſo far ſucceſsful, that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rodolphus and Anthony, were prevailed upon to declare in his favour.

The elector Palatine opened the campaign with the ſiege of Keyſerſwart, a ſtrong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was inveſted in the month of April, but not taken till the ſeventeenth of July, occaſioned by the badneſs of the weather, and the overflowing of the Rhine.

Marlborough, who had been appointed generaliſſimo of the allied army, was now at the Hague, regulating the operations of the campaign. Trained up to arms in the military ſchool of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that conſummate maſter in the art of war, for his gallant behaviour. Equally ſkilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and the field, he poſſeſſed the happy art of gaining the hearts of all who were connected with him. Endowed with an exquiſite diſcernment, he always diſcovered the lucky moment, the very inſtant it preſented itſelf, and never failed to take the advantage it offered, either in the field or the cabinet. He thoroughly underſtood the intereſts of the powers he ſerved, and ſeldom failed to penetrate the deſigns of the enemy. Favoured in a particular manner with the confidence of the troops, he was able to avert the impending dangers by his prudence and foreſight, or pluck the wreath of conqueſt from the foe by his courage and preſence of mind.

It is no wonder that a general endowed with all theſe great talents, and who received not from a firſt miniſter the plan of his operations, ſhould be able to ſtop the career of Lewis XIV. and oblige him at laſt to ſue for that peace his arms were unable to command. Marlborough's firſt campaign gained him univerſal applauſe, and confirmed the expectations the allies had formed of his great abilities. He joined the army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen on the thirtieth of June, paſſed the Maeſe on the ſixteenth of July, and endeavoured to bring the French army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy and marſhal Boufflers, to a general engagement; but this he found impoſſible. The French choſe rather to abandon Spaniſh Guelderland to the diſcretion of the allies, than hazard a battle. They retreated under the cannon of Nimeguen; and the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army merely to learn the method of conducting an engagement, learned nothing but how to avoid one. He returned to court; and Lewis was ſo highly exaſperated at the puſillanimous conduct of Boufflers, that he deprived him entirely of his confidence.

The ſtates-general now requeſted Marlborough to make himſelf maſter of the towns in Spaniſh Guelderland, which would open entirely the navigation of the Maeſe, and on that account be of the utmoſt advantage to Holland. The general readily liſtened to their deſire, and took Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenſwart, and Liege. The citadel of the laſt, which was taken by ſtorm on the twenty-third of October, was extremely rich, the moſt opulent merchants and others having there depoſited their valuable effects, as in a place of ſafety. No leſs than three hundred thouſand florins in gold and ſilver were found in it, beſides notes for about one million two hundred thouſand florins more, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was, in ſhort, ſo conſiderable, that an Engliſh grenadier is ſaid to have received a thouſand louis d'ors for his own ſhare. Boufflers continually retreated before the victorious Marlborough, who now repaired to Holland, and was received at the Hague with every mark of the moſt perfect eſteem.

The late king had planned an expedition for reducing Cadiz, and it was now determined to carry it into execution. Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond commander of the land-forces. The fleet, when joined by the Dutch, conſiſted of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch. The tranſports had fourteen thouſand land-forces on board. The fleet ſailed on the firſt of July, and on the twelfth of Auguſt anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues diſtant from Cadiz. The troops were landed on the fifteenth of Auguſt, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Rota and Port St. Mary's. The ſtricteſt orders had been iſſued againſt plundering before the forces reached either of theſe places; but it was not in the power of the officers to prevent their hungry and thirſty ſoldiers from forcing the houſes where they expected to find refreſhments. Nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found ſtored with rich and ſtrong wines. They now became wholly ungovernable, plundered the city, and being joined by the ſeamen, ſent the ſpoil on board the ſhips. They ſtripped the churches and altars of their plate, and the houſes of their treaſure and rich furniture; ſo that the value of the whole was above a million ſterling.

So much time was ſpent at Port St. Mary's, that the garriſon of Cadiz had recovered from their conſternation; while the late exceſſes had ſo highly provoked the Spaniards, that they joined their army from every quarter in great numbers, determined to oppoſe the invaders of their country. The ſeaſon of the year was alſo now ſo far advanced, that the ſhips could not, without the utmoſt danger, continue longer in thoſe ſeas. The troops were therefore embarked, and the fleet ſailed for England.

But though the expedition againſt Cadiz was unſucceſsful, an incident happened which enabled them to perform an action of the utmoſt ſervice to their country. Captain Hardy having been detached, in the Pembroke, to Lagos, a harbour on the coaſt of Portugal, to fetch water for the fleet, was informed that M. Chateau Renauld, with a ſquadron of French men of war, and the Spaniſh galleons, were put into Vigo, a port of Galicia, in Spain, ſituated in the bay of Bayonne. It was immediately determined to attempt to deſtroy this fleet, and they accordingly ſtood towards Vigo. The paſſage into the harbour, which was not more than three quarters of a mile broad, was defended on each ſide with batteries, forts, and breaſt-works; and a ſtrong boom, conſiſting of iron chains, top-maſts and cables, was ſtretched acroſs the entrance. Within this boom were ſeven ſeventy gun ſhips, moored with their broadſides to the entrance of the paſſage.

It was now determined that a detachment of fifteen Engliſh and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ſhips, ſhould be ſent in to deſtroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates ſhould follow the rear of this detachment; and that the great ſhips ſhould move forward, in order to ſupport them, if their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted: that the army ſhould be landed, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour.

The land forces, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, were accordingly landed, and marched directly to the fort which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and though there appeared about eight thouſand Spaniſh foot between the fort and the hills, they had only a few ſkirmiſhes with the Engliſh, who ſoon made themſelves maſters of the fort, the enemy retiring into an old caſtle or ſtone tower, from which they fired briſkly on the ſhips. But opening the gate to ſally out upon the Engliſh, the grenadiers forced their way into the place ſword in hand, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty men, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The taking of theſe fortifications greatly facilitated the attempt on the ſhipping. The admiral made a ſignal to weigh ſoon after the land forces were aſhore, and the whole ſquadron ſtood in towards the boom; but when the van was within cannon-ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were under a neceſſity of coming to an anchor; but a freſh gale ſpringing up ſoon after, they cut their cables, and ſtood directly for the harbour. Vice-admiral Hobſon, in the Torbay, who led the van, crowded all the ſail he could, and ſtood directly againſt the boom, which immediately gave way, and he entered the harbour. The reſt of the fleet were not ſo fortunate. The Dutch admiral and his ſquadron, who laid their ſhips broadſides to the boom, in order to add weight to the ſhock of the Torbay, ſtuck faſt, and they were obliged to cut themſelves a paſſage. The whole ſquadron now entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemies ſhips and batteries, which, however, they ſoon ſilenced. Admiral Hobſon was, however, in the utmoſt danger. He was boarded by a fire-ſhip, but had the good fortune to beat her off, though not till after his ſhip had received ſo much damage, that he was obliged to ſhift his flag on board the Monmouth.

The enemy perceiving that it would now be impoſſible to defend their ſhips againſt the ſuperior power and valour of the aſſailants, reſolved to ſet fire to their own ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They accordingly burnt eight ſhips, ſix galleons, and two advice-boats, but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The Spaniards had, however, ſecured a conſiderable part of their plate, and other rich merchandize, on the appearance of the combined fleet. Near fourteen millions of pieces of eight were loſt in ſix galleons that were burnt, and about half that value brought off by the conquerors. This was a dreadful blow to the enemy, who were thus at once deprived of their ſhips and treaſure.

Admiral Benbow was not ſo fortunate in the Weſt-Indies. He had, for ſome time, protected the trade, with great vigilance and ſucceſs, in that quarter of the world. That brave, but violent man, had incurred the hatred of ſeveral of his officers, which, joined with a daſtardly ſpirit, gave the enemy an advantage they could never otherwiſe have obtained. Benbow's fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſail of the line, and with this force he ſcoured the ſeas of the many privateers that were very injurious to the Engliſh trade. Being informed that M. du Caſſe, a French admiral, with ten ſail of ſhips, was expected at Hiſpaniola, Benbow determined, if poſſible, to intercept him. On the nineteenth of Auguſt, he had ſight of the enemy, and ſoon after began the engagement with three ſhips only; the other four falling a-ſtern, came not within gun-ſhot of the enemy. Had they done their duty, the whole French ſquadron muſt have fallen into their hands. Benbow, however, continued the fight, and ſoon diſabled one of the enemy's ſhips. But du Caſſe perceiving that he was not ſeconded by the reſt of his ſhips, attacked him with the utmoſt fury, and the admiral had the misfortune to have one of his legs ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot. He, however, continued the fight with the ſame intrepidity; but fearing, from the behaviour of his captains, that they would deſert to the enemy, he was obliged to retire to Jamaica. On his arrival, he iſſued a commiſſion to vice-admiral Whetſtone to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. One of them died before the trial; two of them, Kirby and Wade, were convicted, and ſentenced to be ſhot; and the third caſhiered and impriſoned. The queen was no ſooner informed of their behaviour, than ſhe ſent down warrants to all the ſea-ports for them to be ſhot immediately, in order to prevent any applications in their favour. They were ſent to England in the Briſtol; and as ſoon as ſhe came to an anchor in Plymouth-Sound, they were both ſhot, purſuant to their ſentence.

When Benbow received the wound, his captain expreſſed his concern for the misfortune. "I am as ſorry as you, (replied Benbow) but I would loſe every limb I have ſooner than ſee the diſgrace of my country." He ſpoke the real ſentiments of his heart; and was ſo deeply affected by this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, which, added to the fever occaſioned by his wound, put a period to his life, and deprived the queen of one of the beſt ſea-officers England ever produced.

The parliament was to continue only ſix months after the death of the late king; but her majeſty, before the expiration of that term, thought proper to diſſolve it, and call a new one, which met for buſineſs on the twenty-third of October. The tories had ſo prejudiced the people againſt the behaviour of the whigs, that they had a very conſiderable majority in this parliament; a circumſtance very agreeable to the queen, whoſe partiality for that party was always remarkable. The commons having choſen Robert Harley, Eſq; for their ſpeaker, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with great ſatisfaction I meet this parliament, which I have ſummoned to aſſiſt me in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged. I have called you together as early as was conſiſtent with your convenience in coming out of your ſeveral counties; and I aſſure myſelf of ſuch evidences of your affections to me, and your zeal for our common cauſe, as will not only give ſpirit and forwardneſs to our own preparations, but ſuch example and encouragement to our allies, as, by God's bleſſing, cannot fail of a good effect, for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

"I have met with ſo many expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction in all the counties through which I have lately had occaſion to paſs, that I cannot but look upon them as true meaſures of the duty and affection of the reſt of my ſubjects.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies as will enable me to comply both with our particular treaties and engagements already made, and ſuch others as may be neceſſary for the encouragement of our allies, and the proſecuting the war where it ſhall moſt ſenſibly affect our enemies, and be moſt effectual for diſappointing the boundleſs ambition of France.

"And that my ſubjects may the more chearfully bear the neceſſary taxes, I deſire you to inſpect the accounts of the public receipts and payments; and if there have been any abuſes or miſmanagements, I hope you will detect them, that the offenders may be puniſhed, and others be deterred, by ſuch like examples, from the like practices. I muſt obſerve to you, with ſome concern, that the funds given by the laſt parliament have, in ſome meaſure, fallen ſhort of the ſums propoſed to be raiſed by them; and tho' I have already paid and applied to the public ſervice the hundred thouſand pounds I promiſed to the laſt parliament, yet it has not ſupplied that deficiency.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot, without much trouble, take notice to you of the diſappointment we had at Cadiz. I have not yet had a particular account of that enterprize, nor of all the difficulties our forces may have met with there. But I have had ſuch a repreſentation of diſorders and abuſes committed at Port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give directions for the ſtricteſt examination of that matter.

"I am earneſtly deſirous, for all our ſakes, that this may prove a ſhort ſeſſion. However, I hope you will find time to conſider of ſome better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which is of ſo great conſequence to the kingdom. On my part, nothing ſhall be omitted for its encouragement.

"I am firmly perſuaded, that the love and good affection of my ſubjects is the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience, and the trueſt and juſteſt ſupport of the throne. And as I am reſolved to defend and maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and to protect you in the full enjoyment of all your rights and liberties; ſo I rely on your care of me. My intereſts and yours are inſeparable; and my endeavours ſhall never be wanting to make you all ſafe and happy."

Theſe ſentiments, which every ſovereign ought to cultivate, had the merit of ſincerity; and the addreſſes of both houſes were full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of duty, eſteem, and acknowledgment. The addreſs of the commons was remarkable for their prejudice againſt the memory of the late king. The purport of the addreſs was, that the aſtoniſhing progreſs of her majeſty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had retrieved the ancient honours of the Engliſh nation. This expreſſion was very injurious to the memory of William, and therefore occaſioned long and very warm debates in the houſe. The word "retrieved" was particularly objected to, and the word "maintained" offered to be ſubſtituted in its room. But the tories ſupported the expreſſion, and it paſſed by a majority of a hundred voices.

The neceſſary ſupplies were granted. The duke of Ormond and admiral Rooke received the thanks of both houſes for the expedition to Vigo. Marlborough was created a duke, and received the honours he ſo juſtly deſerved. The queen ſettled a penſion upon him of five thouſand pounds a year, and was deſirous it ſhould deſcend to his poſterity. This occaſioned very warm debates in the houſe of commons; and the duke intreated the queen to give up a requiſition which might be injurious to the public; and the commons, in extolling the ſervices of the general, ſaid, they were only afraid of authorizing, by a precedent, an alienation of the crown revenues, which had been extremely diminiſhed by the exceſſive grants of the late reign. They ſecured to the prince of Denmark an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds, provided he ſurvived her majeſty. He was alſo exempted from that clauſe in the act of ſucceſſion, which excluded all foreigners from offices, though they were naturalized; and was created lord high-admiral of England. But the quality of huſband to the queen gave him no authority. Anne reigned alone; and he ſhared in her glory, without acquiring any part of it himſelf.

The tories, who had greatly the majority in the houſe of commons, and were favoured by the queen, carried all before them with the utmoſt violence. Firmly attached to the church of England, they covered their animoſities under the pretence of zeal. Great part of the whigs, though, to all appearance, united with the church of England, at leaſt ſo far as not to ſcruple the ordinary oaths, frequented the aſſemblies of the non-conformiſts, without being deprived of any advantage as ſubjects. The reigning party, inſtigated by the hatred they bore them, were deſirous of excluding them from all employments. They conſidered as a real ſchiſm that occaſional conformity, which, under an appearance of ſubmiſſion, concealed a determined revolt from the orthodox faith. In conſequence of this opinion, a bill was brought into the lower houſe, the preamble to which condemned perſecution, though it ſeemed wholly calculated to promote it. Whoever had taken the oaths for holding a place, and afterwards frequented any of the aſſemblies of the non-conformiſts, became, according to the tenor of this bill, incapable of holding ſuch employment, was liable to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day he held his employment, after having been at any ſuch meeting: nor could he hold any other employment till after one whole year's conformity.

The promoters of this bill pretended, that a national church being requiſite, as well for the ſupport of religion as the tranquillity of the ſtate, it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain it by truſting the civil power in the hands of ſuch only as were faithful to its rules and principles; that it was abſurd to give places of conſequence to a ſet of men whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, yet hardy enough to violate them; that it is contradictory to common ſenſe to be at the ſame time a conformiſt and a non-conformiſt, and to embrace ſincerely a communion to which they did not accede; and that this bill added nothing to the rights of the church of England, nor took any thing from the rights of toleration paſſed in the late reign.

In oppoſition to theſe reaſons, the opponents of the bill alledged, that the diſſenters were in general well affected to the preſent conſtitution; that in the laſt and greateſt danger to which the church was expoſed, they zealouſly ſupported her againſt all the papiſts, their common enemies, and have ever ſince continued to ſhew every mark of affection and ſubmiſſion to the government, in church and ſtate; that to lay any real hardſhip upon them, or give riſe to jealouſies and fears at ſuch a juncture, might be attended with dangerous conſequences: that toleration had greatly contributed to the ſafety and reputation of the church; and plainly proved, that liberty of conſcience and gentle meaſures were the moſt effectual means for increaſing the votaries of the eſtabliſhed religion, and diminiſhing the number of diſſenters: that the non-conformiſts could not properly be termed ſchiſmatics, without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated ſuch ſchiſm, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more ſevere than thoſe impoſed by law upon the papiſts for aſſiſting at the moſt ſolemn act of their religion; and, that toleration and tenderneſs had always been productive of peace and union, while perſecution and violence had never failed to excite diſcord, and extend ſuperſtition.

Theſe arguments were not, however, ſufficient to induce the tories to lay the bill aſide: they ſupported it with all their intereſt, and the bill paſſed the lower houſe by a conſiderable majority. It was different in the houſe of peers, where many of the members were in the whig intereſt. A very warm debate enſued on the firſt reading, and ſeveral amendments were made to it, namely, that jacobite meetings ſhould be included; that the one hundred pounds penalty ſhould be reduced to twenty, and that the whole incapacitating clauſes ſhould be omitted. They alſo ſhortened the terms for information and proſecution, and exempted the diſſenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the ſacrament, provided the act did not extend to univerſity churches, to thoſe of the French and Dutch, or to the governors of hoſpitals, or the aſſiſtants of corporations. Theſe amendments were refuſed by the commons, and ſeveral conferences between the two houſes were held on the occaſion; but as the lords perſiſted in adhering to their amendments, and the commons in refuſing them, the conferences broke up, and both parties publiſhed their proceedings, in vindication of their conduct. The whole intereſt of the court was exerted on this occaſion, but the bill was rejected by one voice only.

A. D. 1703. The convocation had been ſummoned to meet with the new parliament, but no buſineſs of importance was tranſacted, the diſputes between the two houſes preventing their taking notice of any thing that required their attention. The whole body of the clergy ranged themſelves into two different parties, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of "High Church" and "Low Church." The former accuſed the latter of being preſbyterian hypocrites, and the latter branded the former with being partizans of tyranny and perſecution.

Theſe diſputes induced the queen to prorogue the parliament. Accordingly her majeſty came to the houſe of peers on the twenty-ſecond of February; and, after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe thanked them for the diſpatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large ſupplies they had given, and for the proviſion they had made for the prince. She told them ſhe hoped the diſſenters would reſt ſatisfied with the act of toleration, which ſhe was reſolved to maintain; that the members of the church would remember ſhe had been educated in their principles, and had been expoſed to great difficulties for maintaining them, and therefore they might be aſſured ſhe would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and tranſmit it, ſecurely ſettled, to poſterity. She thought ſome farther laws were neceſſary for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and hoped they would endeavour to ſuppreſs pernicious libels; but above all, ſhe recommended union among themſelves; and concluded with acquainting them, that ſhe would apply her ſhare of the prizes taken during the war to the public ſervice.

Scotland was ſtill full of troubles and diſputes; and it was feared the contagion would be propagated in England. The queen, deſirous of putting an end to all diſputes between England and Scotland had made an attempt to unite the two kingdoms, and an act of parliament was paſſed for that purpoſe. But though the Scots acknowledged her authority, and ſwore obedience, they ſeemed averſe to the project. They gave inceſſant inſtances of their inquietude, jealouſy, and the animoſity of parties, during a long ſeſſion of their parliament. The ancient genius of the nation ſhewed its turbulent activity. Bills followed bills without number; the ſpirit of party had infected all their deliberations. One Fletcher, a furious and intrepid republican, aſſerted, that Scotland would be enſlaved if ſhe ſubmitted to the ſucceſſor of the crown of England without previouſly eſtabliſhing ſuch conditions of government as might ſerve her as a rampart againſt the Engliſh miniſtry. The conditions he propoſed for the queen's ſucceſſors were, That all places civil and military, together with all penſions ſhould be conferred by parliament; that the preſident ſhould be choſen by the aſſembly; that during the receſs of parliament a committee of thirty-ſix members ſhould have the adminiſtration of government under the prince, ſhould act in quality of his council, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. He alſo propoſed that the ſucceſſor ſhould be elected by a majority of voices; and declared he would rather nominate a papiſt with theſe conditions, than a good proteſtant without them. Theſe propoſitions, however extravagant they may appear, were ſupported by a ſtrong party in the Scottiſh parliament, and they were reduced into the form of a bill. Fletcher had many imitators and many friends. The cry of liberty, and invective againſt the miniſter echoed from every part of the houſe. At laſt the queſtion was put whether they ſhould take into conſideration the ſupplies, or the ſtate of the nation. One of the members ſaid, that all the fruit of the labours and expences of the nation was only to burden them with freſh ſupplies, and bend their necks to the yoke of ſervitude. Another added that their liberties were deſtroyed, and that the privileges of parliament would ſoon ſhare the ſame fate; but that he would defend his own rights at the hazard of his life, and rather die a freeman than live a ſlave. The duke of Queenſberry, the queen's commiſſioner, oppoſed the deliberations on Fletcher's bill. This exaſperated the party ſtill more, and the earl of Roxborough declared, that if there were no other means of obtaining a right ſo eſſential to parliament, it ſhould be ſought by the ſword. The whole houſe was now in the higheſt ferment, and the duke of Queenſberry in the utmoſt danger of being cut to pieces. He however appeaſed the ſtorm by promiſing, that in the firſt ſeſſion of parliament they ſhould purſue their meaſures in favour of liberty. He took advantage of this interval of quiet, and prorogued the parliament.

The duke of Ormond had lately been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Rochford, who choſe to reſign his poſt rather than reſide in that kingdom. Ormond was reſpectable for his merit and generoſity, but too much addicted to pleaſure, too fond of popular applauſe, and ſurrounded by a number of ſubalterns, whoſe intereſted conduct eſcaped his vigilance. The principal ſubjects of complaint were malverſation and rapine. Great zeal was however ſhewn for the eſtabliſhed government, and an act was paſſed againſt the papiſts, who were ſuſpected to having formed freſh deſigns in favour of the pretender. The commons alſo voted the neceſſary ſupplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to make good the deficiences of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. They alſo voted a proviſion for the half-pay officers; aboliſhed penſions amounting to ſeventeen thouſand pounds a year as unneceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment; and paſſed an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to a form ſent over from England for that purpoſe.

In the mean time the greateſt preparations were making for the enſuing campaign. It had been agreed that the archduke Charles, ſon to the emperor, ſhould aſſume the title of king of Spain, demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and with the aſſiſtance of the maritime powers, undertake ſome enterprize of importance. The emperor had alſo promiſed to ſend ſo powerful an army into the field as to be able to drive the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was ſo dilatory in his proceedings, that the French king broke all his meaſures by ſending a powerful re-inforcement to the elector under the command of marſhal Villars. The imperialiſts were defeated near Donavert; the duke of Burgundy made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; Tallard took Landau, and gained a victory over the prince of Heſſe. The emperor, who had now declared his ſon king of Spain under the title of Charles III. trembled for his empire.

The allies were ſucceſsful only where Marlborough commanded; that able general made himſelf maſter of Bon, Huy, and Limbourg. The Dutch general Opdam was defeated by the marſhal Boufflers, near Eckeren. Nor were the naval operations this year ſucceſsful. Hardly any thing was done againſt the enemy. Sir George Rooke, indeed, in a cruiſe to the bay of Biſcay took a French Eaſt India ſhip, worth an hundred thouſand pounds, a man of war of thirty-ſix guns, and a Weſt-India merchantman worth forty thouſand pounds. But having been for ſome time in an ill ſtate of health, he returned home, and obtained leave to go to Bath.

Lewis flattered himſelf he ſhould now be able to make ſuch ſucceſsful efforts againſt the allies, as to obtain an advantageous peace, and ſupport his grandſon on the Spaniſh throne. But two incidents happened which ſeemed to wear an inauſpicious aſpect. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the young king of Spain, and to the duke of Burgundy, abandoned the cauſe which Lewis had undertaken to ſupport, as well as the intereſt of his two ſons-in-law, and joined the allies. The offers made him by the houſe of Auſtria, and the promiſes of money from England, induced him to take this unexpected reſolution. The ſame intereſted motives prevailed upon the king of Portugal to declare in favour of the archduke and join the grand alliances.

On the ninth of November, the queen opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I have called you together, as ſoon as I thought you could conveniently come out of your counties, that no time might be loſt in making our preparations for carrying on the preſent war; in which I do not doubt of your chearful concurrence, ſince you muſt be ſenſible, that on the ſucceſs of it depends our own ſafety and happineſs, and that of all Europe.

" I hope I have improved the confidence you impoſed upon me laſt year to your ſatisfaction, and the advantage of us and our allies, by the treaty with the king of Portugal, and the declaration of the duke of Savoy, which, in a great meaſure may be imputed to the chearfulneſs with which you ſupported me in this war, and the aſſurance with which you truſted me in the conduct of it. And we cannot ſufficiently acknowledge the goodneſs of Almighty God, who is pleaſed to afford us ſo fair a proſpect, as we now have, of bringing it to a glorious and ſpeedy concluſion.

" I muſt therefore deſire you, gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as ſhall be requiſite to defray the neceſſary charge of the war in the next year, with regard not only to our former engagements, but particularly to our alliance lately made with the king of Portugal, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, and reſtoring it to the houſe of Auſtria; which treaty being in itſelf of the higheſt importance imaginable, and requiring all poſſible diſpatch in the execution of it, has neceſſarily occaſioned a great expence, even in the preſent year; though not ſo much as it will require, and for which, I hope, we ſhall be amply recompenſed in the next.

" The ſubſidies which will now be immediately required for the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, will likewiſe occaſion a farther neceſſary charge.

" I muſt take notice to you, that no particular proviſion was made in the laſt ſeſſion, either for the charge of our preſent expedition to Portugal, or for that of the augmentation of troops deſired by the ſtates-general; yet the funds given by parliament have held out ſo well, and the produce of the prizes has proved ſo conſiderable, that you will find the public will not be in debt by reaſon of either of theſe additional ſervices.

" I may further obſerve to you, that though the funds for the civil government are diminiſhed by the war, I have, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, contributed, out of my own revenue, towards ſome public ſervices, and particularly the ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies, under the greateſt preſſures, well deſerved our ſeaſonable aſſiſtance. And I ſhall ſtill be careful not to engage myſelf in any unneceſſary expence of my own, that I may have the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of my ſubjects.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I heartily wiſh ſome eaſy and leſs chargeable method could be found out for the ſpeedy and effectual manning the fleet.

" I muſt recommend to you to make ſome regulation for preventing the exceſſive price of coals. I have examined this matter, and taken particular care to appoint convoys for that ſervice; but the price has not been in the leaſt abated, notwithſtanding a conſiderable quantity has been imported ſince that time. This gives great ground of ſuſpicion there may be a combination of ſome perſons to enrich themſelves at the general oppreſſion of others, and particularly the poor. It will deſerve your conſideration, how to remedy this great inconvenience.

" And in all our affairs, I muſt recommend as much diſpatch as the nature of them will admit. This is neceſſary to make our preparations early; on which, in a great meaſure, depends the good ſucceſs of all our enterprizes. I want words to expreſs to you my earneſt deſire of ſeeing all my ſubjects in perfect peace and union among themſelves. I have nothing ſo much at heart as their general welfare and happineſs. Let me therefore deſire you all, that you would carefully avoid any heats or diviſions, that may diſappoint me of that ſatisfaction, and give encouragement to the common enemies of our church and ſtate."

The admonition at the cloſe of this ſpeech was generally thought to regard the occaſional conformity bill. The commons, however, determined not to loſe ſight of their favourite ſcheme, and the bill was revived early in the ſeſſion, but with ſome mitigation in the penalties. It paſſed the commons by a conſiderable majority, but was rejected by twelve voices by the lords.

While the parliament was engaged in deliberating on this bill, the moſt dreadful tempeſt happened that had been known in the memory of man. The violence of the ſtorm was confined to the ſouthern parts of England, where the damage was very great. It began on the twenty-ſeventh of November, and the wind was ſo violent that ſeveral houſes in London were blown down, and the whole city ſo dreadfully ſhaken, that the inhabitants expected to be buried under the ruins of the buildings. The greater part of our navy was then at ſea, a circumſtance that filled the nation with terror. And had not the fury of the ſtorm happened at high-water the loſs might have proved fatal to the nation. Fourteen or fifteen men of war was loſt, and near fifteen hundred ſeamen periſhed. Several merchant ſhips were alſo caſt away.

The commons immediately preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, expreſſing their ſenſe of this national calamity, and that they would not ſuffer any diminution in the royal navy, and would therefore make immediate proviſion for repairing the loſs occaſioned by the late ſtorm, and beſought her majeſty to give orders for building ſuch capital ſhips as ſhe ſhould think proper, aſſuring her that the houſe would effectually make good the expence.

When the treaty with Portugal was concluded, it was determined to ſend the archduke into that kingdom, in order to attempt to dethrone the duke of Anjou, and ſeize the crown, which he claimed as his right. A fleet was accordingly fitted out to convoy him to Liſbon, under the command of Sir George Rooke. The prince landed in England about the middle of December, and ſoon after embarked with a conſiderable number of Engliſh and Dutch troops. At his arrival at Liſbon he was received with all the external marks of ſatisfaction.

A. D. 1704. Notwithſtanding the loſs of the occaſional conformity bill had occaſioned great diſſenſions between the two houſes, they were unanimous in granting the neceſſary ſupplies to her majeſty for carrying on the war with vigour, and enabling her to fulfil all the conditions of the treaties ſhe had ſigned with foreign powers. They were ſo deſirous of defeating the ambitious deſigns of France, that they reſolved to maintain ninety thouſand men by ſea and land.

The heats between the lords and commons were hardly ſubſided, when an account of a plot in favour of the pretender, raiſed once more the flame higher than ever. Several perſons concerned in this ſcheme being apprehended, the peers took upon them the buſineſs of trying the priſoners. This gave the commons offence; and embraced the opportunity of giving vent to that animoſity, they had for a ſhort time concealed. They repreſented to the queen their aſtoniſhment that the peers ſhould violate the laws and wound the prerogative, by taking upon them the trial of the priſoners arreſted by order of her majeſty. They aſſured her of their readineſs to ſupport her prerogative, and oppoſe every attempt that might be made againſt her perſon. This addreſs irritated the upper houſe. They declared it injurious, contrary to the rules of parliament, and pregnant with conſequences deſtructive of the liberties and conſtitution of the kingdom. They farther declared, that they had an inconteſtible right to try ſtate criminals, whether priſoners or not: and ſupported this claim by a number of precedents. But all bodies of men are jealous of their privileges; and the commons, who had formerly, on the ſame account, contended with their princes, now made them matter of conteſt with the nobility. The lords, on their part did not fail to mortify the commons.

While theſe diſputes continued between the two houſes, her majeſty ſent a meſſage to the commons, in which ſhe told them, That having taken into her ſerious conſideration the mean and inſufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, ſhe had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the ſaid poor clergy; that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing from the firſt-fruits and tenths, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the houſe of commons could find any methods by which her good intentions to the poor clergy could be rendered more effectual; it would be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her majeſty.

Upon receiving this meſſage the commons addreſſed the queen, expreſſing their thanks for her gracious meſſage, and her pious concern for increaſing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and aſſured her majeſty they would do their utmoſt to make her majeſty's charitable intentions more effectual. Accordingly a bill was brought in "for making more effectual her majeſty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majeſty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the firſt-fruits and tenths." They alſo repealed the ſtatute of mortmain ſo far, as to give free liberty to all men, either by deed or their laſt wills, to give what they thought proper towards the augmentation of benefices. This part of the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of lords, where it was alledged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practiſe on the weakneſs of dying men. This argument was not, however, ſtrong enough to gain over the majority: the bill paſſed both houſes, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

The queen exerted herſelf, to bring about a reconciliation between the two houſes, but in vain. Their animoſities did not indeed hinder the more eſſential buſineſs of the nation; but as it was feared they might be productive of very fatal conſequences, the queen determined to put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, which was accordingly done on the third of April, when her majeſty, after thanking them for the large ſupplies they had granted, and the diſpatch they had given to the public buſineſs, ſhe added, "At the opening of this ſeſſion, I earneſtly expreſſed my deſires of ſeeing you in perfect union among yourſelves, as the moſt effectual means immaginable to diſappoint the ambition of our enemies, and reduce them to an honourable and laſting peace. And though this has not met with the ſucceſs I wiſhed and expected, yet being fully convinced that nothing is ſo neceſſary to our common welfare, I am not diſcouraged from perſiſting in the ſame earneſt deſires, that you would go down into your ſeveral counties ſo diſpoſed to moderation and unity as becomes all thoſe who are joined in the ſame religion and intereſt.

"This I am perſuaded will make you ſenſible, that nothing, next to the bleſſing God, can ſo much contribute to our ſucceſs abroad and our ſafety at home."

The affairs of Scotland gave her majeſty equal uneaſineſs. In order to ſettle the ferments in that kingdom, where the thirſt of independence was grown outrageous, ſhe conſented to an act of ſurety, which had paſſed the Scottiſh parliament. The purport of this act was, that in caſe the queen died without iſſue, the parliament ſhould immediately aſſemble and nominate a ſucceſſor to the crown, diſtinctly from the crown of England, unleſs a national eſtabliſhment, conformable to the laws of the country, and independent of the Engliſh councils previouſly took place, and the court had not given the people a power to arm in their defence. Lord Godolphin, then prime-miniſter, adviſed her majeſty to yeild, on this occaſion, to the neceſſity of circumſtances; though by this proceeding he expoſed himſelf greatly to the cenſure of the Tories.

The affairs of the emperor were now in a deplorable ſituation. Preſſed on one ſide by the Hungarians who had ſhaken off the yoke, and under prince Ragotſki, were fighting for their liberty; and on the other by the elector of Bavaria, who held every thing upon the Danube, and threatened Vienna itſelf with a ſiege; he had no other reſource than that of imploring the aſſiſtance of her Britannic Majeſty. The duke of Marlborough ſtrongly preſſed the neceſſity of ſending immediate aſſiſtance to the emperor, and the queen accordingly returned a favourable anſwer to the memorial of that diſtreſſed prince. Marlborough arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the ſtates-general the danger to which the empire, and even all Europe were threatened, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany. The ſtates, perſuaded that it would be bad policy to oppoſe the duke, though they were very deſirous of keeping the army in Flanders, gave their conſent; and Marlborough prepared for carrying into execution the plan he had formed, that of marching into the heart of Germany, and delivering the houſe of Auſtria from impending ruin.

He marched with ſuch expedition that he reached Mildenheim on the tenth of June; where he was viſited by prince Eugene, and the next day by prince Lewis of Baden. A long conſultation was held by the generals, in which it was agreed that prince Eugene ſhould command a ſeparate army on the Rhine, and that the duke and prince Lewis ſhould command alternately. The march was proſecuted with the utmoſt expedition, till they reached the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, oppoſite to the Bavarian lines, where about eight thouſand French and as many Bavarians lay intrenched to guard the country they had conquered. Alarmed at the approach of the allies, the duke of Bavaria ſent a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenberg, a riſing ground on the Danube, near Donawert. As that poſt was of very great importance, d'Arco had, for ſome time, employed his troops in throwing up entrenchments. Marlborough knowing his works were not completed, reſolved, if poſſible, to drive the enemy from their poſt. Accordingly, on the ſixth of July, at three in the morning, he advanced at the head of a detachment of ſix hundred foot, thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the reſt of the army following with the greateſt diligence. But the diſtance, badneſs of the road, and other incidents, ſo greatly retarded his march, that it was three in the afternoon before the artillery paſſed the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert.

The attack was now begun, with the utmoſt intrepidity, by the Engliſh and Dutch, before the Imperialiſts could come up. The enemy made a gallant reſiſtance; but prince Lewis leading up the Imperialiſts, the entrenchments were forced; a terrible ſlaughter enſued; and the greater part of the enemy puſhed into the Danube, where numbers of them periſhed. The victory was complete; and the troops that had the good fortune to reach the oppoſite ſide of the Danube, fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Sixteen pieces of cannon and thirteen ſtandards were taken. Donawert immediately ſurrendered; and the elector of Bavaria, informed of the defeat of his troops, repaſſed the Danube, marched with the utmoſt precipitation, and encamped under the cannon of Augſburg. He was offered very advantageous terms, provided he would abandon the French intereſt, and join the grand alliance. At firſt the elector ſeemed to liſten to the propoſal; but being informed that marſhal Tallard had paſſed the Black Foreſt, and was advancing, by forced marches, to his aſſiſtance, he broke off the negotiation, declaring, that ſince the French monarch made ſuch powerful efforts to ſupport him, he thought himſelf obliged in honour to remain firm to his alliance. This conduct of the elector was highly reſented by the confederate generals, who detached thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons to lay waſte the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of its capital.

Eugene exerted all his vigilance to prevent marſhal Tallard from joining the duke of Bavaria, but could not ſucceed. The junction was made at Bibarach, near Ulm, about the end of July. Marlborough immediately left his camp, and joined prince Eugene at Munſter; while prince Lewis of Baden formed the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt. On the twelfth of Auguſt, Marlborough and Eugene reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, whom they found advantageouſly poſted on a hill near Hochſtet, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom very marſhy.

This advantageous ſituation did not, however, intimidate theſe two great generals: they reſolved to attack the enemy before they had time to fortify their camp; advice having been received that Villeroy was on his march for Wirtemberg, in order to deſtroy that country, and cut off the communication of the allies from the Rhine, which muſt have been attended with very fatal conſequences, could it have been effected. Orders were therefore iſſued that very night for all the baggage of the army to be ſent towards Donawert, and the troops ready to march by break of day. About ſeven in the morning of the thirteenth of Auguſt, the allies appeared in ſight of the enemy's camp, where every thing was in a profound ſilence; not imagining the allies would dare to attack them in ſo advantageous a poſt. They were therefore thrown into the utmoſt confuſion at the appearance of our troops: they diſcharged two pieces of cannon to call in their foraging parties, and ſet fire to ſeveral ſmall villages that were between them and the allied army. About nine in the morning, the cannonading on both ſides began, and continued, without intermiſſion, till one in the afternoon.

The French and Bavarian armies conſiſted of near ſixty thouſand men. The right wing was commanded by marſhal Tallard, and the left by the elector of Bavaria, aſſiſted by Marſin. The confederate army did not exceed fifty thouſand men. Prince Eugene commanded on the right; the lords Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldſby, the left; while Marlborough took his poſt in the center, as commander of the whole.

Such was the ſituation of the two armies when the battle began about one in the afternoon. There was a neceſſity for croſſing the rivulet already mentioned before the allies could attack the enemy, who had taken care to guard it with three ſquadrons of horſe, under the command of M. de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who fell ſo vigorouſly on the allies, that they were obliged thrice to give ground; but this handful of men not being properly ſupported, they were ſoon overpowered by numbers, and driven from their poſt. Had the French generals properly ſupported theſe brave troops, the allies would not have found the paſſage of the rivulet an eaſy taſk; but by neglecting this, they committed an error they could never retrieve. Their artillery played very hotly, but did very little execution; and the paſſage of the rivulet was effected in the face of the enemy. As ſoon as the center and part of the right had paſſed the rivulet in different places, they formed on the other ſide, without any interruption from the enemy, who remained quiet on the hills. Marlborough immediately led his troops to the attack of Tallard's cavalry. The French ſtood the ſhock, with great firmneſs, for ſome time; but were at laſt broken, and forced to give way. Tallard flew immediately to the village of Blenheim, where he had poſted twenty-ſeven battallions and twelve ſquadrons. Theſe troops formed a diſtinct army, and kept up a continued fire on Marlborough's diviſion while he attacked the right wing. Tallard having given his orders in the village, haſtened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horſe and ſome battalions of foot between the ſquadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him, and which Tallard could not prevent.

In the mean time, the cavalry of the confederates left wing being now completely formed, aſcended the hill of Lutzingen with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and charged the enemy's horſe with ſuch fury, that tho' they rallied ſeveral times, they were obliged at laſt to betake themſelves to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one ſide, while the reſt of the generals got between the village of Blenheim, and Tallard's diviſion on the other. In this deſperate ſituation, Tallard flew to rally ſome of his broken ſquadrons; but the badneſs of his ſight completed his misfortune. He miſtook a ſquadron of Heſſians for his own forces, and was taken priſoner, together with many officers of diſtinction.

Prince Eugene had attempted the paſſage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the ſtream were very ſteep, and the bottom rough and uneven. The leaſt oppoſition on the part of the enemy muſt therefore have rendered his efforts fruitleſs, and have obliged him to retire and ſeek a more favourable ſpot for the execution of his purpoſe; but the enemy made none. He had no ſooner reached the oppoſite bank, than he attacked the left wing, commanded by marſhal Marſin, with the utmoſt vigour. But the imperial horſe behaved very ill on this occaſion;

they were ſo intimidated by the conſtant fire of the enemy, that they could not be brought to advance within muſket-ſhot. The Daniſh and Pruſſian troops alſo gave back in the ſame manner; but being at length animated by the gallant example of their officers, they flew to the charge, and exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they put the enemy to flight; and Marſin finding it in vain to make any farther reſiſtance, abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen, and was purſued as far as the villages of Morſelingen and Teiſſenhoven, whence he retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The route now became general through the whole French and Bavarian armies: every one fled with the greateſt precipitation; numbers ran headlong into the Danube, and periſhed.

A ſmall part of the infantry was ſaved by the count du Bourg, who retreated over the marſhes of Hochſtet. But the little army cooped up in Blenheim was forgot. It conſiſted of twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons, amounting in the whole to about eleven thouſand effective men, and the beſt troops in France. They were waiting in Blenheim for orders, and knew nothing of the rout of their army till they were ſurrounded by the allies. It was impoſſible for them to make any effectual reſiſtance: the ſtreets were too narrow for them to form; and their own artillery, now in the hands of the allies, would ſoon have decided the conteſt. They therefore thought proper to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Such was the concluſion of this celebrated action, known in France by the name of the battle of Hochſtet, and in England and Germany by that of the battle of Blenheim. The triumph of the allies was complete. Twelve thouſand men were killed, and fourteen thouſand taken priſoners. The trophies conſiſted of one hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred pair of colours, and an immenſe booty. The loſs of the victors amounted to about five thouſand killed, and eight thouſand wounded.

The duke of Bavaria was obliged to fly, and abandon his country to the conquerors, who penetrated into Alſace, took Landau, and ſcattered terror in every region through which they paſſed. Marlborough ſignalized himſelf in the action, no leſs by his courage than by his military talents. His priſoner, Tallard, complimenting him on having conquered the beſt troops in the world, he anſwered, that his own were certainly better, becauſe they had conquered them. Marlborough received a recompence worthy of his ſervices. The emperor created him a prince of the empire; the ſtates received him with the ſame reſpect as if he had been the ſtadtholder; and his country received him with every demonſtration of joy.

The campaign in Portugal was far from being ſucceſsful. To fight in conjunction with heretics, was conſidered by the Portugueſe as a kind of apoſtacy. It was therefore in vain to hope for ſucceſs: and accordingly, inſtead of making conqueſts in Spain, ſeveral of the towns of Portugal were taken by the enemy. The duke of Schomberg, who commanded the allied army, was ſo enraged at the behaviour of the Portugueſe, that he deſired leave to reſign his commiſſion. His requeſt was granted, and the earl of Galway ſent over to ſucceed him, with eight thouſand Dutch troops, who reached Liſbon the beginning of Auguſt.

The operations at ſea were this year very conſiderable. Sir George Rooke, after landing Charles at Liſbon, cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt of Portugal; but being requeſted to aſſiſt in executing a deſign on Barcelona, projected by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, he readily gave his conſent, took on board that prince with a detachment of land forces; but the attempt proving fruitleſs, he croſſed the Mediterranean, and came to an anchor in the road of Tetuan. A council of war was now held on board the admiral's ſhip, where it was determined to make an attempt on Gibraltar, which was known to be ſlightly garriſoned.

The next day the whole fleet got under ſail, and on the twenty-firſt of July came to an anchor in Gibraltar bay. The land forces, amounting to eighteen hundred, with the prince of Heſſe at their head, were landed, about four in the afternoon, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, in order to cut off all communication with the country. A ſummons was now ſent to the governor to ſurrender the town; but he anſwered he would defend it to the laſt extremity. The next morning the cannonade from the ſhips began with the utmoſt fury; and it was ſoon perceived that the Spaniards were driven from the works at the ſouth mole head; on which all the boats of the fleet were manned and armed, and took poſſeſſion of the fortifications. The Spaniards immediately ſprung a mine, which deſtroyed all the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and forty men, and wounded about ſixty. The ſeamen, however, kept their poſt; and having made themſelves maſters of a redoubt between the mole and the town, they turned the cannon againſt the enemy. A peremptory ſummons was now ſent to the governor, who, on the twenty-fourth in the morning, capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe took poſſeſſion of the place.

The town of Gibraltar being thus reduced, the admiral ſailed again into the Mediterranean, in order, if poſſible, to meet with the French fleet, that had, for ſome time, been lying at Toulon. He diſcovered them on the eleventh of Auguſt, and on the thirteenth they were not above three leagues diſtant, and a little to the weſtward of Malaga. They now drew up in a line of battle, and lay ready to receive him. Their fleet conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips and twenty-four gallies, and the Engliſh of fifty-three ſhips. Sir George Rooke, aſſiſted by the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, commanded in the center; Sir Cloudeſly Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; and the Dutch formed the rear.

The battle began about four in the morning, when the van and rear preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon obliged that part of the French line to give way; but the French center ſtood firm, and the fight was maintained with the greateſt obſtinacy till night obliged them to deſiſt. The French took advantage of the night to bear away to leeward; and the wind ſhifting before the day appeared, they were ſeen three leagues at leaſt to windward. Both ſpent the day in repairing the damages they had ſuſtained; and in the night the French ſtood away farther to the northward; nor could the Engliſh bring them again to an engagement, though they followed them for two days for that purpoſe. Though this victory was far from being deciſive, yet the French ſhips received ſo much damage, that they were never after able to engage the Engliſh during the whole war. A ruinous war had exhauſted the reſources of France, and a ſeries of diſaſters threatened her with ruin. The two rear-admirals, Byng and Dilkes, and captain Jennings, commander of the St. George, received the honour of knighthood.

The parliament was opened on the twenty-fourth of October by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein her majeſty obſerved, that the great and remarkable ſucceſs with which God had bleſſed her arms, infuſed an unanimous joy through the whole kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages would enable her to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, as well as a firm ſupport for the liberties of Europe. She declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her ſubjects. She expreſſed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loſs of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but who ſhould do moſt for the public welfare. "Such a temper as this (added ſhe) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of ſecuring your reputation both at home and abroad. This would make me a happy queen, whoſe endeavours ſhall never be wanting to make you a happy and flouriſhing people."

Nothing ſo much encourages a paſſion for arms as ſucceſs. The queen found her parliament no leſs ready to grant her ſupplies than to compliment her on the victories ſhe had obtained over the arms of the common diſturber of Europe. Almoſt five millions were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

The meaſures of the Scottiſh parliament, the act of ſurety, and the ſeeds of rebellion ſcattered through the kingdom, inſpired at once apprehenſions and reſentments. The matter was firſt opened in the houſe of peers by lord Haverſham, who obſerved, "that the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of Scotland had been poſtponed, partly becauſe the miniſtry of that kingdom were weak and divided, and partly from a received opinion that the ſucceſſion was never ſeriouſly and cordially intended by thoſe who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council:" he expatiated on the bad conſequences that might attend the act of ſecurity, which he ſtiled a Bill of Excluſion; "for," ſaid he, "can any reaſonable man believe, that thoſe who promoted that bill, could ever be real friends to the ſucceſſion as ſettled by the Engliſh parliament?" He particularly mentioned that clauſe by which the heritors and burghs were ordered to exerciſe their fencible men every month: he ſaid, "that the nobility and gentry in Scotland were as learned and brave as any in Europe, and that theſe were generally diſcontented; that the common people were very numerous, very robuſt, and very poor; and aſked, who was the man that could tell what ſuch a multitude, ſo armed and ſo diſciplined, might do under ſuch leaders, ſhould they find opportunities ſuitable to their intention? Beſides, added he, I look upon it as of the laſt importance to England, that there ſhould not be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence for a neceſſity to keep up a regular ſtanding army in this kingdom in time of peace." Theſe particulars he earneſtly recommended to the conſideration of the houſe, and concluded his ſpeech with the following words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or ſuffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the ſparks that may ſet all on fire."

A warm debate enſued in the houſe of peers, but the majority agreeing with lord Haverſham, they came to the following reſolutions, "That to prevent the inconveniences that might happen by the late act paſſed in Scotland, the queen might be enabled, on the part of England, to name commiſſioners to treat about an entire union with Scotland, provided thoſe powers be not put in execution till commiſſioners ſhould be named on the part of Scotland, by the parliament of that kingdom: that no Scotſman ſhould enjoy the privileges of an Engliſhman, except ſuch as were ſettled in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the plantations, or ſuch as might be in the ſea or land ſervice, until an union could be effected, or the ſucceſſion ſettled as in England: that the traffic of cattle from Scotland to England ſhould be ſtopped: that orders ſhould be iſſued for ſeizing ſuch veſſels as ſhould be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the parts of any of her majeſty's enemies: that cruiſers ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe: and that the exportation of Engliſh wool into Scotland ſhould be prohibited." On theſe reſolutions a bill for an union with Scotland was brought into the houſe, and being paſſed by the lords, it was ſent down to the commons, received the ſanction of that houſe, and afterwards the royal aſſent.

The duke of Marlborough being returned to England received the thanks of both houſes, for his great ſervices to the nation; and the commons preſented an addreſs to the queen, intreating her to conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate the memory of ſuch noble actions, particularly the battle of Blenheim. In anſwer to this addreſs the queen informed the houſe that ſhe was willing to part with her manor of Woodſtock and hundred of Wooton to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs. A bill was immediately brought in for enabling her majeſty to beſtow theſe manors on the duke and his heirs. The comptroller of the board of works was alſo ordered by her majeſty to build a magnificent palace for the duke in Woodſtock, and to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim-houſe.

But Sir George Rooke who had ſpent his life in the ſervice, and who had done great honour to his country, was not only neglected, but diſmiſſed from his command, and ſuffered to retire to his ſeat in Kent; and the command of the fleet beſtowed on Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. So capricious and uncertain are the favours of the great.

A. D. 1705. The good underſtanding that had ſubſiſted between the two houſes was now diſturbed on a queſtion relating to the rights of electing members of parliament. And particularly, whether an elector's vote being refuſed by the officer appointed to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law againſt the offender? Several conferences were held between the two houſes in order to an amicable deciſion of the queſtion; but neither being willing to recede in the leaſt from the principles they had adopted, and the diſputes ſeeming to threaten very ſerious conſequences, the queen determined to put an end to the ſeſſion. Accordingly ſhe came to the houſe of peers on the fourteenth of March, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, and making a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, ſhe prorogued the parliament. On the fifth of April it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one purſuant to the act for triennial parliaments.

The Scottiſh parliament met on the twenty-eighth of June; but many of the members being abſent, the lord-commiſſioner adjourned the houſe till the third of July, when the queen's letter was read to the aſſembly. She obſerved, "That at their laſt meeting ſhe recommended to them, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the ſettling of the ſucceſſion of that kingdom in the proteſtant line; and ſeveral particulars having ſince happened which ſhewed the great inconveniency of that matter continuing in ſuſpence, ſhe could not but at preſent moſt ſeriouſly renew the recommendation of that ſettlement, as being convinced of the growing neceſſity of it, both for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the peace and ſafety of all her dominions, and for defeating the deſigns and attempts of all her enemies. And to prevent any objection to the ſaid ſettlement, that could be ſuggeſted from the views or fears of future inconveniences that might happen to that kingdom from thence, ſhe ſhould be ready to give the royal aſſent to ſuch proviſions and reſtrictions as ſhould be found neceſſary and reaſonable in a caſe of ſuch importance; and therefore ſhe muſt recommend it to them, as the moſt neceſſary for all the ends already mentioned, that they ſhould proceed to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion before all other buſineſs."

She ſaid, "ſhe was fully ſatisfied, and doubted not but they were, that great benefits would ariſe to all her ſubjects, by an union of Scotland and England, and that nothing would contribute more to the compoſing of differences, and extinguiſhing heats that were unhappily raiſed and fomented by the enemies of both nations, than the promoting of every thing that had a tendency to procure ſo valuable an end; ſhe therefore heartily recommended to them to paſs an act for a commiſſion to ſet a treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, for effectuating what was ſo deſirable, and for ſuch other matters and things as might be judged proper for her honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which ſhe ſhould moſt heartily give her beſt aſſiſtance."

The duke of Argyle, high-commiſſioner for Scotland, ſtrongly recommended the meaſures mentioned in the queen's letter to the conſideration of the houſe, and was ſeconded by the lord-chancellor. The affair of the ſucceſſion was accordingly taken into conſideration, when duke Hamilton propoſed that the treaty with England ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, and the limitations ſettled before they proceeded any farther in the act of ſucceſſion. This was agreed to, and that nobleman made a motion for leaving the nomination of the commiſſioners to the queen. This occaſioned a very violent debate; but the queſtion being at laſt put, Whether the nomination ſhould be left to the queen or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved of by a ſmall majority. A bill was therefore brought in and paſſed by the houſe for treating about an union with England; but it was declared that the treaty ſhould not commence till the clauſe in the Engliſh act of parliament, declaring the ſubjects of Scotland “Aliens,” be reſcinded.

The campaign was not filled with remarkable actions. The imperial army was ſo ſlow in its motion, that the plan laid by Marlborough for puſhing his conqueſts on the Moſelle, was rendered abortive. The French, animated by the abſence of that famous general, did not fail of making uſe of their ſuperiority in the Low Countries; they made themſelves maſters of Huy, and undertook the ſiege of Liege. But Marlborough marched back with ſo much expedition that he ſaved the latter, the enemy retiring at his approach with great precipitation. The duke ſoon retook Huy, and obliged the enemy to retire behind their lines. Marlborough determined to force them, though the French and Bavarians conſiſted of near one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons. The force of the allied army was nearly equal, conſiſting of ninety-five battalions and one hundred and fifty-nine ſquadrons.

To facilitate this difficult undertaking it was determined to make a falſe attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy. Accordingly the army, under the command of M. d'Averquerque decamped early in the morning of the ſeventeenth of July, and marched towards Burdine on the other ſide of the Mehaigne. Marlborough made a motion at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport Averquerque in his attack of the lines in the neighbourhood of Meſſelin, where they were weakeſt. This feint produced the deſired ſucceſs; the French detached large bodies of forces to theſe parts; leaving the others, where the duke really intended to make his attack, in a very weak condition. As ſoon as the night came on, the duke put his army in motion, while d'Averquerque repaſſed the Mehaigne to join, and both marched in conjunction to ſupport a detachment ordered to make an attempt on the enemy's lines near Heyliſham. This was the ſtrongeſt part of the whole, and conſequently where the enemy leaſt expected an attack. They were therefore ſeized with aſtoniſhment when the allies appeared, and incapable of making any effectual oppoſition, the greater part of their forces having been drawn off to guard the other parts.

But the confederate troops had no ſooner paſſed the lines than they were attacked by twenty-four ſquadrons of Bavarian horſe and twenty battalions; the diſpute was for ſome time very ſharp; but the horſe and dragoons of the right wing coming up, the enemy were put to flight, and all their ſtandards, colours, and cannon, were taken. The French retired under the cannon of Louvain; and the deputies of the ſtates-general having refuſed to concur with a propoſal made by the duke of Marlborough for paſſing the river Yſch and attacking the French in their camp; he accepted of an invitation from the new emperor Joſeph, and ſat out for Vienna; the troops having retired into winter quarters.

Lord Galway had very little ſucceſs this campaign. The Portugueſe never acted with vigour. They took the towns of Valencia d'Alcantara, and Albuquerque. After which they inveſted Bajadox, and would have carried the place had they not been prevented by an unforeſeen accident. Lord Galway being one day examining the trenches, a cannon-ball ſwept away his right arm, and he was obliged to be carried off the field. The ſiege was now puſhed with leſs vigour than before, and the marquis de Theſſe found means to throw a thouſand men into the place. All hopes of reducing Bajadox were now over; the allied army therefore abandoned the enterprize, and marched into winter quarters.

The ſucceſs in Catalonia, however, made up for this diſappointment. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and the earl of Peterborough, reduced Barcelona, and the whole province of Catalonia ſubmitted to Charles. A very remarkable incident happened at the ſiege of Barcelona, which does the higheſt honour to the earl of Peterborough. While the viceroy was capitulating with the Engliſh general at one of the gates of the city, a party of German ſoldiers penetrated into the place, and began to pillage the houſes and maſſacre the inhabitants. The viceroy complained of this treachery. Peterborough aſſured him he might depend on his honour, and deſired permiſſion to enter with his troops, promiſing to appeaſe the tumult, and return to finiſh the articles of capitulation. He was truſted, and marched into the city, followed by the Engliſh; where he ſoon put a ſtop to the diſorders, diſperſed the German ſoldiers, took from them their plunder, and returned to ſign the articles of the treaty.

The firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament was opened by her majeſty on the twenty-ſeventh of October, with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein ſhe repreſented the neceſſity of acting vigorouſly againſt France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, ſhe ſaid, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to perſevere in the ſame conduct. She informed them of her intention of iſſuing commiſſions for treating of an union with Scotland. She earneſtly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people; and obſerved, that ſome perſons had endeavoured to foment animoſities, and even to ſuggeſt in print, that the eſtabliſhed church was in danger. “Such (added ſhe) are enemies to me and my kingdom, and mean only to cover deſigns which they dare not publicly avow, by endeavouring to diſtract the nation with unmeaſurable and groundleſs diſtruſts and jealouſies.” She declared ſhe would always affectionately ſupport and countenance the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; that ſhe would inviolably maintain the toleration; that ſhe would endeavour to promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing elſe that had a tendency to make them a happy and a flouriſhing people.” “And they (added ſhe) who ſhall concur zealouſly with me in carrying on theſe good deſigns, ſhall be ſure of my kindneſs and favour.”

Addreſſes of thanks were voted by both houſes, who promiſed to aſſiſt her majeſty to the utmoſt of their power. They alſo voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for his eminent ſervices to the queen and nation; and eſtabliſhed the funds neceſſary for carrying on the war with vigour during the approaching campaign.

The next buſineſs that engaged their attention, was the union with Scotland; and the parliament of that kingdom having declared, that they would enter into no treaty with England till the act in which they were declared aliens ſhould be reſcinded, the two houſes immediately repealed that act, and alſo took off the ſeveral prohibitions and reſtrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1706. Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, which happened on the nineteenth of March, her majeſty appointed commiſſioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland, a treaty ſhe was very deſirous of concluding. Every thing being ready for entering on this important work, the commiſſioners of both kingdoms met on the ſixteenth of April, at the council-chamber in the cockpit, in order to negotiate an agreement that was for ever to put an end to the diſputes that had for ſo many ages ſubſiſted between theſe two ſovereignties.

It was at firſt propoſed by the Scottiſh commiſſioners to conclude a fœderal union like that ſubſiſting between the cantons of Switzerland; but nothing leſs than an incorporating union would ſatisfy the Engliſh, who were determined to take away effectually from the Scottiſh parliament the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Purſuant to this reſolution, the lord-keeper of England propoſed, "That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhould be united into one nation, by the name of Great-Britain; that it ſhould be repreſented by one parliament; and that the ſucceſſion of the monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, ſhould be ſubject to the limitations mentioned in in act of parliament made in England, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king William III. intitled, An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

The commiſſioners of Scotland finding a fœderal union would not be accepted, agreed to the preliminaries propoſed by the lord-keeper, with this proviſo only, "That all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great-Britain ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to and from any part or place within the ſaid united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there ſhould be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom." No objection was made to this proviſo, except a reſerving ſuch particulars as, in the courſe of the negotiation, ſhould appear to be advantageous to the ſubjects of both countries. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the queen made them a viſit, in order to quicken their deliberations, and finiſh a treaty ſhe had ſo greatly at heart. They accordingly exerted themſelves, in order to ſatisfy the requeſt of her majeſty; and at laſt finiſhed the negotiation for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The following is the ſubſtance of the articles that compoſed the treaty of union.

## ARTICLES OF UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhall, from the firſt of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great-Britain; and that the enſigns armorial of the ſame united kingdoms be ſuch as her majeſty ſhall appoint, and the croſſes of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in ſuch a manner as her majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all flags, banners, ſtandards, and enſigns, both by ſea and land.

II. That the ſucceſſion of the united monarchy of Great-Britain ſhall be to the princeſs Sophia, and her heirs; and that all papiſts, or perſons who marry papiſts, ſhall be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown of Great-Britain, agreeable to the proviſion for the deſcent of the crown of England made in the firſt year of the reign of their late majeſties, king William and queen Mary, intitled, An act declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, &c.

III. That the united kingdoms of Great Britain ſhall be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled the parliament of Great-Britain.

IV. That the ſubjects of the united kingdoms ſhall have freedom of trade and navigation within the ſame, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges and advantages, except where it is otherwiſe expreſſed in theſe articles.

V. That all ſhips or veſſels belonging to the Scots [at the time of ratifying the treaty of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland] ſhall be deemed Britiſh built; the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the ſame did, in the whole or in part, belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the ſame regulations of trade, and liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties, except and reſerving the duties upon export and import of ſuch particular commodities, from which any perſon, the ſubject of either kingdom, are eſpecially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the union, are to remain ſafe and entire to them, in all reſpects as before the ſame; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England ſhall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private account, than thoſe duties to which the cattle of England are or ſhall be liable within the ſaid kingdom: and ſeeing, by the laws of England, there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats, ground or unground, are not expreſſed, that from and after the union, when oats ſhall be ſold for fifteen ſhillings ſterling per quarter, or under, there ſhall be paid two ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling for every quarter of the oat-meal exported in the term of the law, whereby and ſo long as rewards are granted for the exportation of grains. And that the beer of Scotland have the ſame reward as barley. And becauſe the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a diſcouragement to tillage, therefore the prohibition now enforced by the law of Scotland againſt importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond ſea, into Scotland, do, after the union, remain in the ſame force as at preſent, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great-Britain, for the diſcouragement of the importation of the ſaid victual from beyond ſea.

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the ſame exciſe upon the ſame exciſeable liquors, except only that the thirty-four Engliſh barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots preſent meaſure, ſold in Scotland by the brewer at nine ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not, after the union, liable, on account of the preſent exciſe on exciſeable liquors in England, to any higher impoſition than two ſhillings ſterling upon the aforeſaid thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel, being twelve gallons the preſent Scots meaſure.

VIII. Foreign ſalt in England ſhall pay the ſame duty as in Scotland; [but becauſe the duties of foreign ſalt imported, may be very heavy on the merchant importer, that therefore all foreign ſalt imported into Scotland ſhall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon ſalt; and that the merchant may have whatever quantity thereof his occaſions may require, not under a weight of forty buſhels at a time, upon his giving ſecurity for the duty of what quantities he receives, payable in ſix months.] By this article it was alſo provided, that ſalt made in Scotland ſhould be exempted for ſeven years from the Engliſh duty. But from the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties as ſalt made in England. [That Scotland ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven years, remain exempted from the duty of two ſhillings and ſixpence on home ſalt, impoſed by an act made in the ninth and tenth year of king William III. and if the parliament of Great-Britain ſhall at, or before, the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſubſtitute any other fund in the place of the ſaid two ſhillings and four-pence of exciſe upon the buſhel of home ſalt, Scotland ſhall, after the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, bear a proportion of the ſaid fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No ſalt whatſoever ſhall be brought from Scotland to England by land under certain penalties denounced: and for eſtabliſhing an equality in trade, it was provided, that all fleſh exported from Scotland to England, and ſhipped in Scotland to be exported beyond ſea; and proviſions for ſhips in Scotland and foreign voyages, may be ſalted with Scotch ſalt, paying the duty for what ſalt is ſo employed, and the like quantity of freſh ſalt pays in England, and under the ſame penalties, forfeitures, and proviſions for preventing frauds as are mentioned in the laws of England. And that for the encouragement of the herring fiſhery, there ſhall be allowed and paid to the ſubjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the preſent allowances for other fiſheries, ten ſhillings and five pence ſterling for every barrel of white herrings which ſhall be exported from Scotland; and that they ſhall be allowed five ſhillings ſterling for every barrel of beef or pork ſalted with foriegn ſalt, without mixture of Britiſh or Iriſh ſalts, and exported for ſale from Scotland to parts beyond ſea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.

IX. That whenever the ſum of one million nine hundred, ninety-ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ſixty-three pounds, eight ſhillings, and four pence half-penny, ſhall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, ſhall be charged with the additional ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for ſuch tax; and ſo proportionally for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England on land; the ſaid quota to be aſſeſſed in the ſame manner as the aſſeſs now is in Scotland; but ſubject to ſuch regulations as ſhall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland ſhall not be charged with the ſtamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor thoſe on coals or culm.

XIII. Scotland ſhall not pay the malt duty during its continuance in England, which was to expire the twenty fourth of June 1707.

XIV. Scotland ſhall not be charged with any other duties impoſed by the parliament of England before the union, except thoſe conſented to in this treaty: and if the parliament of England in their proviſion for the ſervice of the year 1707 ſhall impoſe any farther cuſtoms, the Scots ſhall have an equivalent for the ſhare thereof they may be liable to. [And Scotland ſhall not be charged with any impoſition on malt made or conſumed in that kingdom during the war.]

XV. Stipulates, that whereas by the terms of this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality, of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and exciſe now payable in England, which will be applicable towards paying the debts of England, payable before the union, it is agreed that an equivalent ſhall be made to Scotland for ſuch part of the Engliſh debts, as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reaſon of the union, other than ſuch appropriations as have been made by parliament in England, of the cuſtoms and other duties on exports and imports, exciſes and all exciſeable liquors, in reſpect of which debts equivalent are herein before provided; which equivalent is here ſtipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thouſand, eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings ſterling, to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The diſtinction of this equivalent is in the ſame article applied, 1. For endemnifying private perſons from any loſſes they may ſuſtain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of that of England. 2. For endemnifying the ſufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3. For diſcharging the public debts of Scotland. 4. For improving the manufacture of the coarſe wool of Scotland. 5. For encouraging and promoting the fiſheries, and ſuch other manufactures and improvements in Scotland, as may moſt conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: and for which end commiſſioners were to be appointed. [It ſeems the Scots were ſo inflamed by the deſtruction of their Darien and African company by the government of England, that nothing but the abſolute aſſurance of an equivalent for reimburſing their whole capital employed in that affair, with intereſt, amounting to two hundred and thirty-two thouſand, one hundred and ſixty-two pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny, could have induced them to agree to treat of the union, and they even inſiſted on the inſertion of the above clauſe.] That if the ſaid ſtock, capital and intereſt ſhall not be paid in twelve months after the commencement of the union, that then the ſaid company may from henceforth trade, or give licence to trade until the ſaid whole capital ſtock and intereſt ſhall be paid.

XVI. That the coin be of the ſame ſtandard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland under the ſame rule as the mint of England.

XVII. That the ſame weights and meaſures be uſed throughout the united kingdoms as are now uſed in England; and ſtandards ſhall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the ſtandard of the Engliſh exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, cuſtom, and ſuch exciſes as Scotland is to be liable to, ſhall be the ſame as thoſe in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the ſame throughout the united kingdom; but no alteration ſhall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the ſubjects of Scotland.

XIX. The court of ſeſſion and other courts ſhall remain in Scotland the ſame as before the union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations, for the adminiſtration of public juſtice, as ſhall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; and that hereafter none ſhall be named by her majeſty or her royal ſucceſſors to be ordinary lords of ſeſſion, but ſuch as have ſerved in the college of juſtice as advocates or principal clerks of ſeſſion for the ſpace of five years, or as writers to the ſignet for the ſpace of ten years, with this proviſion, that no writer to the ſignet be capable of being admitted a lord of ſeſſion, unleſs he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law, before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the ſaid office two years before he be named to be a lord of ſeſſion, yet ſo as the qualification made or to be made, for capacitating perſons to be named ordinary lords of ſeſſion, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.

XX. That all heritable offices, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, be reſerved to the owners thereof as rights of property, in the ſame manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal burghs in Scotland, as they now are, ſhall remain entire after the union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, ſixteen of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union, ſhall ſit and vote in the houſe of lords, and forty-five of the members of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the houſe of commons in the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act paſſed in Scotland for that purpoſe; which act is hereby declared to be valid, as if it were a part of it, and engroſſed in the treaty: and in caſe her majeſty ſhall on the firſt of May 1707, declare this preſent parliament to be the firſt of Great Britain, the preſent parliament of England may be ſo on the part of England, and the ſixteen peers and the forty-five commoners for Scotland to ſit with them; ſuch parliament to continue no longer than the Engliſh parliament is allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforeſaid ſixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the preceding article, to ſit in the houſe of lords in the parliament of Great Britain, ſhall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain ſhall have after the union, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trial of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedence next, and immediately after the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the on, and before all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degree, who ſhall be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there ſhall be one great-ſeal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall be different from the great-ſeal now uſed in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms, as well as the rank and precedency of Lyon king at arms in Scotland, ſhall be left to her majeſty; and that in the private ſeal, ſignet, caſſet, &c. now uſed in Scotland, be continued; but that the ſaid ſeals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majeſty ſhall think fit: that the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls and records whatſoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they ſhall ſo remain, in all time coming, notwithſtanding the union.

Such were the articles agreed to and ſigned by the reſpective commiſſioners of England and Scotland. They immediatly waited on the queen with the treaty; and lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, made a ſpeech to her majeſty, congratulating her on the concluſion of a negotiation, which had ſo happily united the different parts of this iſland under the ſame monarchy. The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, ſpoke to the ſame effect on the part of the commiſſioners of that kingdom; and her majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

“ My Lords,

“ I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in this treaty, and am very well pleaſed to find your endeavours and applications have brought it to ſo good a concluſion: the particulars of it ſeem ſo reaſonable that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wiſh therefore my ſervants of Scotland may loſe no time in going down to propoſe it to my ſubjects in that kingdom; and I ſhall always look upon it as a particular happineſs if this union (which will be ſo great a ſecurity and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accompliſhed in my reign.”

While the miniſters of the two kingdoms were employed in eſtabliſhing an union between their reſpective countries, the armies of the belligerent powers were carrying on their hoſtile attempts with great fury. Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmoſt efforts in the courſe of this campaign, and had accordingly ſent very numerous forces into the field. His army in Flanders was commanded by the marſhal de Villeroy, a nobleman of great generoſity and a favourite at court; but an indiſcreet general, blindly confident, and deaf to counſel. He formed the deſign of ſurprizing the duke of Marlborough before he could be joined by the Danes and Pruſſians, who were employed laſt year to act as auxiliaries. The French accordingly paſſed the Dyle early in May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. It was in vain to hope that it was poſſible to ſurprize ſo vigilant a general as Marlborough. He was well informed of all their motions, and diſpatched an expreſs to the Danes to join him immediately, and was readily obeyed. Before this junction the allied army conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, provided with one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty hawbitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the ſame time the Danes joined the allied army, that of the French was joined by the marſhal Marſin's horſe, and by this addition their army amounted to ſeventy-ſix battalions and one hundred and thirty-two ſquadrons. This ſuperiority determined Villeroy to give battle to the allied army, though he knew his hopes of ſurprizing the active Marlborough were rendered abortive.

The allies moved forward to meet the enemy, who had now taken poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp of Mont St. André, their right extending to the Mahaigne, and their left to Anderkirk, the villages of Offuz and Ramillies being in the center. On the twelfth of May, about two in the afternoon, the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook Yauſe, and the left near the village of Franquennes, which was occupied by the enemy. The action was begun on the left of the allied army, who puſhed a brigade of foot from their poſt on the Mahaigne. About the ſame time M. d'Auverquerque, the Dutch general, charged the French houſhold troops at the head of the horſe of the left wing. For near half an hour the ſucceſs was doubtful; but a reinforcement coming up, the French retired. Lieutenant Scultz was now ordered, with twelve ſquadrons, and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and reſolution; and the enemy at laſt driven from the village, who endeavouring to make their retreat, were moſt of them killed or taken priſoners.

In the mean time the Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot in the right of the enemy, cut twenty battalions of them to pieces, and made themſelves maſters of their colours and artillery. The French now began to retreat in good order, covered by the cavalry of their left wing; but the Engliſh horſe forcing their paſſage over the rivulet which ſeparated them from the enemy, attacked them with ſo much intrepidity that they entirely abandoned their foot, who were now expoſed to all the fury of the cavalry. The French now gave way on all ſides, and it was not without difficulty that marſhal Villeroy, and the elector of Bavaria ſaved themſelves by flight. An accident which now happened completed the deſtruction of the French army. Several of the waggons of the vanguard happening to break down in a narrow paſs, ſo obſtructed the paſſage, that neither the baggage nor artillery could proceed, nor could the troops defile in order. The opportunity was not neglected by the victorious horſe; they preſſed upon them ſo vigorouſly, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The purſuit was continued with great ſucceſs about five miles from the field of battle.

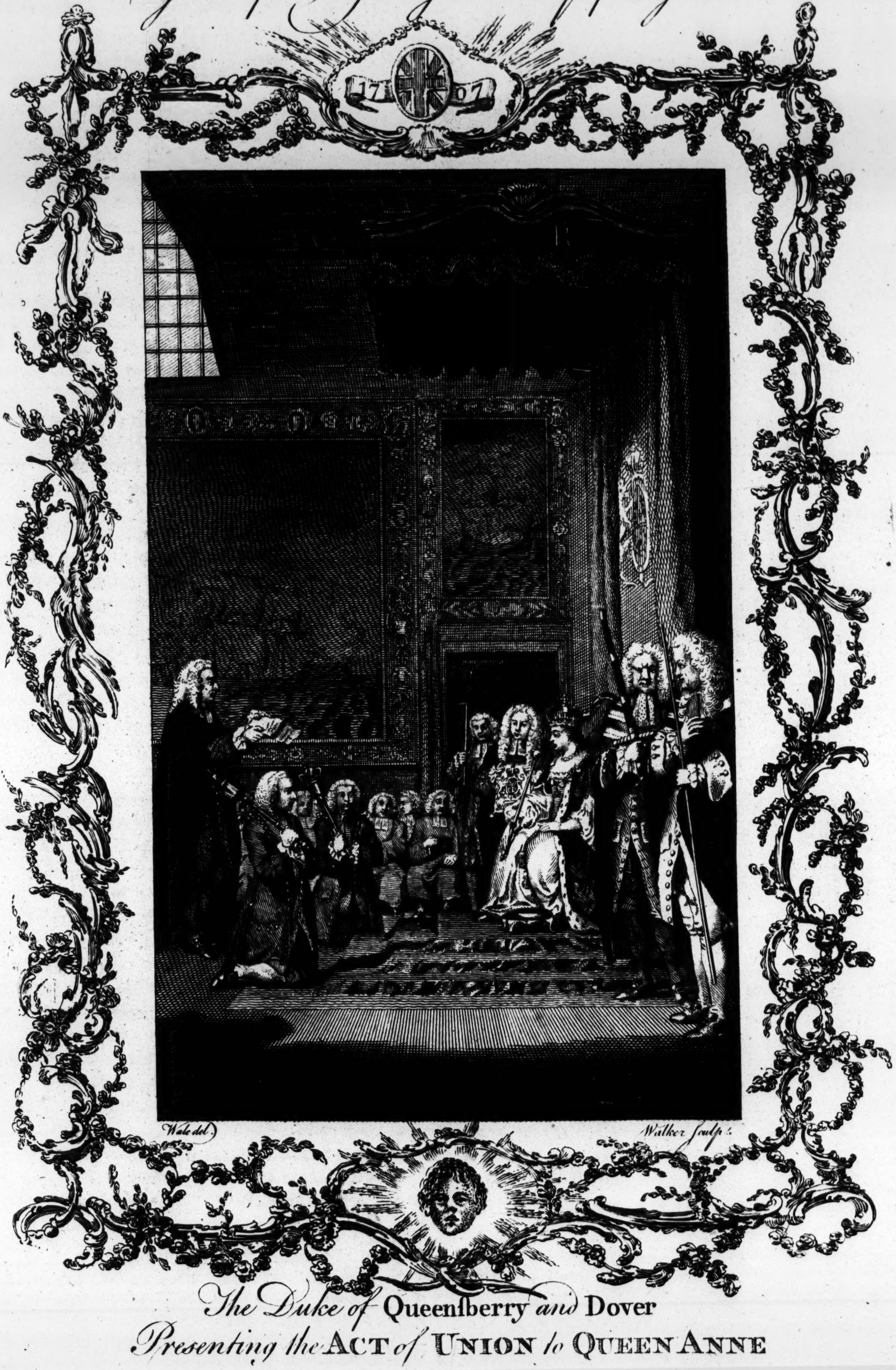
Few battles recorded in hiſtory were more complete than this of Ramillies: the greater part of the enemy's cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the allies, with above an hundred and twenty colours, and ſeveral pair of kettle-drums. The French loſt about forty thouſand men, near one half of their army; while the loſs of the allies was not more than two thouſand. Louvain, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, all opened their gates to the victors. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth, ſurrendered after a ſhort reſiſtance.

Nor was this the only misfortune attended the arms of France during this famous campaign. Turin was beſieged by the duke de Feuillade, who, like Villeroy, was more capable of making a figure at court, than at the head of an army. Chamillard, his father-in-law, had exhauſted the treaſury to ſupport this expedition; but the ſiege was ill-directed and of long continuance. The city was, however, at laſt reduced to extremity, and the duke of Savoy had joined prince Eugene, who commanded the army in Italy. They advanced to the relief of the city, diſperſed the French army commanded by the duke of Orleans, who commanded in the trenches, took all the proviſions, baggage, and military cheſt, made themſelves maſters of Peidmont, and ſoon after of the reſt of the Spaniſh territories in Italy. The faults of Feuillade, added to a ſecret order of the court, which forbade him to advance againſt the enemy, if they offered to relieve Turin, were the cauſes of this ruinous defeat.

The affairs of France were equally unſucceſsful in Spain. Philip, aſſiſted by the marſhal de Teſſe, laid ſiege to Barcelona early in the ſpring. The city

was

*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*


1707
Wale del.
Walker sculp.

*The Duke of* Queensberry *and* Dover
*Presenting the* ACT *of* UNION *to* QUEEN ANNE

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was defended by Charles, his rival, in perſon. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the place at laſt reduced to extremity. The earl of Peterborough advanced to its relief at the head of two thouſand men; but finding it impoſſible to enter the city, he took poſt on a neighbouring hill, and harraſſed the beſiegers with perpetual ſkirmiſhes. The ſiege was, however, preſſed with ſuch vigour, that it was thought impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out many days, when the news of the approach of the Engliſh fleet obliged the French admiral, who had blocked up the place by ſea, to retire. Philip, however, ſeemed determined to carry on his approaches, even after the combined fleets of England and Holland came to an anchor in the bay: but the next morning he raiſed the ſiege in a very diſorderly manner, leaving behind him all his tents, and great part of his military ſtores, together with his ſick and wounded. The marſhal de Teſſe recommended the latter to the care of the earl of Peterborough. He could not have applied to a more humane general. The ſick and wounded felt the lenient hand of compaſſion, and were uſed with the greateſt tenderneſs. In the mean time, lord Galway took ſeveral Spaniſh towns, and penetrated to the capital itſelf, which was abandoned at his approach; but Charles protracting his ſtay in Arragon, notwithſtanding repeated expreſſes, lord Galway was obliged to abandon Madrid, and retire before the Spaniſh army.

While great part of Europe was deſolated by the ſword of war, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of a union between the two kingdoms. The Scottiſh parliament met on the third of October, when the queen's letter was read, acquainting them, that the commiſſioners appointed to treat of an union between the two kingdoms had finiſhed the treaty, and hoped the articles would prove acceptable to her ſubjects of Scotland: that an entire and perfect union would be the ſolid foundation of a laſting peace; it would ſecure their religion, their liberties, and their properties; remove the animoſities that prevailed among themſelves, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the two nations. She renewed her aſſurance of maintaining the government of the church; and told them they had now an opportunity of taking ſuch ſteps as might be thought neceſſary after the union: deſired the neceſſary ſupplies till the parliament of Great-Britain could provide for thoſe matters: and obſerved, that the great ſucceſs with which it had pleaſed God to bleſs her majeſty's arms, afforded a nearer proſpect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: and concluded with recommending calmneſs and unanimity in debating on this great and weighty affair, of ſuch important conſequence to the whole iſland of Great-Britain.

But though the union was ſo uſeful in the ſyſtem of government, and ſo neceſſary to the well-being of the ſtate, it met with the moſt violent oppoſition in the Scottiſh parliament. All parties ſeemed at firſt united to oppoſe it. The preſbyterians imagined their religion would be loſt; and the Jacobites were enraged to ſee the pretender for ever excluded from the crown. The nobility were ſhocked at the loſs of their beſt privileges, by the total abolition of their parliament. The merchants trembled for their commerce, notwithſtanding the advantageous liberty of trading to the Engliſh colonies. The nation in general conſidered itſelf as robbed of its rights, given up to ſlavery, and ſold to a foreign power. The duke of Hamilton, who headed the party that oppoſed the union, made a moſt vehement ſpeech againſt the treaty. "What!" cried he, "ſhall we abandon in the ſpace of one half hour, what our anceſtors have maintained for ſo many ages at the expence of their lives and fortunes? Are there here no deſcendants of thoſe brave patriots, who defended the liberty of their country againſt every aſſault? Where are the barons, where are the peers, who once joined their breaſts as a bulwark to the nation? Shall we ſacrifice the ſovereignty, the independency of our country, when our conſtituents call upon us to defend them, when they promiſe us ſupport?" Others obſerved, that to conſent to the treaty would be to overturn the conſtitution of the kingdom; that every people had their fundamental laws, which no authority could invade; that the exiſtence of the rights of parliament forming an eſſential part of the ſtate, the parliament itſelf had no right to diſpenſe with them: that the whole body of individuals ought to concur in the ſacrifice of their privileges; and that a ſacrifice of that kind was moſt palpably pernicious.

The clamour without doors was ſtill greater than within; the preſbyterian preachers employed all their power and credit to rouze the reſentment of their hearers againſt the treaty; nor did they labour in vain. The populace, tranſported with fury, erected the ſtandard of rebellion, burnt the articles of the union publickly, publiſhed a manifeſto, and declared they intended to diſſolve the parliament. Even in the capital itſelf the people grew mutinous, and aſſaulted the houſe of Sir Patrick Johnſon, provoſt of Edinburgh, and one of the commiſſioners of the union; nor did the perſon of the high-commiſſioner eſcape inſult, the rabble throwing ſtones into his coach as he paſſed through the ſtreets though ſurrounded by his guards. Theſe tumults alarmed the miniſtry, and it was thought neceſſary to march ſeveral regiments of horſe and dragoons into the north of England, that they might be in readineſs ſhould the enraged multitude break out into open rebellion. At laſt, however, affairs took a more favourable turn; whether the influence of the court or the means of corruption prevailed over the national ſpirit; whether the advantages of the union appeared in the end to over-balance its inconveniences, and the firſt alarms ſubſiding, reaſon and argument took place; or whether all theſe operated in concert; the Scottiſh parliament ratified all the articles with ſome ſlight alterations. Thus was a project that had been long wiſhed by all the thinking parts of the inhabitants of both kingdoms, and which had been ſeveral times attempted in vain, fully completed. Real utility will, ſooner or later, prevail, and every thing reſts in the power of government, if that power be ſteadily exerted with wiſdom.

The Engliſh parliament met on the third of December, when the queen in her ſpeech to both houſes, congratulated them on the glorious ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms; deſired the commons would grant ſuch ſupplies as would enable her to improve thoſe ſucceſſes; and concluded with recommending diſpatch in public affairs, as the ſureſt method of convincing our friends and enemies of the vigour and firmneſs of our proceedings.

This ſpeech was very pleaſing to the parliament, and affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes. The commons, after examining the eſtimates, voted near ſix millions for the enſuing year; and when the ſpeaker preſented the money bills to her majeſty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was gained before it could be ſuppoſed the armies were in the field, ſo the commons had granted ſupplies to her majeſty before the enemy could well know that the parliament were ſitting. The parliament alſo voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for the eminent ſervices he had done his country during the laſt campaign, and then adjourned to the twenty-eighth of January.

A. D. 1708. On the day the parliament met after their adjournment, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and, in a ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the treaty of union, with ſome ſmall alterations and additions, was ratified by the Scottiſh parliament; that ſhe had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their approbation and concurrence; deſired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent in caſe the treaty was ratified; and addreſſing herſelf to both houſes, concluded in the following manner:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the laſt hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a laſting bleſſing to the whole iſland, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm ſecurity to the proteſtant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are ſo apparent, that I will add no more, but that I ſhall look upon it as a particular happineſs, if this great work, which has been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the third of February, the commons formed themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe on the treaty of union; when it was oppoſed, with the utmoſt violence by the tory party. Sir John Packington obſerved, that the union might be compared to a forced marriage, where the woman does not conſent. "An act like this," ſaid he, "produced by corruption within doors, and by violence without, can never be permanent. The queen obliged by her coronation oath to maintain the church of England, hath now farther engaged herſelf to ſupport the preſbyterian kirk of Scotland. How can two objects ſo incompatible be conciliated in the ſame kingdom? How can two nations differing in a matter ſo eſſential be united." He concluded with obſerving, that the church of England being eſtabliſhed "jure divino," and the Scots pretending that the kirk was alſo "jure divino," he deſired the convocation might be conſulted on this critical circumſtance.

Colonel Mordaunt anſwered Sir John Packington. He began with obſerving, that for his part he knew of no other "jure divino" than God's permiſſion, and in this ſenſe the church of England and the kirk of Scotland might both be ſaid to be "jure divino," becauſe God had permitted the former to prevail in England, and the latter in Scotland. "The member who ſpoke laſt," continued the colonel, "may, if he pleaſes, conſult the convocation, for his own particular information; but I believe the commons ſtand in no need of ſuch inſtruction: they are ſufficient judges of the propriety of their own meaſures; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to aſk, on this occaſion, the advice of any inferior aſſembly, who had no ſhare in the legiſlature."

The debate was continued for a conſiderable time with great ſpirit; till the tory members, finding there was a very conſiderable majority againſt them, quitted the houſe. All oppoſition was now at an end: the commons examined the treaty article by article; and on the eleventh of February approved of the whole.

The lords took the treaty into conſideration on the fifteenth of February, and the debates were more ſolemn, and carried on with more deliberation than they had been in the lower houſe. Lord Haverſham obſerved, that the articles came to their lordſhips with the greateſt countenance of authority that it was poſſible for any thing to receive; but authority, though the ſtrongeſt motive to reſtrain the will, was certainly the weakeſt in the world to convince the underſtanding. He was not, he ſaid, againſt a fœderal union, a union in intereſt and in the ſucceſſion; but this was a matter of a different nature: the queſtion was, whether two nations, independent in their ſovereignties, with diſtinct laws and intereſt, and, which is not to be forgotten, of different forms of worſhip, church-government, and order, ſhall be united into one kingdom? That, in his opinion, this was an union compoſed of ſo many diſſimilar pieces, of ſuch jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a ſtanding force to keep the whole from falling aſunder, and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther obſerved, that by this act, an hundred Scots peers, and as many commanders, were excluded the Britiſh parliament; gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordſhips did then; that their rights were as well and as ſtrongly ſecured to them as their lordſhips were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treaſon to make any alteration in the conſtitution of the kingdom. He ſaid that the union was contrary to the ſenſe of the Scottiſh nation, as was ſufficiently evident from the murmurs of all ranks of people while the treaty was under conſideration by that parliament. But the argument on which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs, was the injury the good old Engliſh conſtitution, juſtly allowed to be the moſt equal and beſt poiſed government in the world, might ſuffer by having the weight of ſixty-one Scottiſh members, and thoſe too returned by a Scottiſh privy-council, thrown into the ſcale.

It was eaſy to refute theſe arguments. Great affairs wear many different aſpects. The advantages and diſadvantages appear in contraſt; when the former preponderate, they ought to determine the debate. "The ſecurity and tranquillity of the kingdom," ſaid one of the advocates for the union, "will evidently be the fruits of this treaty. Our inveterate enemies, France and Popery, will be no longer formidable, when Great-Britain is united into one body. With reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, a wiſe and moderate government may put an end to diſputes. Are not the Swiſs cantons united, though of different religions? And is not the German diet a proof that diverſity of creeds is no obſtacle to political union?" A treaty ſupported by reaſon, and oppoſed only by weak objections, naturally carried the majority of votes. The parliament approved the union; and experience ſoon made thoſe phantoms vaniſh, which imagination had raiſed againſt the good of the public. A bill of ratification was now brought in, and having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent on the fourth of March, when the queen made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction I have given my aſſent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

"I conſider their union as a matter of great importance to the wealth, ſtrength, and ſafety of the whole iſland; and, at the ſame time, a work of ſo much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts that have been made towards it, in the courſe of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and ſpoke of hereafter to the honour of thoſe who have been inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy concluſion. I deſire and expect from all my ſubjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs one to another, that ſo it may appear to all the world they have hearts diſpoſed to be one people.

"This will be a great pleaſure to me, and will make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effects of this union.

"And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happineſs, that in my reign ſo full a proviſion is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the ſecurity of our religion, by ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion throughout Great-Britain.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I take this occaſion to remind you of making effectual proviſion for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed by the act; and am perſuaded you will ſhew as much readineſs in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſeaſon of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the ſame zeal, which has appeared throughout this ſeſſion, in diſpatching what yet remains of the public buſineſs before you."

Thus this great deſign, ſo long wiſhed and laboured for in vain, was brought to a happy concluſion, and a final period put to thoſe fatal quarrels that had ſo often deſolated great part of both kingdoms. The miſcarriage of their ſettlement at Darien had convinced the merchants of Scotland, that every attempt of a ſimilar kind muſt be rendered abortive, while they were oppoſed by their more powerful neighbour; and this conſideration rendered them very deſirous of an union with England, eſpecially as their ſiſter kingdom offered to reimburſe them the expences that had attended their making that ſettlement. The thinking part of the nation had long obſerved, that Scotland was entirely at the mercy of the miniſtry, and that every new ſet of miniſters made uſe of that power to enrich themſelves and their creatures at the expence of the public; that the judges being made by them, were ſo dependent on their will, that in Scotland, where no juries were impannelled in civil cauſes, the whole property of the kingdom was in their hands, and at their diſpoſal. Experience had alſo convinced them, that it was of no conſequence to complain to the Engliſh council. The indigent noblemen and more indigent burghers formed a very conſiderable majority in the Scottiſh parliament, and were eaſily brought over to the intereſt of the court by promiſes and rewards. The only method, therefore, of removing theſe diſorders, was that of an incorporating union with England. The court was engaged to ſupport the union, in order to avert the dreadful blow with which they were threatened for paſſing the act of ſecurity in the year 1704. The lord treaſurer, to whom the paſſing that act was chiefly imputed, had been threatened with an impeachment. He therefore exerted all his intereſt with the utmoſt alacrity and zeal, to complete a treaty, on which his own power, as well as the happineſs of both kingdoms, in a great meaſure, depended. The court of France was reduced to ſo much diſtreſs, that it was impoſſible for them to give the Scots any aſſiſtance, either in men or money. Theſe various incidents acting in concert, brought this great work to a happy concluſion; and hence the reaſon is ſufficiently evident why the many attempts made at different times, and in different reigns, proved abortive: nothing but ſo remarkable a conjunction of incidents could now have rendered the deſign effectual.

The king of France, though long unfortunate, determined to make another attempt to recover his affairs, and, if poſſible, procure an honourable peace. He ſent freſh troops into Spain, however neceſſary they might be in Flanders, where the victorious Marlborough triumphed over every oppoſition. The duke of Berwick, natural ſon to James II. commanded the army of Philip, and advanced to Almanza; while the allies, under the command of lord Galway, marched to meet the enemy. On the fourteenth of April, the two armies were in ſight of each other, and a general engagement was now unavoidable. This was the moſt fatal battle the allies ſuffered during the whole war; and the following account of it was publiſhed by authority.

“ Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, formed into a line of battle, and marched in that poſition till they came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to ſupply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horſe: but the enemy having drawn from the left ſome ſquadrons to reinforce the right wing, lord Tyrawley, who commanded on the left wing, ordered the Portugueſe horſe of the left of the rear-line, commanded by the count of Attalaya, to double into our firſt line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

“ About three in the afternoon the earl of Galway poſted himſelf at the head of the Engliſh dragoons, and advanced to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horſe; the Portugueſe being ordered to take the charge as it ſhould come to them from the left, but not before the Engliſh and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were advancing, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a riſing ground, nearly in the front of their right; but our troops preſſing on to come to a cloſe engagement, the cannon on either ſide did very little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being ſent, under colonel Dormer, to attack the enemy's battery, they retired, with their artillery, with great precipitation. As ſoon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horſe, they alſo advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement ſoon became very bloody and obſtinate on both ſides. The enemy, by the weight of their ſquadrons, forced our's to retreat ſome paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horſe in the firſt line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear; and our cavalry, at the ſame time, renewing their charge in front, they were drove, in diſorder, through their own lines, with great ſlaughter.

“ By this time the Engliſh and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freyſheim, were ſharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's firſt and ſecond lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this ſucceſs was not of long duration; for the enemy's ſquadrons of the ſecond line fell upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loſs.

“ The enemy obſerving that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached ſome ſquadrons to fall upon the Portugueſe, who formed the right wing, under the command of the marquis das Minas. Theſe troops, in the moſt daſtardly manner, gave way upon the firſt charge; the whole horſe of the right wing fled, and abandoned their infantry, who were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners. The battle ſtill continued on our left wing, the enemy ſtill charging us with freſh ſquadrons, but without ſucceſs; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he ſent nine battalions, moſt of them French, who drew up before the firſt line of Spaniſh horſe, to oppoſe our brigade of foot, conſiſting of five regiments. At the ſame time, he brought up ſeveral freſh ſquadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horſe. The count de Attalaya, who commanded the Portugueſe horſe that were mixed with our dragoons, was carried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every ſide; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portugueſe wing, were ſurrounded and hemmed in on all ſides.

“ In this dreadful ſituation, they formed themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make good their retreat, the enemy would have had no great cauſe to boaſt of the victory, the loſs on both ſides being nearly equal; but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreſhment, and fighting about ſix, were faint with fatigue: all their ammunition was ſpent; they ſaw themſelves abandoned by their own horſe, and in a country to which they were utter ſtrangers; deſtitute of proviſions, and cut off from all hopes of a ſupply. Theſe conſiderations induced them to ſurrender themſelves, amounting to thirteen battalions, priſoners of war. They accordingly diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke of Berwick, deſiring honourable terms, which were very readily granted. The duke, who believed this body beyond his reach, immediately diſpatched the count d'Aſfeldt to receive their ſurrender, on theſe conditions: that they ſhould be priſoners of war till exchanged; that they ſhould be all diſarmed, except the officers, who were to keep their ſwords; and that they ſhould have liberty to ſend for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portugueſe, and part of the Engliſh horſe that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira.”

In this fatal action, the allies loſt above ten thouſand men, two thouſand of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among thoſe ſeveral officers of diſtinction. Lord Galway himſelf was wounded in the face, and ſeveral others very dangerouſly. The loſs of the enemy on the field was nearly equal to that of the confederates. The provinces of Valentia and Arragon were reduced, and the campaign was cloſed with the taking of Lerida, which happened on the ſecond of November. Catalonia was now the only province in Spain that remained to Charles; all the reſt of his conqueſts having been loſt by the fatal battle of Almanza.

In the mean time, Villars became formidable in Germany; but France was ſtill in danger. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Var, and beſieged Toulon. The combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, blocked up the place by ſea, and aſſiſted in the reduction of this important place. Had the enterprize ſucceeded, Provence would have been loſt, and the allies might have carried the conqueſt much farther into France. But the operations were not puſhed with that vigour that ſeems to command ſucceſs. The ſecret of the expedition had not been kept, and a powerful reinforcement arrived before the place could be taken. It was therefore determined to raiſe the ſiege, but not before they had left evident marks of their viſit. Orders were therefore iſſued for a general bombardment, both by ſea and land. This dreadful farewell greatly diſtreſſed the enemy: eight ſhips of the line were burnt in the harbour, twenty-three were ſunk at the entrance of the mole, few of which could ever be recovered; ſeveral magazines, and above ſixty houſes, were deſtroyed in the city; and the devaſtations committed in the adjacent country were eſtimated at near five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

But England ſuffered a ſtill greater misfortune. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, in his return with the fleet to England, ran upon the rocks of Scilly, where his own ſhip, the Aſſociation, together with that of the Eagle, Firebrand, and Romney, were loſt, and all the crews periſhed.

The campaign in the Netherlands produced no actions of conſequence. Marlborough had made a journey to Leipſic, where he endeavoured to bring over Charles XII. of Sweden to the intereſt of the allies. His negotiation was fruitleſs; and when he returned, and put himſelf at the head of the allied army, the French refuſed to fight; nor was it in his power to force them to an engagement.

The firſt parliament of Great-Britain met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-third of October, and the ſeſſion was opened by her majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne. She told them, that ſhe did not doubt but they came with hearts prepared to make the union ſo proſperous, that it might anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations of her ſubjects, and the reaſonable apprehenſions of her enemies: that nothing was ſo material as to convince their foes by demonſtrating, that the uniting their intereſts had not only improved their abilities, but alſo their reſolutions to proſecute the war with vigour, till an honourable peace could be obtained.

She obſerved, that though the attempt upon Toulon had not been attended with the deſired ſucceſs, it had not been wholly without effect. She mentioned the loſs we had ſuſtained in Spain, and the operations of the war in Italy; and requeſted the ſupplies neceſſary for proſecuting the war during the approaching campaign. Then directing her diſcourſe to the late union, ſhe ſaid, "It is impoſſible but ſome doubts and difficulties muſt have ariſen on account of that meaſure, which, however, ſhe hoped, were ſo far overcome, as to have defeated the deſigns of thoſe who would have made uſe of that handle to foment diſturbances." After recommending ſeveral particulars rendered neceſſary to be provided for by the articles of union, ſhe concluded with aſſuring them, "that nothing ſhould be wanting on her part to procure her people all the bleſſings that could follow from that happy circumſtance of her reign, and to extinguiſh the leaſt occaſion of jealouſy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of her united kingdom could ſuffer by the conſequences of the union; and hoped they would ſuffer nothing to prevail with them to diſunite among themſelves, or abate their zeal in oppoſing the common enemy."

Both houſes preſented very affectionate addreſſes to her majeſty, and voted near ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They afterwards preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, againſt making any peace, as it could not be favourable to her and her allies, while Spain and the Weſt Indies, or any part of the Spaniſh monarchy remained in the hands of the houſe of Bourbon.

Lewis XIV. after trying every method to induce the allies to accept his offers for a general peace, reſolved to attempt an invaſion of Great Britain. He knew that the generality of the Scots were exaſperated by the union, and flattered himſelf that they would readily join a French army to place the ſon of the late abdicated monarch on the Engliſh throne. He was not deceived with regard to the Scots. Highly averſe to an incorporating union with England, they could not, without the higheſt indignation, behold themſelves reduced to a ſtate of dependence upon the Engliſh; and thought no means ſo likely to ſhake off the yoke as that of bringing about a revolution in the government. Lewis accordingly received the moſt flattering promiſes of joining his army with thirty thouſand men completely armed, if he would land a ſmall army in their country.

Deſirous of embracing every method to diſtreſs the Engliſh, Lewis collected a fleet at Dunkirk, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line, and ſeventy tranſports, on board of which ſix thouſand men were embarked for an invaſion of Scotland. The troops were commanded by the count de Gracé, and the fleet by the chevalier de Fourbin Janſon, one of the beſt ſea officers of his time. Could theſe troops have been landed in Scotland it might have been attended with very diſagreeable conſequences, there not being above three thouſand regular troops in that kingdom, while England was abſolutely defenceleſs, her forces being engaged on the continent.

A large fleet of ſhips under the command of Sir George Byng, was ſtationed off Dunkirk. Several regiments of foot, and ſome ſquadrons of cavalry arrived from Flanders, and marched immediately towards the borders of Scotland. The habeas corpus act was ſuſpended, and a proclamation was iſſued, declaring the pretender, his accomplices and adherents, rebels and traitors.

A ſtrong gale of wind having driven the Engliſh admiral from his ſtation into the Downs, the French admiral took the opportunity of ſailing from Dunkirk, directing his courſe towards Scotland. Sir George was ſoon informed of the eſcape of the enemy; and entered the Frith of Edinburgh only a few hours after the French. The ſudden appearance of the Engliſh ſo intimidated the enemy, that they immediately crouded all the ſail they could carry, and favoured at once by the darkneſs of the night and a freſh gale from the ſhore, and eſcaped. The Saliſbury, a ſhip the French had taken ſome time before, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Several of the Scottiſh nobility were arreſted; and Lewis gained no other reputation than that of adding a raſh enterprize to his other misfortunes.

The only inconvenience that attended this attempt was a conſiderable run upon the bank, which it was feared would affect the credit of the nation. The commons immediately voted, "that whoever deſignedly endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the public credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was in danger of an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, and an enemy to her majeſty and the nation." The lord treaſurer alſo ſignified to the bank, that her majeſty would allow for ſix months, an intereſt of ſix per cent. upon their bills. This advantageous propoſal induced ſeveral opulent noblemen and merchants to offer them very conſiderable ſums; and the directors having called in twenty per cent. on their capital ſtock, they were ſoon in a condition to anſwer all the demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the diſaffected.

Lewis, equally chagrined by adverſity as elated with ſucceſs, made ſtrong efforts to triumph over fortune. Notwithſtanding his loſſes were immenſe he ſtill found reſources. An army of one hundred thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the duke of Vendome, was to retrieve the honour of the French arms in the Low Countries. But theſe generals, unfortunately for Lewis, were of different diſpoſitions; the former pious, the latter licentious, and conſequently agreed but ill with each other. They, however, ſurprized Ghent and Bruges; advanced into Dutch Flanders, and laid the country under contribution.

Marlborough immediately wrote to prince Eugene, deſiring he would haſten his march and join him, being determined to give the enemy battle, though the allied army was inferior in number to the enemy, as the only method, in his opinion, to prevent their farther progreſs, which might otherwiſe end with cutting off the communication of the allies with Brabant. The prince had no ſooner joined the army than it was determined to paſs the Dender and offer the enemy battle. Confident of ſucceſs from their ſuperiority of numbers, the French inveſted Oudenarde, from a perſuaſion that they ſhould be able to take it before the prince could join Marlborough's army. They were deceived. The allies marched with ſurprizing expedition, and the French thought to raiſe the ſiege at their approach. The duke of Vendome was for drawing up the army in order of battle; but was oppoſed by the duke of Burgundy, who reſolved to continue his march. But an incident ſoon convinced him that it was now impoſſible to avoid an engagement. General Cadogan, at the head of ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons, fell upon ſeven battalions of foot poſted in the village of Heynem, a little below Oudenarde upon the Schelde. The attack was made with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy was ſoon driven out of the village, and being purſued with a cloſe fire, a whole brigade threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The duke of Burgundy now endeavoured to diſengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to draw them up in the plain; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him time to effect his purpoſe: their army was already formed in order of battle, and advanced to the charge with great alacrity. The enemy faced about and formed, but with great diſorder, which was increaſed by the miſunderſtanding that prevailed between their two generals, the duke of Burgundy continually countermanding what the duke of Vendome had ordered.

About four in the afternoon the battle began, and continued with great firmneſs till ten at night. The confederates had the advantage in every attack, and drove the enemy from one poſt to another, till night put an end to the combat. The foot were principally engaged in this action, the broken ground rendering it very difficult for the horſe to act. Marlborough perceived it, and detached the greater part of his cavalry from the right and left wing to a very conſiderable diſtance, where they fell upon the enemy both in flank and rear with ſuch impetuoſity, that the French were thrown into confuſion, part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynſe and Ghent, and another part to Courtray. The duke de Vendome, ſeeing the forces flying in every part, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five ſquadrons, and the ſame number of battalions, with which he ſecured the retreat of his forces. This precaution proved the ſafety of the whole French army; for the next morning at day-break the duke of Marlborough detached a large body of horſe and foot, under the command of the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to purſue the fugitives; but the prudence of the duke de Vendome prevented them from executing their deſign.

In this action, which was called the battle of Oudenarde, about four thouſand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, two thouſand deſerted, and about eight thouſand were taken priſoners, including a great number of officers. The allies alſo took ten pieces of cannon, about one hundred ſtandards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and four thouſand horſe. The loſs of the confederates did not exceed two thouſand men.

It was not at all ſurprizing that two ſuch great generals as Marlborough and Eugene, who always acted in concert, ſhould defeat an army more numerous than their own; but all Europe was aſtoniſhed when they ſaw them lay ſiege to Liſle, in ſight of a formidable army, which might at leaſt carry off their convoys, and by that means reduce them to the laſt extremity, if they did not attack them in their entrenchments. But notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, the place was inveſted on the thirtieth of Auguſt; prince Eugene commanding on one ſide, and the prince of Orange on the other, while Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the ſiege. Liſle was the ſtrongeſt town in Flanders, furniſhed with ammunition, and every neceſſary, and the garriſon had been lately reinforced with one and twenty battalions of the beſt troops in France, commanded by marſhal Boufflers.

The ſiege was puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, while every effort was made by the French to oblige the confederates to abandon the undertaking. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for ſome days cannonaded his camp: but finding all their endeavours to bring him to an engagement fruitleſs, and not daring to attack him in his ſtrong camp, they retired, and determined for the future to employ their troops in cutting off the convoys coming with proviſions and ammunition for the beſiegers; and in covering thoſe provinces which were expoſed to the incurſions of the allies.

Marlborough had detached ſix thouſand men to cover the march of ſeven hundred waggons coming from Oſtend with ſupplies to prince Eugene's camp. The duke of Burgundy had information of this convoy, and ſent an army of twenty-two thouſand men to intercept it. But the ſmall detachment that guarded the waggons, made ſo noble a defence, under the command of major-general Webb, that they obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men killed on the ſpot. This action is generally called the battle of Wynenendale, and was one of the moſt glorious atchievements performed during the whole courſe of the war. It was alſo of the utmoſt importance to the allies; for had the convoy been taken, they muſt have raiſed the ſiege.

The ſiege was now carried on with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that on the twenty-ſecond of October the town was ſurrendered, and the garriſon retired into the citadel, where they made a gallant defence till the eighth of December, when the marſhal delivered up the place, the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and were eſcorted to Douay. At the ſame time the duke of Savoy was maſter of the paſſes leading to Dauphiny. The emperor Joſeph, brother to the archduke Charles, was in poſſeſſion of Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris trembled, and the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

Philip V. whoſe deſtiny fluctuated on the tide of events, could not be much happier than Lewis XIV. The emperor had already taken from him Naples and Lombardy. The Engliſh had taken Sardinia for the emperor, and the iſland of Minorca for themſelves. Pope Clement XI. in alliance with the family of Bourbon, took up arms againſt Joſeph; but was ſoon obliged to lay them down, and acknowledge the archduke Charles, king of Spain. The duke of Orleans, who commanded the army in Spain, had indeed ſome ſucceſs; but his misfortunes were greater than his acquiſitions; and the fidelity of the Catalonians had many heavy ſhocks to maintain.

While victory attended the allies in every quarter, the queen had the misfortune to loſe her huſband, the prince of Denmark. He died about ten in the morning on the twenty-eighth of October, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. He was a prince of a very amiable character, without ambition or intrigue, and therefore incapable of giving offence to either party. He always contented himſelf with being the firſt ſubject, ſeldom interfering in buſineſs, though his office of lord high-admiral gave him a claim to a very conſiderable ſhare. Her majeſty, who had been the moſt tender and affectionate wife, was inconſoleable for his loſs.

A ſingular event that happened about this time engaged the attention of the nation. Count Mattheoff, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, was arreſted in the ſtreet at the ſuit of one Morton, a laceman, and inſolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a ſpunging-houſe; nor could he obtain his liberty till he was bailed by the earl of Feverſham and a merchant in the city. This inſult on the perſon of an ambaſſador was loudly complained of as an attrocious breach of the law of nations. Enraged at the inſult, the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of ſeveral other powers, demanded redreſs. The Czar himſelf declared he would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the death of the offenders. The queen, who reſented the injury as much as the Czar, was very deſirous of making him ſatisfaction: but the laws of England admitted of no ſuch puniſhment. She obſerved to the Czar that juſtice in this country is diſpenſed by the laws only; and no exception was found for a caſe of this nature. The judges of the queen's-bench granted informations againſt the laceman and thirteen others. They were found guilty, and the privileges of ambaſſadors again acknowledged; and the parliament paſſed a bill for ſecuring the privileges of foreign miniſters. The queen conſented to make apologies by her miniſters to the Ruſſian court; and the Czar was ſatisfied. He could not help admiring, notwithſtanding his deſpotiſm, that mild legiſlation which is ſo attentive to guard the meaneſt ſubject from the attacks of arbitrary power.

On the ſecond of November the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, when the lord chancellor informed the houſe, "that the commiſſioners were appointed by her majeſty to acquaint them, that ſhe expected they would continue to proſecute the war with the ſame vigour and reſolution, with which it had hitherto been conducted: that ſhe hoped they would enable her to make ſuch augmentation of her forces as they ſhould judge neceſſary for preſerving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that ſhe deſired they would prepare ſuch bills as might confirm and perfect the union: that if they would propoſe means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, ſhe would take pleaſure in enacting ſuch proviſions: and that as ſhe had the moſt ſincere regard for the preſervation of their liberties and the ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſhe would continue to exert her utmoſt endeavours to defeat the deſigns of the pretender and all his abettors.

Addreſſes of condolance on the death of her conſort, and of congratulation on the ſucceſs of her arms, were preſented by both houſes; and the commons voted above ſeven millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year; this it was imagined would be ſufficient to augment the army with ten thouſand men, and procure new advantages over the armies of the grand diſturber of Europe.

Several important affairs came under the conſideration of parliament during this ſeſſion, but the principal was the naturalization of foreign proteſtants. This propoſition was debated with great ſpirit in both houſes, and many forcible arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. The whigs ſupported the bill; the tories oppoſed it. The former affirmed, that it would prove an effectual means of encouraging induſtry, improving trade and manufactures, and repairing the loſs of men which the war had occaſioned. They inſtanced the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, who, by inviting the French to ſettle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other very conſiderable advantages. But the chief motive of the whigs for puſhing this bill, was to throw an additional weight of foreigners into the balance againſt the landed intereſt. The oppoſers of this act of naturalization objected, that ſuch a ſwarm of aliens might bring with them many dangerous conſequences to the conſtitution; that it was, in fact, inviting ſo many ſpies and informers among us, ſince it could not be ſuppoſed they would leave all affection for their mother-country behind them, tho' they might gladly embrace, for the preſent, the aſylum offered them in this kingdom. It was ſaid, they would find means to inſinuate themſelves into many places of truſt and profit, and even to ſeats in the great aſſembly of national repreſentatives; and, by frequent intermarriages, contribute to the extinction of the Engliſh race. It was added, that they would greatly increaſe the number of our poor, already ſo great a burden to this country; and take out of the mouths of Engliſh tradeſmen and labourers great part of the bread they now earned by their induſtry. Theſe arguments, however powerful, were not ſufficient to prevent the bill from paſſing both houſes, and afterwards receiving the royal aſſent.

A. D. 1709. A motion being made in the houſe of commons for leaving out the prayer for the queen's having iſſue, on preſumption that her majeſty would continue a widow during the remainder of her life; Mr. Watſon, ſon to lord Rockingham, moved to addreſs the queen, "That ſhe would not ſuffer her juſt grief to prevail ſo far; but that ſhe would, in compliance with the earneſt wiſhes of her people, entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage." This motion was carried, and preſented to the queen, who returned for anſwer, "That the proviſion ſhe had made for the proteſtant ſucceſſion would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happineſs of the nation; but that the ſubject of their addreſs was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer."

A very ſevere winter had greatly increaſed the miſeries of France. The olive trees in the ſouthern provinces were deſtroyed, and the greater part of the fruit-trees killed by the froſt. There were no hopes of a harveſt, and very little corn in the granaries. The numerous armies of Lewis ſeemed to be periſhing for want, and that haughty monarch was reduced to the neceſſity of imploring a peace. He offered to demoliſh Straſburg and Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, to renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, to grant the ſtates-general the barrier they demanded in the Low Countries, and to treat with the emperor, agreeable to the treaty of Ryſwick. The more this proud monarch was humbled by diſtreſs, the more his misfortunes were inſulted. Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the grand penſioner Henſius, united in the ſame political views, were wiſely for reducing him to the laſt extremities. They were deſirous of preventing him from troubling the repoſe of Europe for the future. Accordingly they demanded, that as he gave up the crown of Spain, he ſhould take proper meaſures to ſee it vacated, and even employ his troops for that purpoſe. This was a propoſal nothing but the utmoſt diſtreſs could reduce the French monarch to accept. He abſolutely refuſed it, and determined to carry on the war for ſome time longer, rather than ſubmit to ſuch unworthy conditions. "If I muſt uſe arms, (ſaid he) I ſhould rather chuſe to uſe them againſt mine enemies, than againſt my own children."

Lewis, on this occaſion, had recourſe to a very extraordinary meaſure. He laid the unreaſonable demands of the allies before his people, in a circular letter; and after acquainting them with the additional burdens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouſe their honour, and even excite their pity. This produced the deſired effect: the people reſolved to expend their whole ſubſtance in defence of the honour of their king, and even to fight his battles without pay, rather than abandon him to the infamy of accepting ſuch humiliating terms. The manufacturers and labourers, who wanted bread, turned ſoldiers. Villars was appointed commander in chief; Boufflers, tho' his ſenior, conſenting to ſerve under him. This patriotic conceſſion acquired him more honour than if he had been intruſted with the principal command.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, the allied army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Liſle, amounting to one hundred and ten thouſand men; and it was determined by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough to open the campaign immediately. Villars had taken poſſeſſion of a very advantageous camp in the plain of Lans, where he threw up intrenchments, in order to act on the defenſive. The allies, not chuſing to attack the enemy in their intrenchments, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Tournay. The town itſelf made no great reſiſtance; but the citadel was ſo ſtrong, both by art and nature, and ſo gallantly defended by lieutenant-general Surville, at the head of four thouſand men, that it held out a month againſt all the efforts of the allies, and was at laſt ſurrendered by an honourable capitulation.

Mons was now threatened by the victorious confederates; and Villars, in order to cover the place, poſted himſelf behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The French amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men; and the allies, who were now joined by the Heſſians, to near the ſame number. On the ninth of September, the two armies were ſo near one another, that a cannonade began between them; and the allies perceiving that it would be impoſſible to inveſt Mons while the French army continued in its preſent ſituation, it was determined to attack the enemy in their intrenchments. Purſuant to this reſolution, batteries were erected on the wings and in the center of the allied army, and every thing prepared for making the attempt.

General Schuylemburgh and the duke of Argyle began the attack about eight in the morning, at the head of eighty-ſix battalions, ſupported by two-and-twenty ſquadrons, commanded by count Lottum. The attack and reſiſtance were equally obſtinate; but the aſſailants at laſt prevailed, and the left wing of the French were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The right of the enemy, poſted in the wood of la Merte, and ſecured by triple entrenchments, was next attacked by the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, at the head of thirty-ſix battalions of Dutch troops. The battle was here ſupported with the moſt deſperate courage on both ſides. The French were obliged to quit the firſt entrenchment, but were repulſed, with great ſlaughter from the ſecond. But marſhal Villars, having received a wound in his knee at the attack, was obliged to be carried from the field of battle. The loſs of their commander greatly depreſſed the courage of the French, and their reſiſtance, from that moment, became leſs vigorous. The prince of Orange having rallied his forces returned to the charge, and ſoon drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and out of the wood into the plain, where their horſe were all drawn up in proper order. The battle now became general, and the victory was diſputed with great vigour till three in the afternoon, when the French began to give way, and were purſued, with great ſlaughter, to the defile of Bavay.

This was the deareſt victory the allies purchaſed during the whole war; near eighteen thouſand of their troops being ſlain on the field of battle, and among them ſeveral officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the enemy did not amount to more than eight or nine thouſand; but the diſgrace of a total defeat, and even of being driven from their intrenched camp, ſtruck ſuch a panic into the French ſoldiers, that their generals did not think it prudent to make any farther attempt to ſave Mons, which ſurrendered about the middle of November, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

The parliament met on the fifteenth of November; and the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe told both houſes, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by falſe appearances, and deceitful inſinuations of a deſire after peace, to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; but that they had been diſappointed in their expectations, ſuch meaſures having been taken as rendered it impoſſible for them to diſguiſe their inſincerity: that God had been pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the confederates with a moſt remarkable victory, and other ſucceſſes, which had laid France open to the impreſſion of the allied arms, and conſequently rendered peace more neceſſary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign: that ſhe hoped they would enable her to proſecute the advantages ſhe had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Chriſtendom."

This ſpeech was very agreeable to the parliament: they preſented addreſſes of thanks to the queen for her ſpeech from the throne, congratulated her on the ſucceſs of her arms, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his ſignal ſervices. The commons were ſo eager for proſecuting the war with vigour, that they voted above ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Theſe immenſe ſums granted by parliament ſtruck the court of France with terror, as they ſufficiently demonſtrated that the credit of England was in its full vigour, while their own was reduced to the loweſt ebb. At the ſame time, it was evident that the Engliſh parliament was determined to carry on the war till the haughty Lewis was ſufficiently humbled.

But while we were triumphing over Lewis, and France was mourning over her miſfortunes, a very ſingular trial re-kindled the animoſity of parties. Dr. Sacheverel, an enthuſiaſtic preacher, a man of little knowledge and great prejudice, carried away by the ſpirit of party, which is too often, though very unjuſtly, called zeal, exerted his talents ſtrongly in favour of paſſive obedience, and againſt the toleration of the non-conformiſts; inſiſting that the church was in danger, and that there was a neceſſity for taking proper meaſures for her defence. This was boldly attacking the principles of the whigs, the chief authors of the revolution; and gave occaſion to the moſt violent debates. The houſe of commons voted Sacheverel's ſermons to be ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, and impeached him before the houſe of lords of high crimes and miſdemeanors.

A. D. 1710. The trial came on before the peers on the twenty-ſeventh of February. This trial continued near three weeks, during which time all buſineſs was ſuſpended, and the capital thrown into the utmoſt ferment. The doctor was attended to and from Weſtminſter, during the time of his trial, by multitudes of people, crying out, "God bleſs the church and Sacheverel." They even proceeded to ſuch lengths, that they demoliſhed ſeveral meeting-houſes, and made bonfires in the ſtreets with the materials, with loud huzzas of "High-church and Sacheverel."

The debates in the houſe of lords became ſo intereſting, that the queen herſelf was preſent. The earl of Wharton obſerved, that Sacheverel's doctrine of paſſive obedience might have the moſt ſerious and dangerous conſequences; that the principle of reſiſtance was the corner-ſtone of the revolution; that to ſuppoſe it unlawful, was to ſuppoſe a great part of the people, and the parliament itſelf, guilty of rebellion and injuſtice; that, of conſequence, the preſent government could not be conſidered as lawful, becauſe the queen's right was wholly derived from the revolution. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, the famous partizan of William, juſtified reſiſtance from hiſtory, both ancient and modern. He alledged the examples of the Maccabees, the Dutch, the conduct of Elizabeth in their behalf, and the ſuccours granted to the Hugonots; adding, that though the contrary opinion had prevailed, thoſe who affected to ſupport it were the firſt to plead for reſiſtance when they ſaw themſelves oppreſſed. The biſhop of Bath and Wells, who was more a tory in his principles than Burnet, agreed that reſiſtance might be lawful in certain extraordinary caſes; but added, that the doctrine ought not to be propagated among the people, who would be ready, on many occaſions, to abuſe it; and that the revolution, which ſhould rather be called a "Vocation," ought not to be cited as an example; that the term, "original contract," if not uſed with great reſerve, might inſpire the moſt pernicious ſentiments; and that obedience could not be preached with too much zeal, when reſiſtance was ſupported by indiſcreet apologies. Theſe reflections irritated the duke of Argyle: he aſſerted, "that the clergy had, in all ages, abandoned the intereſts of the people, and extolled the majeſty of kings, that they might govern them with greater eaſe; and that this was a ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould not interfere in political matters." Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed tories owned, that the doctor's ſermons were extravagant and abſurd; but inſiſted that they were not ſufficient to condemn him. He was, however, found guilty by a majority of ſeven votes; on which he was ſuſpended from the pulpit for three years, and his ſermons condemned to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, together with the famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford in favour of abſolute authority and the irrevocable right of kings.

This ſentence was thought ſo favourable by Sacheverel's party, that they conſidered it as a victory over the whigs. The queen herſelf ſeemed to favour a doctrine that tended to ſecure her throne, and to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. She now prorogued the parliament, after expreſſing her concern both for the time that had been loſt on a private affair, and for the injurious ſuppoſition that the church was in danger under the government.

The laſt campaign having weakened ſtill more the reſources of France, Lewis XIV. once more ſued for peace. The allies enjoyed the humiliation of his ambition. The negotiations were opened at the little town of Gertruydenberg, where the French ambaſſadors met with a thouſand mortifications. It was in vain that Lewis made ſuch offers as would have been ſhameful if neceſſity had not the ſame power over ſovereigns as over common men. He even offered to furniſh money ſufficient to drive his grandſon from the throne of Spain, in caſe he refuſed to abandon it, in exchange for a ſmall dominion that ſhould be aſſigned him. It was abſolutely inſiſted upon, that Lewis himſelf ſhould dethrone him by force of arms. This the French monarch refuſed, and the ambaſſadors returned to their reſpective countries.

The operations of the field were not ſuſpended, even while the negotiations were carrying on. The forces of the allies were aſſembled, and the campaign was opened with the ſiege of Douay, which ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of June, after a noble defence of two months. Marſhal Villars had poſted himſelf near Arras, and ſtrongly fortified his camp. Marlborough did every thing in his power to bring the French to a general engagement, but without ſucceſs: Villars acted with ſo much precaution, that he not only avoided a battle, but alſo prevented the allies from beſieging Mons. There was, indeed, the utmoſt neceſſity for his acting in this prudent manner. Mons was the key of Picardy; and had that place been taken, the whole province had been wholly at the mercy of the confederates. Diſappointed in their deſign againſt Mons, the allies inveſted Bethune, which, in about three weeks, ſurrendered. They alſo made themſelves maſters of St. Venant and Aire. The laſt ſurrendered on the tenth of November, when Marlborough put his troops into winter-quarters.

Philip V. was now reduced to the brink of ruin. Stanhope, the Engliſh general, was the firſt that gained an advantage over his troops. Stamberg, the German general, defeated them at Saragoſſa, and Charles entered Madrid in triumph. Still the zeal of the Caſtalians ſupported them under all their misfortunes. Lewis was no longer in a condition of ſupporting them. He, however, ſent the duke de Vendôme, a man adored by his ſoldiers, and who highly merited their love. He no ſooner arrived in Spain, than a multitude of volunteers flocked to his ſtandard; and notwithſtanding the public calamities, efforts were made to furniſh him with money and proviſions. He immediately beſieged Stanhope in Brihuega, and took him and his garriſon priſoners. He gained a deciſive battle againſt Stamberg, at Ville-Vicioſa; and in three or four months, reſtored the affairs of Philip, and put him in poſſeſſion of a kingdom of which he had hardly the title left. Had Vendôme never been called from the ſolitude to which he had retired, in all probability, the houſe of Bourbon would have totally loſt the kingdom of Spain. Of ſuch conſequence to the affairs of empire is a ſingle leader of genius and talents, when he is revered for his virtues!

Marlborough, though born to be an honour to his country, was a man, and therefore ſubject to failings. He was too fond of wealth and grandeur, and this gave a handle to his diſgrace. He daily loſt credit with the queen, becauſe he wanted to act the maſter rather than the ſubject. The caprice and intolerable haughtineſs of his dutcheſs occaſioned an incurable rupture. The queen had now another favourite, and the tories determined to employ her intereſt in bringing about a total change in the miniſtry. Mrs. Maſham, the name of the lady, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late ſecretary of ſtate, who directed her in the manner ſhe was to proceed with the queen, and ſuch ſprings it was neceſſary to put in motion, in order to effect the intended purpoſe. Mrs. Maſham was poſſeſſed of every requiſite to make her the agreeable companion and confederate. The dutcheſs of Marlborough grew intolerably jealous, and, by her natural impetuoſity, widened the wound ſhe ſhould have endeavoured to cloſe. She wrote a very inſolent letter to the queen, in which, among other haughty expreſſions, ſhe ſaid, "Do me juſtice, and give me no anſwer." She was, however, ſoon ſenſible of her fault, and was very deſirous of making reparation; but neither her repentance, her prayers, nor her tears, had power to move a wounded heart ſhe had ſo long held in ſlavery. "You deſired no anſwer," ſaid the queen, "and you ſhall have no anſwer."

In the mean time, Mrs. Maſham neglected neither art nor opportunity to fix herſelf firmly in the affections of her royal miſtreſs; and ſucceeded beyond her hopes. In one of their converſations, ſhe artfully gave the ſubject a political turn, in the courſe of which ſhe informed her of many things to which ſhe was before wholly a ſtranger; and when ſhe perceived her curioſity was ſufficiently awakened, ſhe referred her, for farther ſatisfaction, to Mr.

Harley, of whom the queen had entertained a very high opinion. He was accordingly admitted to ſeveral private conferences, and by him the queen was informed of the general diſcontent which prevailed in every part of the kingdom, at ſeeing its moſt eſſential intereſts ſacrificed to gratify the ambitious views of a private family. He aſſured her majeſty ſhe had nothing to fear from the malignancy of party; that by far the major part of her people were inſpired with the genuine principles of loyalty, and entirely devoted to her ſervice; and engaged, if ſhe would remove from about her perſon the petty tyrants who kept her enſlaved, and engage to call a new parliament, ſuch repreſentatives would be ſent to the houſe of commons, as were the trueſt friends to monarchy, to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

Theſe arguments prevailed: the queen determined to ſhake off the yoke of the whigs, and ſupply their places with a tory miniſtry. Accordingly the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Godolphin, lord-treaſurer: the lord chancellor Cowper; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Somers, preſident of the council; and ſeveral other whigs, were diſplaced, and their employments enjoyed by their rivals. Other changes followed, till at laſt no whig remained in any place of truſt. The parliament, in which the whiggiſh intereſt had prevailed, was diſſolved, and ſure meaſures were taken for obtaining a parliament of tories.

Though this change was entirely brought about by the intereſt of Mrs. Maſham, yet the trial of Dr. Sacheverel ſeems firſt to have rendered the queen uneaſy with regard to the principles of the whigs, who, in their ſpeeches on that memorable occaſion, had treated monarchical power in ſuch indecent terms, that the queen was alarmed: ſhe found herſelf, according to their doctrine, reduced to a mere ſervant of the people. This determined her to examine the matter to the bottom, and the conſequence was a total change of the miniſtry.

Dr. Sacheverel, whoſe trial had occaſioned ſo much noiſe, a feeble inſtrument in himſelf, but very capable of enflaming the populace, now became one of the principal agents of the court. He was appointed to a living in Wales, and repaired thither in triumph, with a pompous equipage. The univerſity of Oxford treated him as ſome illuſtrious perſonage; and the towns through which he paſſed expreſſed their zeal to do him honour. Thouſands of the populace ran before him with acclamations. The clergy in general encouraged the enthuſiaſm of the people, and every place reſounded with "The church and Dr. Sacheverel." This happened at the time of the general election; and no incident could have been of more advantage to the tories, of whom this parliament was almoſt wholly compoſed.

The new parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November, and on the twenty-ſeventh was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which her majeſty recommended the proſecution of the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain. She declared ſhe was firmly reſolved to ſupport the church of England, to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution agreeable to the union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to ſcrupulous conſciences, and to employ none but ſuch as were ſincerely attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

Both houſes preſented very affectionate addreſſes, and the commons voted the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war. They, however, gave ſufficient indications that they were determined to humble the whigs, and ſuffered their writers to abuſe the duke of Marlborough in the moſt outrageous manner. That great general, ſo often extolled by both houſes, ſo reſpectable for his actions, the idol of the army, and the terror of France, now ſuffered the moſt ſhameful indignities, as the reward for his ſervices. So uncertain is the favour of princes, and ſo changeable is the breath of popular fame! The people now inſulted the hero they had before almoſt worſhipped. He was accuſed of pride, avarice, cruelty, violence, extortion, fraud and rapine: even his courage was diſputed in the midſt of his victories. Never had Rome or Athens known popular clamour more abſurd or unjuſt. The parliament enquired, with the ſame partiality, into the unſucceſsful war in Spain. They cenſured the conduct of Galway and Stanhope, and loaded Peterborough, their rival, with encomiums. To blacken the former miniſtry, the houſe reſolved, that thoſe who had ſupported the bill for a general naturalization, in conſequence of which, vaſt numbers of poor Palatines were brought into England, were enemies to the queen and to the nation.

A. D. 1711. A bill paſſed, by which it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould repreſent a county in parliament, who was not poſſeſſed of ſix hundred pounds a year: the repreſentative of a borough was to be poſſeſſed of half that revenue. An attempt was alſo made to exclude merchants from ſitting in the houſe of commons, where the uncommercial landholder was thought to have a prior right.

Though Harley had ſo eminently contributed to bring about the late change in the miniſtry, he ſoon loſt the confidence of the tories, becauſe he was too prudent to join in their violent meaſures. But a dangerous circumſtance ſoon after reſtored his reputation. The marquis de Guiſcard, a French refugee in the Engliſh ſervice, thinking his ſervices not ſufficiently rewarded, made offers to the court of France to furniſh them with ſecret intelligence. His letters were intercepted; he was apprehended, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. St. John, ſecretary of ſtate, and carried before the council for examination. Enraged at this diſcovery, he deſired leave to ſpeak with the ſecretary, probably with an intention to ſtab him. His requeſt was refuſed; and Mr. St. John being at a diſtance from him, he fell upon Mr. Harley, crying, "Then have at thee," ſtabbed him in two places in the breaſt with a pen-knife, and received himſelf ſeveral wounds, of which he died ſoon after in Newgate. The injurious ſuſpicions that had been entertained of the miniſter vaniſhed, when an enemy to the ſtate had attempted his life. The two houſes of parliament paſſed the higheſt encomiums on his loyalty and fidelity. They threw the blame on the papiſts; and the queen cauſed the laws that had been enacted againſt them to be put in execution.

Mr. Harley, on the death of the earl of Rocheſter, became prime miniſter, and was created baron of Wigmore, and earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He now eſtabliſhed a commercial ſociety, under the title of the South-Sea Company, which was to pay off the navy debts by means of the funds aſſigned it. The miniſter imagined, that by the approaching treaty of peace, the company would be permitted to trade to Peru, in the ſouth-ſea. He was miſtaken; the Spaniards never could be prevailed upon to grant any liberty of that kind.

The new miniſtry well knew that it would be impoſſible for them to carry on the war with the ſame advantage as before, unleſs Marlborough continued at the head of the army, and acted with his uſual alacrity. They were therefore determined to bring about a peace. This meaſure appeared the more reaſonable, as the emperor Joſeph being dead, Charles, his brother, was elected to fill the imperial throne; and it was inconſiſtent with the political ſyſtem to unite the Auſtrian power with that of Spain. But the people were ſo intoxicated with victory, and inflamed with the deſire of conqueſt, that it required no ſmall addreſs to inſpire them with pathetic ſentiments. It was firſt neceſſary to awaken their hatred and contempt for the late miniſtry, the authors of a war as uſeleſs as it was glorious. The commons very readily ſeconded the views of the court. In a remonſtrance to the queen, they ſaid they had diſcharged the heavy debts of the ſtate; that on enquiring into the cauſes of theſe debts, they had diſcovered frauds and iniquitous employment of the public money: that thoſe who directed the adminiſtration during the preceding years, had omitted to give account of more than thirty millions which had paſſed through their hands; that their pernicious practice had ruined England; and that without the intervention of her majeſty's prudence, the evil would ſoon become irremediable. They therefore prayed the queen, that thoſe whom they had accuſed might be brought to account. This remonſtrance produced the deſired effect. The late miniſtry was rendered ſo odious, that every meaſure contrary to theirs was approved. It is not uncommon for the people to become dupes to political artifice.

Marlborough, though he had loſt his power in the cabinet, was ſtill at the head of the allied army, and appeared again with applauſe on the theatres of his victories. The lines which marſhal Villars had formed to ſecure his army were thought impenetrable: he therefore bid defiance to all the efforts of the Engliſh general. Theſe lines began at Bouchain on the Scheld, and were continued along the Sanſet and the Scharpe to Arras; and thence along the Upper Scharpe, and the Ugy to the Canche, the openings between theſe rivers being intrenched and fortified with the utmoſt art and care. But difficulties only ſtimulated Marlborough to overcome them. He determined to make himſelf maſter of the French lines, and ſucceeded in a moſt extraordinary manner. By a feigned march he ſo artfully diverted the attention of Villars, that he entered the lines near Arleux, almoſt without oppoſition, on the fourth of Auguſt. This was juſtly conſidered as the boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war; and the honour of it was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by a large detachment which prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over five thouſand of the beſt troops in his army for an expedition intended to be undertaken by ſea; ſo that the troops of the enemy were ſuperior in number to his own. This raiſed his reputation beyond all he had done formerly; it was conſidered as a maſter-piece of generalſhip, which had hardly ever been exceeded. Villars, on the contrary, was not only cenſured for his conduct at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Marlborough immediately diſpatched brigadier Sutton to London with the news that he had made himſelf maſter of the French lines, without the loſs of a man, though the enemy had boaſted they were impenetrable.

Marlborough now determined to beſiege Bouchain, contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the ſtates-general, who thought the attempt too difficult. The town was ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, ſtrongly fortified, well ſupplied with proviſions and ſtores, and defended by a numerous garriſon. Add to this, that Villars with an army ſuperior in number to that of the allies, was encamped within a mile of the town. The place was inveſted on the tenth of Auguſt by thirty battalions and twelve ſquadrons, commanded by general Fagel. The ſiege was puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, and the town ſoon laid in ruins by the artillery and bombs. Marſhal Villars attempted to raiſe the ſiege, but in vain. Marlborough had taken his meaſures ſo well, that his deſigns were rendered abortive; and the place ſurrendered on the thirtieth of Auguſt. Nor could the garriſon obtain any better terms than that of being priſoners of war.

This was the laſt ſervice the great Marlborough ever performed in the field. The allies were now in poſſeſſion of the Maeſe almoſt to the influx of the Sambre, of the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. Beſides the conqueſts in Germany they had alſo reduced ſo much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain by the treaty of Munſter; and likewiſe Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin in Flanders, two thirds of Hainault with their fortreſſes, the conqueſt of which was thought almoſt impracticable. By the taking of Bouchain, and the progreſs of the confederate army on the Scharpe and the Lys, they were become maſters of two rivers, which, by means of the Deule and its canal, had been ſerviceable to the French for many years in their continual invaſions of the Spaniſh Netherlands, of which they were wholly deprived. All theſe important conqueſts the allies had made during the courſe of this war, under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; who, having given orders for ſecuring the navigation of the Scharpe to Douay, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river and on the Scheld, left the army, and after a ſhort ſtay at the Hague, landed in England on the ſeventeenth of November.

A negotiation for a peace with France had been negotiating during the laſt ſummer; and the preliminaries offered by that power had been approved of by the Engliſh miniſtry, and the city of Utrecht appointed for holding the conferences. On the ſeventh of November her majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe obſerved, “That notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congreſs were finally appointed: that her allies, eſpecially the ſtates-general, whoſe intereſt ſhe conſidered as inſeparable from her own, had, by their ready concurrence, expreſſed an entire confidence in her conduct: that her chief concern was, that the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation ſhould be preſerved inviolate, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion as it was limited by parliament, in the houſe of Hanover: that ſhe ſhould uſe all her endeavours, in the enſuing negotiation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people: that with regard to the princes and ſtates who were engaged in the war, ſhe would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them all reaſonable ſatisfaction: that as the beſt way to forward the treaty would be to make early proviſion for opening the campaign, ſhe hoped they would grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year; and begged they would proceed in this affair with ſuch diſpatch, as might convince the enemy, that if ſhe could not obtain a good peace, ſhe was ready to proſecute the war with vigour.”

Satisfied that while Marlborough continued at the head of the army, the ſtrongeſt oppoſition would be made to the offers of peace, the miniſtry determined to ſtrip him of all his poſts. The committee for examining the public accounts, having proved that he had received annually a conſiderable ſum from the victuallers of the army, the queen declared in council, that in order to enquire impartially into that affair, ſhe thought it neceſſary to remove him from all his employments. This declaration was the next day imparted to him in a letter wrote by the queen's own hand, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received from him and his friends. It was now ſufficiently evident what reliance is to be placed on the favour of the people, when the object, however deſerving, is no longer in power. That great general, whom they had ſo lately in a manner deified and adored, and whoſe glorious actions filled every mouth with praiſes, was now become the object of the moſt indecent ſatire, and the moſt bitter invectives. He who had ſo lately poſſeſſed the favour and confidence of almoſt every power in Europe, now found himſelf unable to oppoſe the envenomed ſhafts of deſtructive party.

But notwithſtanding the miniſtry had found means to deſtroy the power of Marlborough, they perceived that it would be impoſſible to procure the approbation of the houſe of lords to the intended peace, unleſs ſome method could be found to turn the majority in favour of the court, it being now ſufficiently evident that it was in favour of the other party. Accordingly the queen was perſuaded to create no leſs than twelve new peers; a number which the miniſtry imagined would ſecure them the majority in the upper houſe.

A. D. 1712. While theſe meaſures were in agitation, prince Eugene arrived in England, and was introduced by Mr. ſecretary St. John to a private audience of her majeſty. After a ſhort compliment, which her majeſty very graciouſly returned, he delivered to her a letter from the emperor, which he deſired her majeſty to peruſe, as it contained the whole purport of his viſit to her court. After reading the letter, the queen was pleaſed to tell the prince, "that ſhe was extremely ſorry the ſtate of her health did not permit her to ſpeak ſo often as ſhe could wiſh with his highneſs; but that ſhe had ordered her ſecretary and treaſurer to receive his propoſals, and confer with his highneſs as frequently as he ſhould think proper."

Eugene ſtill treated Marlborough with the ſame reſpect as if he had been ſtill in favour. Oxford inviting him one day to dinner, congratulated himſelf with being honoured with the preſence of the greateſt general in Europe. "If I am the greateſt general," anſwered the prince, "it is to you I am indebted for the favour." This ſpirited compliment was undoubtedly due to Marlborough, whom Oxford's miniſtry had diſgraced.

Mr. ſecretary St. John immediately acquainted the commons, that he had received her majeſty's commands to lay before the houſe a propoſition made her by prince Eugene, in the name of the emperor, for ſupporting the war in Spain. The ſubſtance of it was, "That his imperial majeſty judges that forty thouſand men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to about four millions of crowns, towards which his imperial majeſty offers to make up the troops he has already in that kingdom, to thirty thouſand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himſelf.

This propoſal was received with great coldneſs in the houſe of commons; ſo that though Eugene was received with all the honours due to his birth and merit, he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceeding. He therefore haſtened back to the continent, to take upon himſelf the command of the army, in which he had now no competitor for glory. In the mean time, the trial of Marlborough was deferred; but notwithſtanding all the regard and friendſhip Eugene ſhewed for that great leader, the commons kept no meaſures with the duke. They accuſed him of malverſation; and it is certain that too great a thirſt of wealth had ſullied the glory of that illuſtrious general. But that glory, and his eminent ſervices, were ſurely ſufficient to have thrown a veil over a few failings, eſpecially as he had it in his power to juſtify his conduct by orders from the miniſtry. He was, however, unwilling to enflame the nation, and prudently ſought refuge in foreign countries, to elude a proſecution carried on by a party who could not bear to ſee him any longer in power, or even enjoy, unmoleſted, the rewards of his victories.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, ſome bills were paſſed, which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. The duke of Hamilton, a Scottiſh peer, demanded his ſeat in the houſe of lords, in quality of duke of Brandon. The queſtion was, whether Scottiſh peers, created peers of England ſince the union, had a right to a ſeat in parliament. Though there had been already a precedent favourable to the duke, the queſtion was carried in the negative by five voices. All the peers that voted for the queſtion proteſted againſt the deciſion, and the Scotch lords complained with the greateſt acrimony. The bill for occaſional conformity, ſo long oppoſed by the whigs, and deſired by the church of England, paſſed into a law, but in a more moderate form than that in which it had been before propoſed. The naturalization bill, which had occaſioned ſuch prodigious numbers of poor proteſtant foreigners to ſettle in England, was annulled; it having been found, that the idle and the indigent were as great a burden to the ſtate as the induſtrious were a benefit. A bill alſo paſſed in favour of the epiſcopalians, who were always precluded from toleration in Scotland. This was a dreadful mortification to the preſbyterians; and their reſentment was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when an order was publiſhed for ſhutting the courts of judicature during the Chriſtmas holidays, which they conſidered as a relic of popery. "As the houſe will make no alteration in the bill," ſaid one of the members, "I ſubmit; but deſire it may be intitled, A bill to eſtabliſh jacobitiſm and licentiouſneſs of manners."

The Dutch having ſhewn evident ſigns of diſpleaſure at the peace now in agitation, the commons, in revenge, attacked the treaty concluded ſome years before with the ſtates, by which the barrier was granted to them in the Low Countries. They repreſented to the queen, in a ſtudied remonſtrance, "that Holland had not furniſhed her contingent of troops, and that England had been overcharged nineteen millions during the war. The ſtates general publiſhed a memorial in vindication of their conduct; and the commons voted it a ſcandalous libel, injurious to the houſe, and tending to alienate the minds of the people from the preſent government. Such untoward incidents formed the prelude to the approaching peace.

But notwithſtanding theſe alarming appearances, the conferences were opened at Utrecht with all the appearance of ſucceſs. The emperor and the ſtates-general continued obſtinate to their propoſals, and were for reducing Lewis XIV. to the moſt humiliating conceſſions. The Britiſh miniſtry therefore found it abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the treaty without them, or break off the negotiation. The French now delivered their ſpecific explanation of the offers for a general peace. Theſe were tranſmitted to London, and, as far as they related to Great-Britain, were as follow:

"The French king will acknowledge, at the ſigning of the peace, the queen of Great-Britain in that quality; as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown according to the preſent ſettlement, and in the manner her Britannic majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

"His majeſty will cauſe all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his ſatisfaction.

The iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, Hudſon's Bay, and ſtreight of that name, ſhall be yielded up entire to the crown of Great-Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, ſhall be reſtored entire to her majeſty.

As to the iſland of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that alſo to Great-Britain, reſerving only to himſelf the port of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fiſh, as before the war.

"It ſhall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England ſhall chuſe; the conditions of which ſhall be made as equal as poſſible between the two nations."

Theſe offers were treated as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majeſty and her allies, by ſeveral members in the houſe of peers. Some endeavours were made to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was reſolved, without a diviſion, to addreſs the queen, repreſenting the juſt indignation the houſe entertained at the inſolence of France, in having propoſed to acknowledge her majeſty's title to theſe realms no ſooner than when the peace ſhould be ſigned; as alſo at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France; declaring, at the ſame time, that they would aſſiſt her majeſty to the utmoſt of their power in proſecuting the war, until they ſhould obtain a ſafe and honourable peace.

The duke of Ormond having been appointed commander in chief of the Engliſh forces, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, paſſed over to the continent in the beginning of April; and on the twentieth of May, his grace, in concert with prince Eugene, aſſembled the army between Douay and Marchienes, where it was found, upon a review, that the allied army conſiſted of one hundred and twenty-two thouſand two hundred and fifty men. Prince Eugene ſoon after propoſed to attack the French army under marſhal Villars, or to inveſt the town of Queſnoy; but Ormond, who had now received freſh orders from Mr. ſecretary St. John, gave the prince and deputies of the ſtates-general to underſtand, that her Britannic majeſty, having a proſpect that the negotiations for a peace would prove ſucceſsful, had commanded him not to act offenſively againſt the enemy.

Alarmed at this unexpected refuſal, the ſtates-general not only complained to the Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs, but alſo ſent over a letter to the queen, ordering their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuſe for the backwardneſs they had ſhewn in acting in concert with her majeſty. They ſaid, “ That all the difference between the queen and them, was a diſparity of ſentiments; and if for ſuch a cauſe, confederates united by the ſtrongeſt ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come. The Dutch envoy alſo received orders to publiſh copies of this letter in the public papers. This was accordingly done, and they were printed and diſperſed at the very time when the letter came to the queen's hand.

Incenſed at theſe proceedings, which were conſidered as a remonſtrance rather than a repreſentation, and an appeal to the people than an addreſs to the ſovereign, the queen wrote a very ſharp letter to the ſtates. At the ſame time, the commons voted an addreſs to her majeſty, wherein they aſſured her, “ of the juſt ſenſe the houſe had of the indignity offered to her majeſty, by printing and publiſhing a letter from the ſtates-general; and humbly deſired, that ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch indignities, as to give no anſwers for the future to any letters or memorials that ſhould be ſo printed and publiſhed.”

Lewis had loſt the dauphin, his only ſon, the duke of Burgundy his grandſon, the eldeſt of the duke of Burgundy's children; and the duke of Anjou, now on the Spaniſh throne, was threatened with approaching death. From theſe misfortunes there was great reaſon to fear that the crowns of France and Spain would be ſoon united. The concluſion of the treaty, the ſecret articles whereof were regulated by the two courts of France and England, depended upon this renunciation. Experience had, indeed, taught, that very little reliance could be placed on ſuch renunciations; but it was hoped, that in caſe of neceſſity, this would be inſiſted on by all the powers intereſted in preſerving the balance of Europe. Philip V. yielded to neceſſity; and the queen agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms. Orders were immediately ſent to the duke of Ormond to put an end to hoſtilities. The queen laid the plan of the treaty before the parliament; and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the whig party, the two houſes preſented addreſſes to her majeſty, wherein they declared at once their gratitude and approbation.

When the duke of Ormond abandoned the allies, Eugene was employed in the ſiege of Queſnoy. Almoſt all the foreign troops in Engliſh pay refuſed to follow him; ſo ſtrong were their ideas of new triumphs, and of humbling the enemy in the duſt. Lewis agreed to give up Dunkirk as a pledge to the Engliſh for his engagements, and waited with impatience the events of a critical campaign. Eugene took Queſnoy, and beſieged Landreci; while detachments from his army ravaged the country, and the kingdom of France was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. But the lines of Eugene were too much extended. Villars forced the entrenchments of general Albemarle, who was encamped at Denain, and the prince was unable to give him any aſſiſtance. He took Marchienes, where the magazines of the allies were formed; raiſed the ſiege of Landreci; retook Douay, Queſnoy, and Bouchain; and in one campaign became ſuperior to the conqueror, ſo long fluſhed with victory.

A. D. 1713. The allies began now to perceive that all their efforts, without the aſſiſtance of England, would be in vain: they therefore came into the meaſures of England; and the famous treaty of Utrecht was ſigned on the firſt of April. By this treaty, the French king acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain; and engaged for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, not to ſuffer the pretender to return into France, nor any way to ſuccour or aſſiſt him.

“ That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united under one head; that renunciations ſhould be made by both ſides in due form; and that they ſhould never be united under any pretence whatſoever.

“ That the trade between France and Spain ſhall be on the ſame footing as in the time of Charles II.

“ That the fortifications of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the bay and ſtreights of Hudſon ſhould be reſtored, and ſatisfaction be made to the company for the damages they had ſuſtained.

“ That the whole iſland of St. Chriſtopher ſhould be hereafter poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and alſo Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

“ That the iſland of Newfoundland ſhould belong wholly to Great-Britain; the French having only huts for drying their fiſh, and liberty to fiſh only from Cape Bona Viſta to the northern point of that iſland, and ſo down the weſtern ſide as far as port Roche. But the French were to retain Cape Breton, and other iſlands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

“ That the French in Canada ſhould not moleſt the five nations of Indians ſubject to Great-Britain; nor the ſubjects of Great-Britain moleſt the Indians under the protection of France.

“ That all letters of marque, counter-marque and repriſal, be annulled.

“ That juſtice ſhall be done to the Hamilton family with regard to the dutchy of Chatelrault; to the duke of Richmond, concerning ſuch requeſts as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, with regard to certain lands to be reclaimed by him.”

The treaty having been laid before the parliament, and approved of, the queen came to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth of July, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I come now to put an end to this ſeſſion with great ſatisfaction, and return you all my hearty thanks for the good ſervice you have done to the public.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I muſt particularly thank you for the ſupplies you have now given: I will take care to apply them, as far as they will reach, to ſatisfy the ſervices you have voted.

“ I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce will be ſo well underſtood, that the advantageous conditions I have obtained from France will be made effectual for the benefit of our trade.

“ I cannot part with ſo good and loyal a houſe of commons, without expreſſing how ſenſible I am of the affection, zeal, and duty, with which you have behaved yourſelves; and I think myſelf therefore obliged to take notice of thoſe remarkable ſervices you have performed.

“ At your firſt meeting, you formed a method, without farther charge to my people, to eaſe them of the heavy load of more than nine millions; and the way of doing it may bring great advantage to the nation.

"In this ſeſſion you have enabled me to be juſt in paying the debts of my ſervants.

"And as you furniſhed ſupplies for carrying on the war, ſo you have ſtrengthened my hands, by obtaining a peace.

"Thus you have ſhewed yourſelves the true repreſentatives of my loyal commons, by the juſt regard you have paid to the good of your country, and my honour. Theſe proceedings will, I doubt not, preſerve the memory of this parliament to poſterity.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"At my coming to the crown, I found a war prepared for me. God hath bleſſed my arms with many victories, and at laſt has enabled me to make them uſeful by a ſafe and honourable peace.

"I heartily thank you for the aſſiſtance you have given me therein, and I promiſe myſelf, that, with your concurrence, it will be laſting.

"To this end I recommend it to you all, to make my ſubjects truly ſenſible what they gain by the peace; and that you will endeavour to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly fomented among us, that our unhappy diviſions may not weaken, and, in ſome ſort, endanger, the advantages I have obtained for my kingdoms.

"There are ſome (very few I hope) who will never be ſatisfied with any government: it is neceſſary, therefore, that you ſhew your love to your country, by exerting yourſelves to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded.

"Nothing can eſtabliſh peace at home, nothing can remove the diſorders that have happened during ſo long a war, but a ſteady adhering to the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

"Such as are true to theſe principles, are only to be relied on; and as they have the beſt title to my favour, ſo you may depend upon my having no intereſt or aim but your advantage, and the ſecuring of our religion and liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of theſe nations, and the univerſal good, that I ſhall next winter meet my parliament, reſolved to act upon the ſame principles, with the ſame prudence, and with ſuch vigour, as may enable me to ſupport the liberties of Europe abroad, and reduce the ſpirit of faction at home."

Few ſpeeches ever delivered from the throne have been more reflected upon than this. It ſeemed ſtrange, that the queen, who did not pretend to underſtand trade, ſhould paſs ſuch a cenſure upon both houſes, for not being wiſer in that particular than herſelf; eſpecially as it appeared, from the information given at the bar of both houſes, and the debates which enſued upon it, that the treaty, with regard to commerce, was ſo oppoſite to the intereſt of England, that it ſeemed to be a contempt on their underſtanding to repreſent it as advantageous, and to rank all thoſe who oppoſed it among the ill-minded, or at leaſt among the deluded. Nor did her aſſerting the nation to be eaſed of nine millions, without any farther charge, eſcape cenſure; becauſe it was well known the nation muſt ſupport the conſtant burden of intereſt at ſix per cent. till the capital was paid off.

The emperor Charles VI. refuſed to enter into the negotiations, but had ſoon cauſe to repent of his obſtinacy. Marſhal Villars, having nothing to fear in Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, took Landau and Friburgh, and defeated a conſiderable body of German troops. Charles then deſired peace, and at laſt obtained it by the treaty of Redſtadt, but on leſs advantageous conditions than he might have acquired, had he joined the allies in their negotiations at Utrecht. He might then have had Landau, and, poſſibly, Straſburg; but he knew not when to ceaſe hoſtilities in the moſt profitable manner.

A. D. 1714. In the beginning of the year, the ratifications of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain were brought over to England, and peace was proclaimed on the firſt of March. The following are the chief articles in this treaty: That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united: that the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould be acknowledged, and never be oppoſed on any pretence: that navigation and commerce ſhould be on the ſame footing as in the treaty of 1667: that no licence ſhould be given to the French, or other nations, to introduce negroes, or any merchandiſes, into the Spaniſh dominions in America, except what might be agreed on by the treaty of commerce, and the privilege granted by the aſſiento of negroes; except alſo what ſhould be granted by the catholic king, after the aſſiento ſhould be determined: that the American dominions ſhould not be alienated from the crown of Spain, to France, or any other nation: that Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca ſhould be given up to England for ever: that no Moors were to come thither but on account of traffick: that all the Spaniſh inhabitants ſhould enjoy their eſtates and religion, or have liberty to ſell their eſtates, and retire: that the South-ſea company ſhould have the privilege of introducing negroes into ſeveral parts of America for thirty years, commencing with the year 1713, in the ſame manner as enjoyed by the French: that the Catalans ſhould have a full and free pardon, with the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, and enjoy the ſame privileges with the inhabitants of both Caſtiles: that Sicily ſhould be yielded to the duke of Savoy; but in caſe of his dying without heirs, the kingdom ſhould return to Spain. By two ſeparate articles, the queen promiſed to perſiſt in the meaſures, by which ſhe had taken care, that no other part of the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be torn from it; and obliged herſelf to procure the princeſs Urſini to be put into poſſeſſion of Limburg, or ſome other country in the Netherlands, which ſhould produce thirty thouſand crowns a year, purſuant to a grant made her by king Philip in the year 1711.

The parliament had been opened by commiſſion ſome time before this peace was publiſhed; but the day after, her majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and delivered the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have much ſatiſfaction in being able, at the opening of this parliament, to tell you, that the ratifications of the treaties of peace and of commerce with Spain are exchanged, by which my ſubjects will have greater opportunities than ever to improve and extend their trade. Many advantages formerly enjoyed by connivance, and procured by ſuch methods as made a diſtinction between one Britiſh merchant and another, are now ſettled by treaty, and an equal rule is eſtabliſhed.

"It hath pleaſed God to bleſs my endeavours to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace for my own people, and for the greateſt part of my allies. Nothing that I can do ſhall be wanting to render it univerſal; and I perſuade myſelf, that, with your hearty concurrence, my interpoſition may at laſt prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe.

"In the mean while, I congratulate with my own ſubjects, that they are delivered from a conſuming land war, and entered on a peace, the good effect whereof nothing but inteſtine diviſions can obſtruct.

"It was the glory of the wiſeſt and greateſt of my predeceſſors to hold the balance of Europe, and to keep it equal by caſting in their weight as neceſſity required. By this conduct, they enriched the kingdom, and rendered themſelves dreadful to their enemies, and uſeful to their friends. I have proceeded on the ſame principles, and I doubt not but my ſucceſſors will follow theſe examples.

"Our ſituation points out to us our true intereſt; for this country can flouriſh only by trade, and will be moſt formidable by a right application of our naval force.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered ſuch accounts to be prepared and laid before you, as will ſhew you, at the concluſion of the war, the true ſtate of your condition; whereby you will be better able to judge what aids are neceſſary; and I only aſk of you ſupplies for the current ſervice of the year, and for the diſcharge of ſuch debts as you ſhall find, on examination, to be juſt and reaſonable.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The joy which has been generally expreſſed on my recovery from my late indiſpoſition, and on my coming to this city, I eſteem as a return for that tender affection which I have always had for my people.

"I wiſh that effectual care had been taken, as I have often deſired, to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious papers and factious rumours, by which deſigning men have been able to ſink credit, and the innocent have ſuffered.

"There are ſome who have arrived to that height of malice, as to inſinuate, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover is in danger under my government.

"Thoſe who go about thus to diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to diſturb the preſent tranquillity, and bring real miſchief upon us.

"After all I have done to ſecure our religion and your liberties, and to tranſmit both ſafe to poſterity, I cannot mention theſe proceedings without ſome degree of warmth; and I muſt hope you will all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the poſſeſſion of the crown uneaſy to me, can never be proper means to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

"I have done, and ſhall continue to do my beſt for the good of all my ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it ſhall be mine, to unite our differences, not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt adherence to our conſtitution in church and ſtate, but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and enforcing a due obedience to them in others.

"A long war has not only impoveriſhed the public, (however ſome particular men may have been gainers by it) but has alſo greatly affected government itſelf.

"Let it be your care ſo to improve the preſent opportunity, as to lay the foundation of recovering from thoſe diſorders.

"I had the concurrence of the laſt parliament in making the peace. Let it be the honour of this to aſſiſt me in obtaining ſuch fruits from it as may not only derive bleſſings on the preſent age, but even down to the lateſt poſterity."

This ſpeech produced ſome debates in both houſes; but addreſſes of thanks were voted both by the lords and commons; and the queen, after thanking the lords for their affectionate addreſs, added, "That they who were neareſt the throne would firſt of her ſubjects feel the evil conſequences of any diminution of the regal authority: that it was a comfort to her ſhe had the aſſurance of their ſupport; and they might depend upon it, ſhe would never give way to the leaſt attempt on the juſt authorities of the crown, or any of their rights and privileges."

The next day the convocation complimented the queen in a joint addreſs "on her recovery and happy return to her royal city in health and ſafety;" concluding with their wiſhes, "That after a long and happy reign, ſhe might be able to tranſmit the protection of the church and ſtate to a proteſtant ſucceſſor in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, which her majeſty, to the great ſatisfaction and comfort of all her faithful and good ſubjects, had ſo often declared to be at her royal heart."

The lords taking the ſtate of theſe kingdoms into conſideration, the leaders of the whigs repreſented the danger that threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion, on account of the pretender's not being yet removed from Lorrain, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addreſſes be preſented to the queen, "Firſt for an account of what ſteps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, and what anſwers had been given by that duke. Secondly, an account of the negotiations of peace: what meaſures had been taken to render the peace univerſal: and what obſtructions her majeſty had met with. Thirdly, an account of what inſtances had been made for reſtoring the Catalans their ancient privileges, and all letters relating to that negotiation. Fourthly, an account of the monies granted ſince the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal." Theſe addreſſes were preſented without oppoſition. But the miniſtry perceiving that the whigs were forming ſeveral other motions which could not fail of greatly embarraſſing their meaſures, the lord-treaſurer moved to adjourn the houſe till the thirty-firſt of March, which was carried by a ſmall majority.

Though the miniſtry had increaſed their party during the receſs of parliament, yet the debates were carried on with as much zeal as ever in the houſe of lords; and the papers addreſſed for being laid before the houſe, the whigs repreſented, "That the crown of Great-Britain having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the houſe of Auſtria, and engaged to ſupport them, thoſe engagements ought to be made good." To this lord Bolingbroke anſwered, "that the queen had uſed all her endeavours to procure to the Catalans the enjoyment of their ancient liberties and privileges; but that after all, the engagements ſhe had entered into, ſubſiſted no longer than while Charles was in Spain; but that prince being advanced to the imperial dignity, and having himſelf abandoned the Catalans, ſhe could do no more than interpoſe her good offices in their behalf, which ſhe had not been wanting to do." To this it was replied, "That God had put more effectual means into her majeſty's hands."

After ſome other ſpeeches, earl Cowper moved for an addreſs to the queen, importing, "That her endeavours for preſerving to the Catalans the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties, being proved ineffectual, their lordſhips made it their humble requeſt, that ſhe would continue her interpoſitions in the moſt preſſing manner in their behalf." The miniſtry perceiving that it would be in vain to oppoſe the motions of the whigs; the addreſs was agreed to.

Still no ſatisfactory account was given with regard to the preſent reſidence of the pretender, who was ſaid ſtill to continue in Lorrain. The earl of Sunderland ſaid, "that notwithſtanding the earneſt application made laſt ſeſſion by both houſes to her majeſty, to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was aſſured by baron Foſtner, the duke of Lorrain's miniſter, ſome weeks before his departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no inſtances had yet been made to his maſter for that purpoſe." To this lord Bolingbroke anſwered, "He wondered baron Foſtner could make ſuch a declaration, ſince he himſelf had made thoſe declarations to him in the queen's name." But lord Halifax confirmed what the earl of Sunderland had advanced by ſaying, "That baron Foſtner had told him as much but four days before; ſo that lord Bolingbroke muſt be miſtaken, at leaſt in point of chronology."

This debate brought on a motion of more conſequence; the queſtion was "whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion be in danger under the preſent adminiſtration? This queſtion gave riſe to a very warm debate, which continued for near ſeven hours, during which time many warm ſpeeches were made againſt the miniſtry. That of the earl of Angleſea was remarkable. He ſaid, among other things, "That when he came into the houſe, he thought indeed the proteſtant ſucceſſion to be ſtill in danger on the part of France, whoſe intereſt it was to reſtore the pretender: But that after he had heard what ſo many noble members of that auguſt aſſembly, perſons of undoubted honour and probity, had alledged againſt the miniſters, and no anſwer offered to confute it, either by the miniſters themſelves or their friends, he could not but believe the ſucceſſion to be in danger." He afterwards endeavoured to clear himſelf with regard to the ſhare he had in ſome late tranſactions. "I own," ſaid he, "I gave my aſſent to the ceſſation of arms, for which I take ſhame to myſelf, and aſk God, my country, and my conſcience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble lord (turning towards the lord treaſurer) had aſſured the council, that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her majeſty and her allies." Adding, "That as the honour of his country, and the good of his ſovereign, formed the rule of his actions, ſo he had no reſpect of perſons; and if he found himſelf impoſed upon, he durſt purſue an evil miniſter from the queen's cloſet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the ſcaffold." The lord-treaſurer, againſt whom the latter part of his ſpeech was levelled, ſaid, "That the peace was as glorious and advantageous as could be expected, conſidering the neceſſity of affairs, and the oppoſition the queen's miniſters had met with, both at home and abroad." Several lords replied, that no miniſters ever had it in their power to make ſo honourable and advantageous a peace as the queen's miniſters had. The duke of Argyle added, "That he had lately croſſed the kingdom of France, both in going to and returning from Minorca. That it was indeed one of the fineſt countries in the univerſe, but that there were marks of a general deſolation in all the places through which he paſſed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms: that the reſt of the people were in the utmoſt miſery and diſtreſs; and therefore he could not apprehend what neceſſity there was to conclude a peace ſo precipitately with a prince whoſe dominions were ſo greatly exhauſted of men, of money, and of proviſions." With regard to the queſtion in debate he ſaid, "That he firmly believed the ſucceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover to be in danger from the preſent miniſters, whom he durſt charge with mal-adminiſtration both within doors and without: that he knew, and offered to prove, that the lord-treaſurer had yearly remitted four thouſand pounds to the highland clans in Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the pretender, in order to keep them under diſcipline and ready for any attempt: that, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by diſbanding ſome regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vaſt number of officers merely on account of their known affection for the houſe of Hanover, were clear indications of the deſigns in hand: that it was a diſgrace to the nation to ſee men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the poſts of ſeveral brave officers, who, after they had often expoſed their lives for their country, were now ſtarving in priſon for want of their pay." The lord-treaſurer now roſe, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, "I have, on ſo many occaſions, given ſuch ſignal proofs of my affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, that I am ſure no member of that auguſt aſſembly could call it in queſtion. At the ſame time I own I have remitted to Scotland, for two or three years paſt, three thouſand eight hundred pounds to the highland clans; but I hope the houſe will give me an opportunity of clearing my conduct with regard to that point. As for the reformed officers, I have given orders they ſhall be paid directly."

After ſeveral other ſpeeches the queſtion was put and carried in the negative by twelve voices only. But though the proteſtant religion was thus voted not to be in danger, lord Hallifax, in order to put their profeſſions of affection for the houſe of Hanover to the teſt, moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to the queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that ſhe would, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, enter into the guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; and alſo with ſuch other princes as ſhe ſhould think proper." He was ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who moved likewiſe, that in the addreſs, "Her majeſty might be deſired to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould bring the pretender dead or alive:" this motion was ſeconded by the duke of Bolton, who alſo moved, that the reward might be ſuitable to the importance of that ſervice. Nothing was ſaid in oppoſition to the motions: but it being late, ſome members expreſſed their deſire that the houſe ſhould adjourn. But the other ſide calling for the queſtion, it was unanimouſly reſolved that the addreſs ſhould be preſented.

When the addreſs againſt the pretender was reported by the committee appointed to draw it up, the lord North and Grey made a long ſpeech, "Wherein he endeavoured to ſhew the barbarity of ſetting a reward upon any man's head; which, he ſaid, was nothing leſs than giving encouragement to murder and aſſaſſination; and how repugnant ſuch a practice was to the laws of chriſtianity, the law of nature, and the laws of all civilized nations." He repreſented in particular, "How inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of ſo auguſt an aſſembly in a nation and government, famed for lenity and clemency." He concluded with ſaying, "No man either had more reſpect for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, or would do more to ſecure them than himſelf; but that they muſt excuſe him, if he would not incur perdition for them." He was ſupported by lord Trevor, who ſaid, "What that noble peer had ſpoke was ſufficient to ſhew, how inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with chriſtianity, and the civil law; and therefore he would confine himſelf to the laws of England; and, if he knew or underſtood any thing of theſe, he was confident they were no leſs oppoſite to ſuch proceedings than the civil law. He knew he did not ſpeak there as a lawyer or judge, but as a peer: but he was ſo fully ſatisfied of our law diſcountenancing all ſuch proceedings, that if ever ſuch a caſe ſhould come before him as a judge, he ſhould think himſelf bound in juſtice, honour, and conſcience, to condemn ſuch an action as murder; and therefore he hoped the ſupreme court of judicature in England, and the moſt auguſt tribunal in the univerſe, would not make a precedent for encouraging aſſaſſination;" and therefore he moved, "that the reward ſhould be for apprehending and bringing the pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, either in Great Britain or Ireland: and that her majeſty ſhould iſſue her royal proclamation, whenever in her great wiſdom ſhe ſhould judge it neceſſary." To this it was anſwered, "That however contrary ſuch a proceeding might be to the precepts of chriſtianity, it was warranted by the practice of the old Romans, of the moſt civilized nations in Europe, and of our own nation in particular. For without recurring to remoter inſtances, we have the example of king James II. who ſet a a price on the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth." But theſe reaſonings were not well ſupported, and the motion was agreed to by a majority of ten voices. When the addreſs was preſented to the queen, ſhe returned the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"It would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to my government, that an end were put to theſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly promoted.

"I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for having one iſſued.

"As for the other particulars in this addreſs, I will give proper directions therein."

This anſwer revived the hopes of the pretender's friends, who, before the late warm ſpeeches were made againſt him in the upper houſe, were ſo elated, that an agent from king James' queen, had attempted to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year, ſince the death of James II. But the agent having in the bill given her the title of queen-mother, the officer refuſed to file it; upon which the agent changed the title, and preſented it in the name of "the moſt illuſtrious princeſs Maria, relict of James II. king of England." Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, purſuant to a formal agreement made in France by lord Bolingbroke, about fifty thouſand pounds were remitted thither for her uſe.

The very day the addreſs was preſented an incident happened, which threw the miniſtry into the utmoſt confuſion. Moſt of the whig lords had held a conſultation at the houſe of lord Hallifax, to which baron Schutz, envoy from the elector of Hanover was admitted. In this meeting it was reſolved, that the baron ſhould take the firſt opportunity of demanding a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge. Accordingly Scutz made a viſit to the chancellor, and among other civilities acknowledged the affection he had ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions to the houſe of Hanover. The chancellor told him, "he was extremely ſenſible of the honour he did him by his viſit and compliment; and deſired him to aſſure the elector of his entire devotion to his ſervice; hoping his highneſs gave no credit to the falſe reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread, in order to give him jealouſies of her majeſty's miniſters." The baron anſwered that he would not fail to diſcharge ſo agreeable a commiſſion; but he had a favour to aſk of him, in the name of the electoral prince, that his lordſhip would be pleaſed to make out a writ for his ſitting in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge. Surprized at this unexpected demand, the chancellor told the baron, "That though it was unuſual to make out writs for peers who were not in the kingdom, yet he would immediately apply to her majeſty for directions." The baron anſwered, "he did not doubt his lordſhip's performing the duties of his office. But, with regard to the objection of the duke's being out of the kingdom, he could aſſure him his electoral highneſs propoſed coming over very ſpeedily, and might perhaps be landed before the writ was made out." The baron now took his leave, and the chancellor deſired him to remember, "That he did not refuſe his demand, but thought proper to acquaint the queen of it, which he would do immediately." A council was directly held in the queen's preſence, and after very long debates it was reſolved, that the chancellor ſhould make out a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The queen was, however, ſo highly offended at the baron's making his application to the chancellor, before he had informed her of his intentions, that ſhe forbade him the court.

But though the writ was ordered to be made out for the duke of Cambridge, the miniſtry was determined he ſhould not viſit England; and a report prevailing that the princeſs Sophia intended to deſire the queen's approbation for the duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her majeſty, with the advice of her cabinet council wrote that princeſs the following letter:

"Madam, Siſter, Aunt.

"Since the right of ſucceſſion to my kingdom has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have alway's been diſaffected perſons, who, by particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am living. I never thought till now, that this project would have gone ſo far, as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But, as I lately perceived, by public rumours, which are induſtiouſly ſpread, that your electoral highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of your family, that I ſhould tell you ſuch a proceeding will infalibly draw along with it ſome conſequences, that will be dangerous to that ſucceſſion itſelf, which is not ſecure any other way, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her prerogative. There are here (ſuch are our misfortunes) a great many people, that are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, you will never conſent, that the leaſt thing ſhould be done, that may diſturb the repoſe of me and my ſubjects.

"Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do to you, and propoſe whatever you think may contribute to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity which I am reſolved to maintain. I am with a great deal of affection, &c.

At the ſame time her majeſty wrote the following letter to the duke of Cambridge:

"Couſin,

"An accident which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to the deſign you have formed of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been firſt to me; ſo I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, and the electoral houſe to which you belong; and the true deſire I have, that it may ſucceed to my kingdom: and this requires of me that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in your line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture.

"I am, &c."

Theſe letters greatly affected the princeſs Sophia, who was now in the eighty-fourth year of her age, that the very day after ſhe had received them, ſhe was ſeized with an apoplectic fit as ſhe was walking in the gardens of Herenhauſen, and died in the arms of the electoral princeſs, before phyſicians could come to her aſſiſtance. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth of England only daughter of James I. This princeſs was of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution, and a perfect miſtreſs of moſt of the modern languages; her genius was equally turned for converſation or buſineſs, and hence ſhe became at once the ornament and delight of her court. her turns of wit were ſprightly and ſurprizing; her judgment ſolid and penetrating. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her converſation, but her letters; both were eaſy, entertaining and uſeful. She enjoyed a fund of happineſs within herſelf, which gave a reliſh to her retirements: but her care in government and œconomy ſhewed the juſt ſenſe ſhe entertained of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; and her ſentiments of religion juſt and noble. She lived beloved, and her hearſe was bedewed with the tears of the good and the virtuous.

Bolingbroke and the other leaders of the tory party, determined, if poſſible, to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion, brought in the famous ſchiſm bill, it being thought neceſſary for accompliſhing their ſcheme, to ruin the diſſenters. It was preſented to the houſe of commons by Sir William Windham, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the whole power of the whig party; but paſſed the houſe by a conſiderable majority.

When it was read the firſt time in the houſe of peers, lord Bolingbroke ſaid, "It was a bill of the laſt importance, ſince it concerned the ſecurity of the church of England, the beſt and firmeſt ſupport of the church and monarchy; both which all good men, and particularly that auguſt aſſembly, who derive their luſtre from and are near the throne, ought to have moſt at heart, and therefore he moved that it ſhould be read a ſecond time." Lord Cowper replied, "That no man was more ready than himſelf to do every thing that ſhould appear neceſſary to attain the ſeeming intention of this bill, the preventing the growth of ſchiſm, and the further ſecuring the church of England. But that the enacting part would be ſo far from anſwering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to church and ſtate. That inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and enlarging the pale of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion. That in many country towns, reading, writing and grammar ſchools were chiefly ſupported by the diſſenters; not only for the inſtruction and benefit of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe poor churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing thoſe ſchools, would, in ſome places, ſuppreſs the reading of the Holy Scriptures." On the other hand he obſerved, "that this bill ſtruck at the ancient rights and prerogative of the houſe of peers; which, by the conſtitution, is the ſupreme court of judicature, and the dernier reſort in all cauſes; whereas, by this bill, the juſtices of the peace were impowered to hear and finally determine the offences againſt the ſame. I would, my lords, added he, rather enlarge than abridge the power of juſtices of the peace, were it only to encourage gentlemen to take upon them an office ſo troubleſome, and ſo unprofitable, unleſs it be, perhaps, in the county of Middleſex. But, at the ſame time, my lords, I ſhall never conſent to give up the birth-right and ancient privileges of this auguſt aſſembly, of which I have the honour to be a member."

The earl of Wharton attacked the ſupporters of the bill with the moſt poignant irony. "I am," ſaid he, "agreeably ſurprized to ſee ſome men of pleaſure become on a ſudden ſo religious, as to ſet up for patrons of the church. But I am aſtoniſhed that perſons who have been educated in diſſenting academies, whom I could point out, and whoſe tutors I could name, ſhould appear the moſt forward in oppreſſing them. This is ſurely but an indifferent return for the benefit the public has received from thoſe ſchools, which have bred thoſe great men, who have made ſo glorious a peace, and treaties that have executed themſelves. I can therefore ſee no reaſon for ſuppreſſing theſe academies, unleſs it be from an apprehenſion, that they may ſtill produce greater geniuſes, that may drown the merits and abilities of theſe great men. To be ſerious, my lords, it is no leſs melancholy than ſurprizing, that at a time when the court of France proſecutes the deſign they have long ſince formed to extirpate our holy religion; when not only ſecret practices are uſed to impoſe a popiſh pretender on theſe realms, but men are publickly inliſted for his ſervice: it is, I ſay, melancholy and ſurprizing, that at this very time a bill ſhould be brought in, which muſt tend to divide the proteſtants; and conſequently to weaken their intereſt, and haſten their ruin. But the wonder will ceaſe when we conſider, that madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill." He declaimed particularly againſt the word ſchiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was decorated, and ſaid, "It is ſomething ſtrange that they ſhould call ſchiſm in England, what is the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; and therefore, if the lords who repreſented the nobility of that part of Great Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that in order to be even with us, and conſiſtent with themſelves, they would move for bringing in another bill to promote the growth of ſchiſm in their own country." He added, "That both in the bill itſelf, and alſo in the ſpeeches of thoſe who had declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited and alledged, but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned, it is the law of the goſpel, To do unto others as we would be done unto."

Several other very remarkable ſpeeches were made on this remarkable bill, and ſeveral amendments were made to it, which rendered it very different from what it appeared in its original ſtate. With theſe amendments it was carried in the houſe of peers by a majority of five voices, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

The houſe ſeemed now determined to cenſure the conduct of lord Bolingbroke; but the queen in order to prevent the conſequences that might enſue, came to the houſe of Lords on the ninth of July, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech, from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The progreſs which has been made in public buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year, render it both convenient and neceſſary, that I ſhould put an end to this ſeſſion.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your good ſervices to me and to your country, and particularly for the ſupplies you have given me, as well to defray the expences of the current year, as towards the diſcharging of the national debt. In our preſent circumſtances it could not be expected, that a full proviſion ſhould be made on both theſe heads. What you have granted ſhall be laid out with the beſt huſbandry, and to the greateſt advantage.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to find you in ſuch a temper as is neceſſary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concern is to preſerve to you, and to your poſterity, our holy religion, and the liberty of my ſubjects, and to procure the preſent and future tranquillity of my kingdom. But I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable ends can never be attained, unleſs you bring the ſame diſpoſitions on your parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, which create and foment diviſions among you be laid aſide: and unleſs you ſhew the ſame regard for my prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expreſſed for the rights of my people."

This was the laſt ſpeech the queen ever made to her parliament: her conſtitution was now quite broken; one fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the diſcords that prevailed among her miniſters. While the parliament continued ſitting, they maintained ſome appearance at leaſt of unity; the fear of an attack from that branch of the legiſlature; but their fears being now over, they laid no reſtraint upon their paſſions. Their diſputes became intolerable; they ſo far forgot their duty to her majeſty, and regard for their country, that whenever Oxford and Bolingbroke met in council, they ſtudied rather to oppoſe each other, than to ſettle or purſue any regular plan of government. And their jealouſies arrived at laſt to ſuch a ſhameful height, that it is believed a quarrel that happened between them in the queen's preſence, haſtened her death. It is certain that the ſevereſt reproaches paſſed between theſe miniſters on the twenty-ſeventh of July, when Oxford was deprived of the white ſtaff. He imputed his diſgrace to Bolingbroke, lady Maſham, and the chancellor, and told them, in the queen's preſence, "That he had been wronged and abuſed by lies and miſrepreſentations; but he ſhould be revenged, and leave ſome people as low as he found them." Theſe expoſtulations could not fail of ſhocking the queen, whoſe ill ſtate of health rendered her incapable of ſupporting ſuch unexpected ſtrokes of fortune. She could not help reflecting that ſhe muſt have been abuſed by ſome, if not by all her principal miniſters; and ſhe actually intimated to one of her phyſicians, that ſhe ſhould not long ſurvive it.

She was ſoon after ſeized with a lethargic diſorder, and the next day was ſtruck with an apoplexy. She, however, recovered, in ſome degree, the uſe of her ſenſes, and during that interval, gave the white ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people. This was the laſt act of her government, dying on the firſt of Auguſt, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Few ſovereigns ever merited higher eulogiums than this princeſs, without either great talents or a cultivated mind, and without ſpirit ſufficient to give her an aſcendant over her favourites. She ſhone in the qualities of the heart, a ſincere piety, a ſteady virtue, a tender affection for her ſubjects, an invariable affability, as well in government as in civil life. From theſe qualities which will render her name reſpectable, ſhe was called "The good queen Anne;" a title more glorious than all the victories that adorned her reign.

Queen Anne had ſix children, but none ſurvived her. The duke of Glouceſter only reached his twelfth year, all the reſt died very young.

# BOOK XIV.

## From the Acceſſion of George I. to the Concluſion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

## GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714. THE death of the queen diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the tories. Bolingbroke was left without power, and conſequently incapable of executing the deſigns he had formed. His genius, more brilliant than ſolid, was not calculated for the government of a nation. The Jacobites had flattered themſelves that hereditary right would prevail in favour of the pretender, over the motives which had excluded that family from the crown of England. They were deceived, and George I. was proclaimed without oppoſition. The proteſtant ſucceſſion had been too firmly eſtabliſhed by acts of parliament to be ſhaken by the attempts of a few perſons; who were no friends to the peace of their country.

George I. was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, when queen Anne ſunk into the grave. He was endowed by nature with an extenſive genius, which had been cultivated by an excellent education; which, together with his experience, rendered him perfectly capable of ſupporting the weight of a crown, to which he was now called by the voice of the people. He had long been known to the Engliſh, having commanded a body of troops in the allied army, where his valour and conduct had gained him univerſal eſteem.

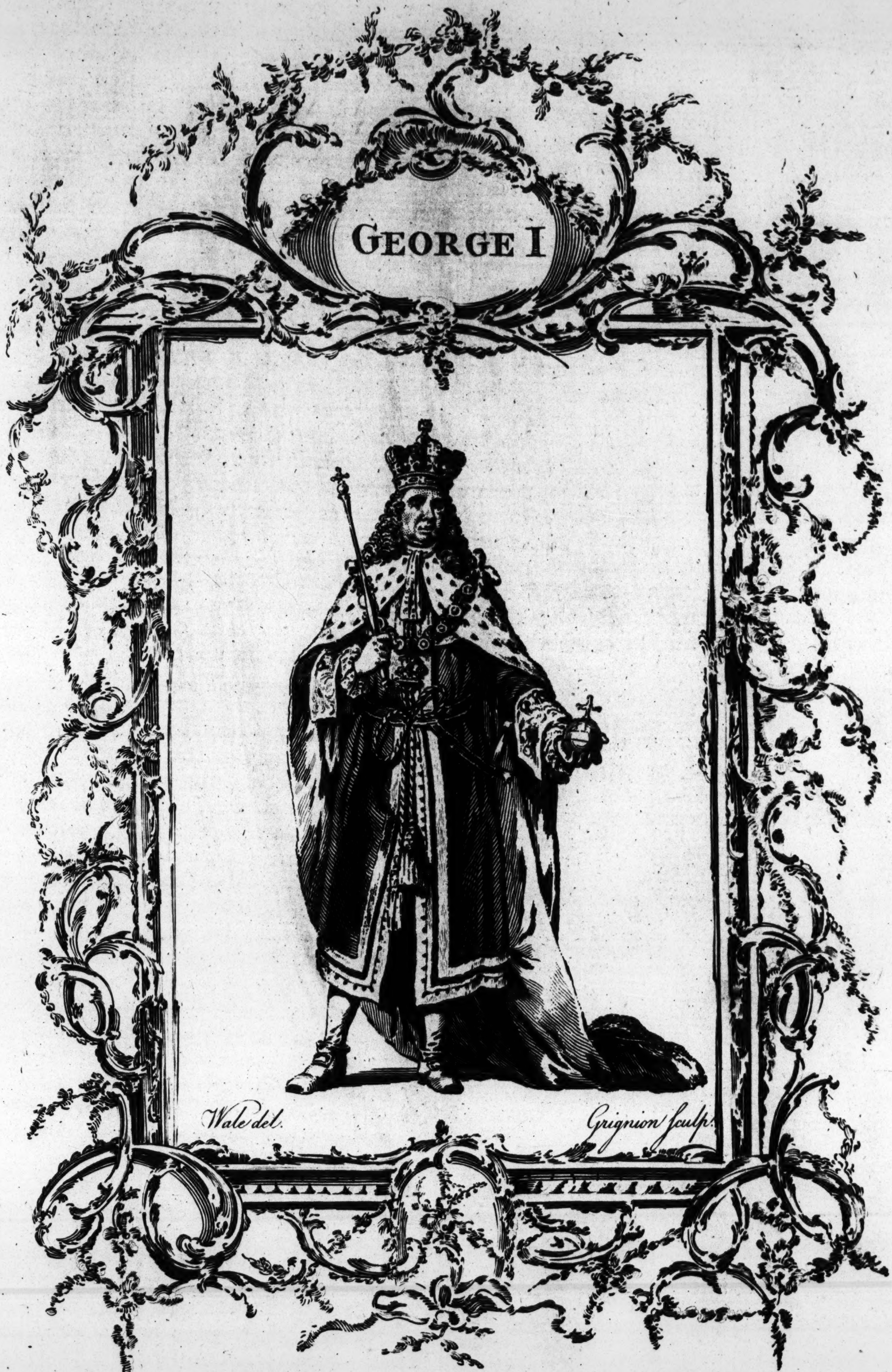
The king was proclaimed on the firſt of Auguſt, at the uſual places, and with the uſual ceremonies, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. The ſtreets were crowded with multitudes of people; for having been born and educated in the boſom of the proteſtant church, all who wiſhed well to the eſtabliſhed religion in England, had fixed their hopes on him for the preſervation of their conſtitution both in church and ſtate.

The ſame ceremonies was performed in all the cities and towns in England without the leaſt diſturbance any where except at Oxford, where a perſon, in the habit of a ſtudent, brought a letter to the mayor, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. The mayor communicated the letter to the vice-chancellor, and both of them tranſmitted copies of it to Mr. ſecretary Bromley, repreſentative for the univerſity of Oxford, who returned them letters of thanks. In the mean time, the vice-chancellor offered a reward of a hundred pounds for diſcovering the author.

All poſſible precautions had been taken by the lords of the regency, to guard againſt a ſurprize. They diſpatched ſuch officers of the army as they knew they could truſt to their reſpective poſts; gave orders to reinforce the garriſon at Portſmouth, and ſent veſſels out to view the harbours of France and diſcover whether any preparations were making for an invaſion of this kingdom. They choſe Mr. Joſeph Addiſon for their ſecretary, and ordered all letters and diſpatches directed to the ſecretary of ſtate to be ſent to him. This was a mortifying circumſtance to lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to ſtand at the door of the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from thoſe, whom, but a few days before, he expected to command.

Both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter on the very day the queen died, and a ſpeech was made by the chancellor in the name of the lords-juſtices, ſuitable to the occaſion of their meeting. Both houſes voted addreſſes of condolance and congratulation to the king. The commons actually made good all funds which had been granted by parliament, for the ſecurity of any money that had or ſhould be advanced for the public ſervice. Theſe addreſſes being tranſmitted to the king, his majeſty returned very affectionate anſwers.

M. d'Iberville, the French miniſter, having for ſome time behaved in a very haughty manner, was, on the queen's death, ſo apprehenſive of being inſulted by the people, that he ſent a letter to the duke of Ormond, deſiring his protection. The duke laid the letter before the lord-juſtices, who ordered a party of the trained-bands to guard his houſe. He had already aſſured the regency, "That his maſter would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with regard to the ſettlement of the crown in the houſe of Hanover." And the earl of Peterborough, who arrived in London from France on the ſeventh of Auguſt, informed the regency, that the French king had given him the ſame aſſurances. Some days after Iberville received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, approving of his conduct, and another from his maſter Lewis XIV. to the Britiſh regency, containing the ſame declaration. That monarch alſo declared, "That having been informed of ſome reports, which hinted his having deſigned to make ſome alterations in the late treaty, he thought proper to declare, as he had already done to the earl of Peterborough, that theſe reports were altogether falſe and groundleſs: that the king of Spain having ſent the cardinal del Guidice as ambaſſador to Franec, which might create ſome ſuſpicions, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, had deſired the king his grandſon, to recal him: and that the elector of


GEORGE I
Wale del.
Grignion ſculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

BRITISH 26 DE 71 MUSEUM

Brunſwick having, ſome time before the death of the queen, ſignified that whenever his acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain ſhould take place, he would cultivate an acquaintance with France, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, on his part, aſſured the lords-juſtices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two crowns."

But ſenſible how little dependence could be placed on the French king's aſſurances, they exerted all their power to put the nation in a poſture of defence, as the only way of rendering any deſigns againſt the peace of the realm abortive. While they were thus nobly employed, Mr. Murray arrived with expreſſes from Hanover, informing the regency that his majeſty had deferred his departure for ſome days, and ordered the lords-juſtices to remove lord Bolingbroke from his office of ſecretary of ſtate. This was accordingly done on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and not without particular marks of diſpleaſure; for the ſeals were not only taken from him, but the doors of his office were locked and ſealed.

The ſudden death of the queen confounded the court of France; they found it was impoſſible for them to oppoſe the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown, and therefore they acknowledged George, elector of Hanover, king of Great Britain. The pretender, who had been flattered with the hopes of aſſuming the Engliſh throne, both by the miniſters of France and England, no ſooner heard that the queen was either dead, or paſt all hopes of recovery, than he poſted immediately to Verſailles; but before he reached the palace, he was met by the marquis de Torcy, who told him, "That his moſt chriſtian majeſty was ſurprized at his being returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain in the houſe of Hanover; and therefore deſired him to quit his territories immediately." Aſtoniſhed at this unexpected reception, the pretender made a melancholy viſit to the queen-dowager of England, who reſided at Chaillot, and returned to the court of Lorrain at Luneville.

The king landed at Greenwich on the ſixteenth of September about ſix in the evening, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lord-chancellor at the head of the lords of the regency. His majeſty choſe to walk to his houſe in the park, accompanied by moſt of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through an infinite croud of perſons of all conditions. The parliament had already granted him the ſame revenue enjoyed by the late queen. And inſtead of five thouſand pounds promiſed in the late reign, one hundred thouſand were now offered to any one who ſhould take the pretender in caſe he attempted an invaſion.

The duke of Marlborough was diſtinguiſhed among the croud of courtiers; for king George was both a politician and a ſoldier; and his maxim was, "Never to abandon his friends, to do juſtice to all, and to fear nobody." The king made his public entry on the twentieth of September, with great pomp and magnificence. Above two hundred coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, all drawn by ſix horſes, preceded the king's. He was met at St. Margaret's-hill in Southwark, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, ſheriffs and officers of the city of London, in whoſe name Sir Peter King, the recorder, made a congratulatory ſpeech. The lord-mayor delivered the ſword to the king, who returned it, and he bore it in the proceſſion.

The animoſity which ſubſiſted between the two parties, was at this time higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in diſgrace during the four laſt years of the queen's reign, were filled with reſentment at the uſuage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full ſatisfaction under a reign, the commencement of which they conſidered as the end of their humiliation. The tories were apprehenſive of a fall, and this had engaged ſeveral of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly oppoſite to the meaſures for maintaining the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The king, highly eſteemed for his prudence, ſeemed capable of diſtinguiſhing the heats of faction, or at leaſt of turning them to the public good. Poſſibly he might have ſucceeded had he maintained an equal balance between the two parties, and endeavoured to unite them by a proper conduct and addreſs; but whether he thought it impoſſible to reconcile the turbulent paſſions of the two parties, or whether the prejudice he had conceived againſt the tories carried him beyond proper bounds, he gave all his confidence to their adverſaries, who were more devoted to the new government.

This tended only to widen the breach, and increaſe the number of enemies to the principles of the revolution. Not only the papiſts eſpouſed the intereſt of the abdicated family, but alſo great numbers of thoſe who profeſſed the tenets of the church of England; and it was feared they would join with the catholics, to dethrone a prince whom they conſidered as a foreigner. Neither the famous diſtinction between a king de jure and a king de facto, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience, was yet forgot; and hence ſeveral refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

The changes that enſued were a farther proof that the tories were to expect no favour from the new king. Bolingbroke had been diſmiſſed before his arrival, and lord Townſend appointed ſecretary of ſtate in his room. The command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and reſtored to the duke of Marlborough. The lord Cowper was made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-ſeal; and the earl of Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonſhire was appointed ſteward of the houſhold, in the room of earl Paulet; and Mr. James Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Mr. Bromley. The duke of Somerſet was made maſter of the horſe, the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of penſioners, and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. William Pulteney was made ſecretary at war, and Mr. Robert Walpole receiver and paymaſter-general of all the forces in Great Britain, and paymaſter to Chelſea hoſpital. This revolution extended to other public employments, and the whigs triumphed with as high a hand on this occaſion, as they had before been humbled and diſgraced. Such beginnings could not fail of inflaming the animoſity of parties, and cheriſhing the ſpirit of contention.

The great art of gaining the hearts of the people conſiſts not of obtaining the attachment of a few at the expence of others. George ſhewed more wiſdom in declaring, "that he was reſolved to maintain the churches of England and Scotland as by law eſtabliſhed; that he hoped to ſucceed without infringing that toleration granted to the proteſtant non-conformiſts, a toleration ſo advantageous to commerce and the public welfare; and that he would be particularly careful to ſecure property, that precious right of the ſubject, which eſſentially conſtitutes the happineſs of the nation."

The king was crowned at Weſtminſter on the fifteenth of October, with great magnificence. There was never ſo great an appearance of lords ſpiritual and temporal, as on this occaſion, no leſs than ſeventeen archbiſhops and biſhops, though two ſees were vacant; all the dukes in and about London, except the duke of Buckingham; ſeventy earls and viſcounts, and among them the earl of Oxford and viſcount Bolingbroke, and as many barons. The demonſtrations of joy throughout the kingdom ſeemed to be general on this happy event, ſome few places excepted, where the populace ſhewed their hatred to the proteſtant ſucceſſion by riots and outrages.

One of the principal articles of the treaty of Utrecht preſcribed to Lewis XIV. was the demolition of Dunkirk, a port which had coſt immenſe ſums, and was become an object of jealouſy and terror to the Engliſh, On executing the treaty, the canal of Mardyke was widened, and made a port almoſt equal to that of Dunkirk. Lord Stair, the Engliſh ambaſſador, complained of this in very ſtrong terms. It is ſaid the anſwer made by Lewis was, "I have always been maſter at home, ſometimes abroad; do not make me remember it." Voltaire aſſures us that this anſwer, which he thinks an improper one, did not come out of the mouth of Lewis. But whether this was really the caſe or not, his pride was certainly capable of uttering it. Times were now altered; and the Engliſh obtained ſatisfaction: the works of Mardyke were ſuſpended and afterwards demoliſhed under the regency.

The ſpirit of mutiny ſtill prevailed in the nation. The complaints of the vanquiſhed party echoed from every quarter, and in almoſt every town. The tories did not fail to call in the intereſt of the church as a ſanction to their own. "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" was the cry. The pretender, who went by the title of the chevalier de St. George, attempted to avail himſelf of this juncture, by publiſhing a manifeſto, wherein he complained that a foreign prince had been proclaimed, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable law of hereditary right; obſerving that no act of parliament could ſet aſide that law, and that his ſubjects, by violating it were no leſs injurious to themſelves than to him.

A. D. 1715. It is natural to ſuppoſe that the king would be very deſirous of having the advice of his parliament. A proclamation was accordingly publiſhed for diſſolving the old and calling a new parliament. This proclamation was filled with complaints againſt thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves diſaffected to the eſtabliſhed government. It was added, "that his majeſty hoped ſuch perſons only would be elected as were capable of putting an end to the preſent diſorders, and that particular attention would be paid to ſuch as had ſupported the proteſtant ſucceſſion when in danger." Nothing could be more clearly pointed out to the whigs, nor mark more ſtrongly on which ſide he wiſhed the votes to fall. A very ſtrong oppoſition was, however, made by the tory party; but the influence of the court, and the ſpirit of liberty among the people, produced the deſired effect: a large majority were on the ſide of the revolution. The new parliament met on the ſeventeenth of March, and the commons having elected Mr. Spencer Compton for their ſpeaker, the ſeſſion was opened on the twenty-firſt, by the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"This being the firſt opportunity, I have had of meeting my people in parliament, ſince it pleaſed God to call me to the throne of my anceſtors, I moſt gladly make uſe of it, to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs, which hath been ſhewn in defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices that have been uſed to defeat it; and I ſhall never forget the obligation I have to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

"It were to be wiſhed that the unparelleled ſucceſſes of a war, which was ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a ſuitable concluſion; but it is with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, are not yet duly executed, and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious until we have formed defenſive alliances, to guaranty the preſent treaty.

"The pretender, who ſtill reſides in Lorrain threatens to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance which he ſtill expects here, to repair his former diſappointments.

"A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

"The public debts are very great, and ſurprizingly increaſed, ever ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt care was to prevent a farther increaſe of thoſe debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for continuing ſuch an expence.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I rely upon you for ſuch ſupplies as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require for this year's ſervice, and for the ſupport of the public faith. The proper eſtimates ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them, and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

"I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport of the credit of the nation, than a ſpirit obſervance of all parliamentary engagements.

"The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, are ſo far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain and have been granted to me, will fall greatly ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. And ſince it is my happineſs, as I am confident you think it yours, to ſee a prince of Wales, who may, in due time ſucceed me on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many children, the beſt and moſt valuable pledges of our care and concern for your poſterity, this muſt occaſion an expence, to which the nation has not for many years been accuſtomed, but ſuch as ſurely no man will grudge, and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reaſon to hope from you.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the iſſue of this firſt ſeſſion. Let no unhappy diviſions of parties here at home divert you from purſuing the common intereſt of your country. Let no wicked inſinuations diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of my government. The happineſs, eaſe and proſperity of my people ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive me of that bleſſing which I moſt value, the affection of my people."

The addreſſes of both houſes were agreeable to the king's ſpeech. The concluding clauſe by which they declared "they would take ſuch meaſures as would preſerve the public credit, reſtore our trade, extinguiſh the very hopes of the pretender, and recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts; the loſs of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general," gave occaſion to a very warm debate. The tories alledged "that it was injurous to the late queen's memory, and claſhed with that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, which recommended to both houſes, the avoiding the unhappy diviſions of parties, and that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons without hearing them." Lord Bolingbroke in particular, was very warm on this ſubject, and moved that part of the clauſe might be omitted. But it was carried againſt him, and the addreſs was preſented in its original.

But though lord Bolingbroke ſpoke with great boldneſs in parliament, and appeared every where in public with great boldneſs, yet he did not think proper to ſubmit his conduct to a fair trial. He departed privately from London, and diſguiſed as a ſervant to la Vigne; he paſſed over to the continent, and landed at Calais on the thirtieth of March.

Some of the members had the boldneſs to propoſe an examination of the royal proclamation. Sir William Windham declared it was indefenſible, unprecedented, and of dangerous conſequence to the conſtitution of parliament. The houſe was immediately in a flame, and the cry, "To the tower! to the tower!" reſounded from every corner. He was ordered to withdraw, and one hundred and twenty members accompanied him. The reſt agreed that he ſhould be reprimanded by the ſpeaker, which was done accordingly.

The whigs now determined to enquire into the late negotiations, and a ſecret committee was appointed for that purpoſe. The famous Sir Robert Walpole was appointed chairman; who, after delivering the report, impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treaſon, as the author of a particular treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. Lord Coningſby immediately roſe, and ſaid, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand; I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk; I the judge: he the ſcholar; I the maſter. I impeach Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors. Mr. Harley, the earl of Oxford's brother, ſpoke in his defence. He alledged, "that the miniſter had done nothing but by the immediate order of the queen; that the peace of Utrecht was an advantageous peace, and, as ſuch, it had been approved by two parliaments."

On the twenty-firſt of June, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The duke was defended by ſeveral members. Sir Joſeph Jekyll in particular ſaid, "That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a courſe of many years, exerted thoſe great accompliſhments for the good and honour of his country: that as the ſtatute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treaſon againſt him was founded, had been mitigated by ſubſequent acts, the houſe ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act againſt the duke, but only to impeach him of high crimes and miſdemeanors. This occaſioned a long and warm debate; but the queſtion being put, it was carried for his impeachment. The duke perceiving he was already pre-judged by his enemies, who were determined to carry on the impeachment with the whole force of their party, conſulted his own ſafety, by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom.

The articles being agreed to by the commons, lord Coningſby, attended by moſt of the members who had voted for the impeachment, went up to the lords, and, at the bar of the houſe, impeached Robert earl of Oxford of high-treaſon; demanding, at the ſame time, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody. The earl, after proteſting his innocence, and obſerving, that, if miniſters of ſtate, who only executed the orders of their ſovereign, were reſponſible for their conduct, every member of that houſe might one day be expoſed to the ſame misfortunes. He added, "My lords, I am about to take my leave of your lordſhips and this honourable houſe, perhaps for ever. I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my dear royal miſtreſs. When I conſider that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done."

He was ſuffered to return to his own houſe, in cuſtody of the black rod, in conſequence of his being ill of the gravel. The next day he was brought to the bar of the houſe, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer. But he was ordered immediately to the Tower, notwithſtanding his bad ſtate of health. The populace followed him in crowds, inveighing againſt his perſecutors.

Theſe rigorous proceedings increaſed the popular ferments. London and Weſtminſter had a little before been filled with tumults. The populace, on the king's birth-day, burnt William in effigy, and inſulted the courtiers. The jacobites were in motion in every part of the kingdom; and his majeſty informed the parliament, that the nation was threatened with an invaſion. The habeas corpus act was immediately ſuſpended, and orders were iſſued to arreſt all ſuſpected perſons. A reward of one hundred thouſand pounds was offered to any perſon who ſhould take the pretender, dead or alive. Troops were raiſed, a fleet was equipped, and every neceſſary preparation made for rendering the attempt abortive. The alarm was not without foundation. The tories had held a correſpondence abroad, and the pretender relied on the promiſes of Lewis XIV. but that prince dying on the firſt of September, the face of affairs in that kingdom was totally changed. The regency devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor inclination to ſacrifice the treaſures of the ſtate he governed to ſupport the intereſt of a wretched exile, who had very ſmall hopes of obtaining the crown he claimed as his birth-right.

The jacobites had, however, proceeded too far, to think of retreating; and the earl of Mar erected the pretender's ſtandard on Brae-Mar on the twenty-fifth of September. He afterwards cauſed him to be proclaimed at Caſtletown, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and ſeveral other places. Several ſuſpected perſons were ſeized, and committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh. Two veſſels found means to elude the vigilance of the Engliſh fleet, and landed ſeveral officers, together with a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, in Scotland. This was, however, the only aſſiſtance the pretender received from France. The regent found it his intereſt to cultivate a friendſhip with the Engliſh miniſtry. The rebels now publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they gave their reaſons for taking up arms; enumerated the grievances of the nation, and promiſed to redreſs them.

About the ſame time, a conſpiracy was formed at Edinburgh for ſurpriſing the caſtle, on the eighth of September, between eleven and twelve at night; but the deſign was rendered abortive by the care and vigilance of Sir Adam Cockburn.

The duke of Argyle being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, ſet out, on the ninth of September, for that kingdom; and about the ſame time the earl of Sutherland offered his ſervice to go and raiſe the highland clans in the moſt northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted, and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to carry him thither. Several other Scottiſh peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquiſſes of Anandale and Tweedale, the earls of Selkirk and Loudon, Roſs, Haddington, Forfar, &c. readily embraced this opportunity of ſhewing their loyalty to their king, and zeal for their country.

About this time a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered and rendered abortive in England. On the ſecond of September, lieutenant-colonel Paul, who had a company in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, was ſecured, and the next day ſent priſoner to the Gatehouſe. He was charged with enliſting men for the pretender's ſervice, and other treaſonable practices. The titular duke of Powis, a Roman catholic, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon; and the lords Landſdown and Duplin were alſo taken into cuſtody, and a warrant iſſued for apprehending the earl of Jerſey. At the ſame time, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, "that he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majeſty, having juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that Sir William Windham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, ſen. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Foſter, jun. Mr. John Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, were engaged in a deſign to ſupport the intended invaſion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them, and deſired the conſent of the houſe, to his cauſing them to be committed and detained, if he ſhould judge it neceſſary." This was unanimouſly agreed to and an addreſs preſented to his majeſty for that purpoſe.

The conſent of the houſe being thus obtained, warrants were immediately iſſued for apprehending the ſix members, two of whom, Hervey and Anſtis, happened to be then in town, were immediately ſecured. Mr. Hervey, ſome few days after, ſtabbed himſelf with a knife, in two or three places of his breaſt; but the wounds did not prove mortal. Mr. Foſter bid defiance to juſtice, and with the aſſiſtance of two Romiſh lords, raiſed a rebellion in Northumberland. Sir John Packington was brought up to town from Worceſterſhire, and after being examined before the council, was honourably diſcharged. Mr. Kynaſton made his eſcape, and colonel Huſke, a captain in the foot guards was ſent down with a meſſenger to apprehend Sir William Windham, in Somerſetſhire. On their arrival, which was about five in the morning, they deſired to ſee Sir William immediately; but the porter told them he was in bed and could not yet be ſpoke with. The colonel told him he came expreſs, and that the perſon with him had a packet of letters of ſuch conſequence, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to inform his maſter of their arrival immediately. This alarmed the porter, and Sir William immediately leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his priſoner, the meſſenger at the ſame time ſhewing him the badge of his office. Sir William ſaid he readily ſubmitted; but deſired no noiſe might be made to frighten his lady, who was then with child. They now entered a chamber, where the colonel, ſeeing Sir William's coat and waiſtcoat lie, told him he had orders to ſeize all his papers, and that he muſt take leave to ſearch his pockest, where he found a bundle of papers, which he ſecured. Sir William would have diverted him by offering him the keys of his eſcrutores in order to ſearch for more; but the colonel had now ſecured thoſe of the moſt importance. Sir William deſired the colonel would ſtay till ſeven o'clock, when he would order his carriage to be ready; adding, he would only retire and put on his clothes, and take leave of his lady. This was granted; but the colonel ſoon found he had been too complaiſant; Sir William inſtead of returning made his eſcape. On the colonel's return a proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a thouſand pounds reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend Sir William.

Sir William found it would be in vain to ſecret himſelf, and therefore repaired to London, and ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Hertford, captain of one of the troops of life-guards. After a ſtrict examination before the council, he was committed to the Tower; notwithſtanding the duke of Somerſet offered to bail him. This refuſal ſo irritated the duke, that he immediately reſigned all his places.

On the twenty-firſt of September, the king came to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I am perſuaded you are all by this time very deſirous of ſome receſs, and that it cannot be deferred longer without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

“ But before I can part with you, I muſt return you my moſt ſincere thanks, for your having finiſhed, with ſo much wiſdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you gentlemen of the houſe of commons, for the proviſion you have made, as well for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other neceſſary occaſions of the public; eſpecially for your having done it by means ſo little burthenſome to my people; which I aſſure you recommends the ſupplies to me, above any other circumſtance whatever.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The open and declared rebellion, which is now actually begun in Scotland, muſt convince all, who do not wiſh to ſee us given up into the hands of a popiſh pretender, of the dangers to which we have been and are ſtill expoſed.

“ I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earlieſt notice of the deſigns of our enemies; and I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal and diſpatch with which you empowered me, at a time when the nation was in ſo naked and defenceleſs a condition, to make ſuch preparations as I ſhall think neceſſary for our ſecurity. You ſhall have no reaſon to repent of the truſt and confidence you repoſe in me, which I ſhall never uſe to any other end, than for the protection and welfare of my people.

“ It was ſcarce to be imagined, that any of my proteſtant ſubjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent conſtitution, and have heard of the great dangers from which they were wonderfully delivered by the happy revolution, ſhould by any arts or management, be drawn into meaſures, that muſt at once deſtroy their religion and liberties, and ſubject them to popery and arbitrary power. But ſuch has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made inſtrumental to the pretender's deſigns, who had never dared to think of invading us, or raiſing a rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the ſucceſs his emiſſaries and adherents had actually had in ſtirring up riots and tumults, and by the farther hopes they entertain of raiſing inſurrections in many parts of my kingdoms.

“ The endeavouring to perſuade my people that the church of England is in danger under my government, has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traiterous deſign. This inſinuation, after the ſolemn aſſurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the church of England, is both unjuſt and ungrateful. Nor can I believe ſo groundleſs and malicious a calumny can make any impreſſion on the minds of my faithful ſubjects, or that they can be ſo far miſled, as to think the church of England is to be ſecured by ſetting a popiſh pretender on the throne.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The proofs this parliament has given of their unſhaken duty and affection to me, and of their love and zeal for the intereſt of their country, will recommend you to the good opinion and eſteem of all, who have their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid a laſting obligation upon me; and I queſtion not, but by your farther aſſiſtance in the ſeveral counties to which you are going, with the bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo frequently interpoſed in favour of this nation, I ſhall be able to diſappoint and defeat the deſign of our enemies.

“ Our meeting again to do buſineſs, early in the next winter, will be uſeful on many accounts, particularly that the ſitting of parliaments may be again brought into that ſeaſon of the year which is moſt convenient; and that as little delay may be given as poſſible to your judicial proceedings; and I ſhall at preſent give ſuch orders to my lord chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any ſudden occaſion.”

The deſigned inſurrection in the weſtern counties was ſo well concerted, and the conſpirators ſo powerful and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly aſſerted, that the affair of Scotland was only a diverſion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would ſoon be made in the weſt. The government, however, having received information of the ſecret proceedings of the malecontents, took ſuch meaſures as rendered all their deſigns abortive. Their firſt attempt was intended to be againſt Briſtol, which they propoſed to make a place of arms. This was prevented by the earl of Berkley, lord-lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, who repaired thither immediately and took the neceſſary precautions for ſecuring that important place. Several perſons were apprehended, and among the reſt Mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores for the uſe of the conſpirators. Beſides part of Lumley's regiment of horſe, and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pocock, who were already in Briſtol, colonel

Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched thither about the beginning of October. At the ſame time lord Windſor's regiment of horſe, and Rich's dragoons, under the command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which was both the rendezvous and one of the arſenals of the conſpirators. Upon a ſtrict ſearch the king's officers diſcovered and ſeized eleven cheſts of fire-arms, a hogſhead filled with baſket-hilted ſwords, and another of cartouches, three pieces of cannon and one mortar, which had been buried under ground. About two hundred horſes were ſeized, and eight of the principal leaders.

The diſaffected in the north of England were more ſucceſsful than their brethren in the weſt. Meaſures had been concerted at London by the pretender's friends, ſome time before the inſurrection broke out in Northumberland. The inſurgents received great aſſiſtance from captain John Shaftoe, a half-pay officer, and captain John Hunter, in North Tyne, who had a commiſſion from queen Anne to raiſe an independent company. Beſides theſe was captain Robert Talbot, an Iriſh papiſt, who had been in the French ſervice. He carried an account of the reſolutions formed in London, and by his advice every neceſſary precaution, was taken for preventing any part of their ſcheme from tranſpiring.

The firſt appearance of their riſing in arms was about the latter end of September, when the earl of Derwentwater was informed, that a warrant was iſſued by the ſecretary of ſtate for apprhending him, and that the meſſengers were already in the neighbourhood of Durham. This ſufficiently alarmed the whole party, and a meeting of all the chiefs was held, where it was reſolved to throw off the maſques, and openly declare their intentions. The pretender was accordingly proclaimed in ſeveral towns with the uſual formalities. They did not doubt of being received very willingly into Newcaſtle; but on approaching the town, they were ſurprized to find the gates ſhut againſt them. They marched immediately to Hexham, where they ſeized all the arms and horſes they could meet with and proclaimed the pretender. Here they received advice, that the lord Kenmure, the earls of Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, who had taken up arms in the weſt of Scotland, had entered England to join them and advanced as far as Rothbury. They accordingly left Hexham on the nineteenth of October, and after a long march, joined the Scots that night. They all marched the next day to Woller, where they received advice that the highlanders, who had croſſed the Forth under Mackintoſh were marching to join them, upon which they continued their route to Kelſo in Scotland.

The rebellion being thus kindled both in England and Scotland, it was thought proper to demand from the States-general, the ſix thouſand men ſtipulated by treaty. The demand was immediately complied with, and the neceſſary preparations were made for their embarkation. But as it would be ſome time before the Dutch could land in England, Pitt's regiment of horſe, and three regiments of foot, had been ſent for from Ireland, and landed at Cheſter, the beginning of October. Aſſociations were alſo entered into throughout the kingdom for the defence of his majeſty's perſon and gavernment; and the lords-lieutenants of the counties were impowered to form into troops or companies ſuch as ſhould be willing to aſſociate, and to grant them commiſſions in the king's name.

On the twenty-fifth of October, lieutenant general Carpenter, who was ordered to advance againſt the rebels, left Newcaſtle and marched at the head of one regiment of foot and three of dragoons, towards Kelſo, where the rebels ſtill continued. A council of war was immediately called in their camp, and it was reſolved to march directly to Jedburgh. They did not long continue in that place; but by marches and countermarches gave general Carpenter the ſlip, and paſſed into England, reaching Lancaſter on the ſeventeenth of November. On their approach colonel Chartres, who commanded a few troops in that place, propoſed to blow up a fine bridge over which they were to paſs, in order to obſtruct their entry; but the inhabitants oppoſed this propoſition. The colonel therefore thought it adviſeable to leave the town, after having ordered ſome barrels of powder to be thrown into a well in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The inſurgents having entered Lancaſter performed the uſual ceremony of proclaiming the pretender, and levying the public revenues. Though the town could eaſily have been made tenable againſt a much greater number of forces than the government could at that time ſend againſt them, and though they expected ſuccours from different quarters, yet they continued no longer in Lancaſter than the ninth, when they left the place, carrying with them ſix pieces of cannon which they found in the town. They directed their march to Preſton, where the horſe arrived the ſame night, but the foot halted about mid-way. They entered the town without oppoſition; Stanhope's regiment of horſe, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on their approach. Here they were joined by a conſiderable number of gentlemen and their followers, moſt of them Roman catholics. This greatly diſguſted the Scotch party, who flattered themſelves with being joined by the tories.

General Carpenter, being informed that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaſter, reſolved to purſue them with the dragoons only; perſuaded he ſhould be joined by the king's troops in the weſt. He was not miſtaken, and his troops being joined by a conſiderable body under general Willes, they marched to Ribble bridge, fully reſolved to attack the inſurgents in Preſton. The very morning of their arrival general Forſter gave orders for the rebel army to march, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the king's troops were ſo near. He had depended for intelligence from the gentlemen of Lancaſter, who had promiſed that no party of the king's troops ſhould advance within forty miles of Preſton without his knowledge. He was accordingly ſurprized when he received advice that general Willes was within ſight of the town. He advanced, however, at the head of a party of horſe to view the poſture of the royal forces; and perceiving they were in full march towards him, he returned immediately to the town to give them a warm reception.

The rebels were not in the leaſt diſcouraged; but chearfully made the neceſſary preparations for their defence. They barricadoed the avenues and poſted detachments in the ſtreets, bye-lanes and ſuch houſes as were moſt proper for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were poſted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithſdale, and Kenmure. General Forſter formed four grand barriers; the firſt a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſupported by the gentlemen volunteers in the church-yard. The ſecond was ſituated at the head of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Charles Murray. The third was near a windmill, and commanded by the laird of Mackintoſh. And the fourth in the ſtreet leading to Liverpool; commanded by major Millar and Mr. Douglas. They threw up ſeveral intrenchments in an inſtant, and did every thing in their power to make a ſtout reſiſtance; but were guilty of one capital error, which ſufficiently diſcovered their ignorance or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the firſt intelligenee of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherſon, at the head of an hundred men to take poſſeſſion of Ribble bridge, which was the only paſs by which the royaliſts could march to Preſton; the river being fordable only in two places, one below, and the other above the bridge, both which could have eaſily been rendered impaſſable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a ſtout reſiſtance from the king's forces. But Mr. Forſter, inſtead of taking advantage of this paſs, which he might eaſily have done to the deſtruction of the royal forces, ordered his detachment to return to the town, and by that means gave general Willes a free paſſage.

The general expected to have met with great oppoſition in forcing the paſs, and made all the neceſſary preparations for that purpoſe; but was greatly ſurprized to find it abandoned. He even ſuſpected there was ſome ambuſcade laid for him, and therefore reſolved to proceed with great caution. After viewing the hedges and laid the way open for the cavalry to enter, he perceived not the leaſt appearance of an enemy. He therefore concluded they had abandoned the town, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to Scotland; but in this he was alſo miſtaken; for on his advancing near the town, he perceived them in a proper poſture to give him a warm reception, though in a place where he could attack them with more eaſe than at Ribble-bridge. He immediately prepared for an attack, and diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner, as he might beſt annoy them in the town, and prevent their eſcape.

After viewing the diſpoſition of the inſurgents, and finding all the avenues leading to the town ſtrongly barricadoed with two pieces of cannon planted on each, he reſolved to make two attacks at the ſame time. Accordingly a captain and fifty dragoons were drawn out of each of the five regiments, and ordered to attack the avenue leading to Wigan. Another large detachment were ordered to attack the avenue leading to Lancaſter.

The firſt attack was upon that barricade below the church, where old brigadier Mackintoſh commanded. He received the king's troops very gallantly, and with a terrible fire both from the barricade and the tops of the houſes, obliged them to retire to the end of the town. At the ſame time lord Forreſter, who commanded the other detachment, entered the avenue of Wigan, and took poſſeſſion of two large houſes within fifty yards of the barricade, where he poſted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from theſe houſes, which overlooked the whole town, he greatly annoyed the enemy; and from thoſe houſes they received the greater part of the damage they ſuſtained during the action. Theſe houſes had been poſſeſſed by the highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintoſh; but they were called off to ſupport the barricade. This gave the king's troops an opportunity of ſeizing them, and perhaps ſaved the remains of that detachment, which ſuffered very greatly in this bold attack.

The other barricades were attacked with great reſolution, but without ſucceſs; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the extremities of the town, and remain ſatisfied till the next day, night now hindering their farther approaches. Hitherto the rebels appeared to have acted with courage and intrepidity, and to have the advantage ſince they had repulſed the enemy in every attack, with very little loſs to themſelves, and conſiderable ſlaughter on the ſide of the royaliſts. But they did not long continue in their reſolution to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; for being informed next morning that general Carpenter was arrived with a reinforcement of troops to ſurround them, their courage failed them; and from that moment they acted with great irreſolution, and deſpaired of ſucceſs.

About ten in the morning general Carpenter, accompanied by the earl of Carliſle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy, arrived at Preſton, and marched himſelf to the Mancheſter ſide. He found that the rebels had been attacked the day before without ſucceſs, and that moſt part of the king's horſe and dragoons were crouded together in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, in ſo incommodious a manner, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in front; and on viewing the ground towards the river, he ſaw that there were no troops poſted at the end of Fiſher-gate-ſtreet, to block up that part of the town, where ſeveral of the rebels were ſaid to have eſcaped the night before. This ſtreet leads to a marſh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there were two good fords, being the high road towards Liverpool; and towards the end of the ſame ſtreet, there was another barricade mounted with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter therefore ordered colonel Pitt to poſt his two ſquadrons on that marſh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered a communication to be made for the troops to aſſiſt each other, in caſe of a ſally from the rebels. Inveſted on all ſides, and ſenſible, when too late, of their condition, the inſurgents began to conſider what was to be done. The highlanders were for ſallying out upon the king's forces, and dying like men of honour, ſword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to make any ſally. The motion was not indeed communicated to the whole body; a capitulation having been propoſed by general Forſter, as it was expected good terms might be obtained from the king's officers. Colonel Oxburgh offered to go to the head quarters of the royaliſts and treat for a ſurrender. He accordingly repaired to general Willes, and offered to lay down their arms and ſubmit, on his promiſing to recommend them to his majeſty's mercy. The general told the colonel he could not treat with rebels; for as they had killed ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſame fate. The colonel replied, that he hoped as he was a man of honour and an officer, he would not put perſons to death who were willing to ſubmit. Willes anſwered, all he could do for them was, that if they laid down their arms and ſubmitted themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, he would prevent the ſoldiers from cutting them in pieces, till he had received farther orders; adding, that he would give them no more than an hour to come to a final reſolution. Oxburgh returned into the town to acquaint Mr. Forſter of the general's anſwer. The Scots were very unwilling to accept of ſuch conditions, and Willes conſented to allow them a longer time to give their anſwer. At laſt they agreed to ſurrender themſelves priſoners at diſcretion.

The ſame day the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton, the battle of Dumblain was fought, between the earl of Mar, who commanded the inſurgents, and the duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the royal army. The duke's forces, amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, were drawn up upon the heights above Dumblain, having that town at about a mile and a half on his left, and a wet boggy moraſs, called Sheriff-moor, on his right.

The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about nine thouſand men, were drawn up oppoſite the royal army. Mar, who knew his number was much greater than Argyle's, extended his lines as far as poſſible, in order to take him in flank, and in this diſpoſition advanced to the attack.

Argyle, who till now ſuppoſed that Sheriff-moor was unpaſſable, ſaw that two or three night's froſt had rendered it capable of bearing. At the ſame time he perceived the rebels coming down the moor with an intent to flank him, having their right extended a conſiderable diſtance beyond the point of his left. He found himſelf therefore obliged to alter the diſpoſition of his front, to prevent his being ſurrounded; which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not ſo eaſily done. The battle was very obſtinate and very bloody; different accounts were given of it, and both ſides claimed the victory. But from the conſequences, it appeared that it was really on the ſide of the royaliſts. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth, and abandoned the deſign he had formed of croſſing the Forth and joining his ſouthern neighbours; nor was it ever after attempted. About eight hundred of the rebels were ſlain on the field of battle, and eighty-two taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

The loſs of this battle, and the caſtle of Inverneſs, which was taken from them ſoon after, greatly intimidated the rebels. The earl of Seaforth, and the marquis of Huntley, left the rebels to defend their own territories; but were ſoon after obliged to make their ſubmiſſion. The marquis of Tullibardine alſo left the army; and many of the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their reſpective habitations.

On the twelfth of November general Captain Williamſon arrived at Whitehall with the news that the barrier-treaty was ſigned. And three days after general Cadogan, with the Dutch troops, arrived in England, and marched immediately to Edinburgh. General Cadogan ſet out immediately for Scotland, a reſolution having been taken to diſlodge the rebels from Perth. A conſiderable train of artillery was alſo ſhipped at the Tower and ſent to Scotland for the uſe of the army.

On the twenty-third of December the pretender landed at Peterhead in the north of Scotland, with only ſix gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. He repaired directly to Perth, where he appeared in public, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. He publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, and the ſoldiers were employed in fortifying the town; but on the approach of the Engliſh and Dutch forces under the command of general Cadogan, he abandoned Perth and retired to Dundee, and afterwards to Montroſe; where, finding the royal army were in full march after him, he embarked on the ſixteenth of January on board a ſmall veſſel which landed him and his attendants in France. The principal officers in the rebel army followed his example, and paſſed over to the continent.

Such was the iſſue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; and which, inſtead of promoting the intereſt of the Stuart family, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

A. D. 1716. On the ninth of January the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when his majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The zeal and affection to my government, and the vigilant care for the ſafety of the nation, which you have ſhewn in your reſpective counties, have not only anſwered my expectations, but give me aſſurances that you are met together, reſolved to act with a ſpirit becoming a time of common danger, and with ſuch a vigour as will end in the confuſion of all thoſe who have openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the ſhame and reproach of ſuch as, by ſecret and malicious inſinuations, have fomented, or by an avowed difference, encouraged theſe traiterous enterprizes.

"It is, I doubt not, a great ſatisfaction to you to have obſerved, that the powers you entruſted me with for the preſervation of the public ſafety, have been employed in the moſt proper and effectual manner, and made ſtrictly ſubſervient to thoſe purpoſes only for which you intended them. And you muſt have had the pleaſure to reflect with me, that as the meaſures taken for our defence have been juſt and neceſſary, ſo it has pleaſed the divine providence to bleſs them with a ſeries of ſuitable ſucceſs. And I cannot but take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the officers and ſoldiers of the army, whoſe brave and faithful diſcharge of their duty, has diſappointed our enemies, and contributed ſo much to the ſafety of the nation.

"I did hope that the detecting and preventing the deſigned inſurrections in ſome parts of the kingdom, and the defeating in others, thoſe who had taken up arms againſt me, would have put an end to this rebellion. But it is plain that our enemies, animated by ſome ſecret hopes of aſſiſtance, are ſtill endeavouring to ſupport this deſperate undertaking, and the pretender, as I have reaſon to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

"It is, however, with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that notwithſtanding theſe inteſtine commotions, Great Britain has, in ſome meaſure, recovered its influence and reputation abroad. The treaty for ſettling the barriers for the Netherlands, is now fully concluded, between the emperor and the ſtates-general under my guaranty. The king of Spain has agreed to a treaty, by which that valuable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the new impoſitions and hardſhips to which it was ſubjected by the late treaties; and will ſtand ſettled for the future on a foot more advantageous and certain than it ever did in the moſt flouriſhing time of any of my predeceſſors; and the treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the ſtates-general, is brought very near to its concluſion.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for the ſafety of the nation, to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as may enable me to reſtore and ſecure the peace of the kingdom, and I will order eſtimates of the expences to be laid before you.

"Among the many unavoidable ill conſequences of this rebellion, none affects me more ſenſibly than that extraordinary burden, which it has, and muſt create to my faithful ſubjects. To eaſe them as far as lies in my power, I take this opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the eſtates that ſhall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on this occaſion.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is a matter of the greateſt uneaſineſs to me, that the firſt year of my reign, the whole courſe of which I wiſh to have tranſmitted to poſterity, diſtinguiſhed by the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, ſhould be clouded and overcaſt with ſo unnatural a rebellion, which, however impotent and unſucceſsful, a due care may render it, in all other reſpects, does moſt ſenſibly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many of my faithful ſubjects, and by thoſe indiſpenſible returns of ſeverity, which their ſufferings, and the public ſafety, ſo juſtly call for. Under this concern my greateſt comfort is, that I cannot reproach myſelf with having given the leaſt provocation to that ſpirit of diſcontent and calumny that has been let looſe againſt me, or the leaſt pretence for kindling the flame of this rebellion.

"Let thoſe whoſe fatal counſels laid the foundation of all theſe miſchiefs, and thoſe whoſe private diſcontents and diſappointments, diſguiſed under falſe pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own deſtruction, anſwer for the miſeries in which they have involved their fellow ſubjects. I queſtion not, but that, with the continuance of God's bleſſing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and with the chearful aſſiſtance of my parliament, we ſhall in a ſhort time ſee the rebellion end, not only in reſtoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring a firm and laſting eſtabliſhment of that excellent conſtitution both in church and ſtate, which it was manifeſtly deſigned to ſubvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt, in favour of popery, will aboliſh all other diſtinctions among us, but of ſuch as are zealous aſſertors of the liberties of this country, the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the proteſtant religion, and of ſuch as are endeavouring to ſubject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a popiſh pretender."

To this ſpeech both lords and commons returned a dutiful addreſs, and the commons declared, that they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute, in the moſt rigorous manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down thoſe miſeries upon the nation. Accordingly they expelled Mr. Forſter, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Wintoun and Carnwarth, and the lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairn, of high-treaſon. They likewiſe brought in a bill of attainder againſt the earl of Mar, William Murray, ſtiled the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John lord Drummond. All theſe noblemen, the earl of Wintoun only excepted, pleaded guilty to their indictments, and Wintoun was afterwards found guilty.

Great intereſt was made to ſave the lives of theſe noblemen but without effect. Their unhappy wives begged with tears the interceſſion of parliament. The houſe of lords preſented an addreſs, praying his majeſty to reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his clemency. The king was, however, inflexible; he anſwered very coldly that he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſecurity of his ſubjects. The earl of Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill on the twenty-fourth of February. The earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were reprieved. The earl of Nithſdale was to have ſuffered with Derwentwater and Kenmure; but his mother ſaved him by a generous artifice: ſhe obtained permiſſion to take her laſt leave of him, ran to embrace him in priſon, and they inſtantly changed dreſſes. By this means he eſcaped, and ſhe continued in priſon. On being interrogated at the bar of the houſe of lords concerning the place of the earl's retreat, ſhe obſerved a profound ſilence. At laſt, in juſtice to her generous affection and virtues, ſhe was diſcharged. Wintoun alſo afterwards made his eſcape, as did Forſter and Mackintoſh out of Newgate. Twenty-two of the rebels were hanged in the country, and ſeveral at Tyburn; particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall a juſtice of peace.

This rigour excerciſed againſt the delinquents rendered the miniſtry odious to all who had any ſenſe of humanity. The court was alarmed, and it was determined to take the moſt proper meaſures for preventing the effect. The preſent parliament was at the devotion of a miniſtry; but it was greatly feared a new one might not be ſo; they might poſſibly return upon the miniſtry the rigour they had excerciſed upon the people. The act of triennial parliaments, that bulwark of the national liberty, was juſtly alarming to a miniſtry, evidently inclined to deſpotiſm. It was indeed dangerous to attack a law of this importance, but the juncture was extremely favourable. It was therefore determined to repeal this act, though juſtly conſidered as the principal defence of the people againſt the attempts of arbitrary power. A motion was accordingly made in the houſe of peers for effecting this purpoſe. It was ſaid, that too frequent elections kept up the ſpirit and activity of parties, fomented family diſcords, brought on ruinous expences, and gave occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign powers; that in the preſent ſtate of affairs it was neceſſary to remedy the evil; and that there was no better method of extinguiſhing the flames of rebellion, which were always ready to break out anew, than by bringing in a bill for extending the duration of parliaments. Theſe arguments were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral of the peers. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom;" they ſaid "required frequent parliaments. They were eſtabliſhed by the cuſtom of many ages; they were particularly intereſting to the liberty and glory of the ſubject. What confidence could foreigners repoſe in a nation that would idly ſacrifice its moſt precious rights? The expence of elections, the cabals they might occaſion would be ſo far from weakening the new and dangerous ſyſtem, that they would promote it by the intereſt individuals would have in procuring ſeats in a long parliament. The miniſtry would find ſtronger means and motives to corrupt the members. And might not the ſame parliament, that had effected its prolongation, effect alſo its perpetuity, which alone was wanting to deſtroy the privileges of the people, and the conſtitution itſelf." Theſe arguments however national, however forcible, were too weak to operate againſt the influence of the court. Diſputes and animoſities took place, but the two houſes paſſed the bill, which extended the duration of parliaments to ſeven years. Thus the king triumphed over a people, whoſe affection it was doubtleſs his intereſt to ſollicit.

The obedience of parliament, however, ſupplied, in ſome meaſure that affection; and his affairs calling him into Germany, the parliament annulled the clauſe in the act of limitation which prevented his going out of the kingdom. A period was accordingly put to the ſeſſion of parliament, and the king paſſed over to the continent on the ſeventh of July.

The king had acquired the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. of Sweden had been ſtripped by his enemies. That young hero, with all the perſonal valour, and virtues much ſuperior to thoſe of Alexander, but like him borne away with a paſſion for war, that ſin againſt humanity, having eſcaped from his captivity at Bender, breathed nothing but vengeance, and was impatient to repair his misfortunes. Incenſed againſt the king of Great-Britain, he was reſolved if poſſible to ruin him; and accordingly undertook to head an invaſion in favour of the pretender. He who had placed Staniſlaus on the throne of Poland, might hope to reſtore the Stuarts to their hereditary right in England. His ambaſſadors at London and the Hague ſecretly conſpired in this deſign. The meaſures were artfully taken; and the dangers that attended the execution ſeemed to leſſen. A multitude of the malecontents were deſirous of joining the ſtandards of ſo great a general, and the mobs in London, roſe to the higheſt pitch of outrage.

Informed of the deſign formed by the Swediſh monarch, the king ſuddenly quitted Hanover, and returned to London. He had ſtrengthed himſelf by an alliance with the ſtates-general, but this would not have been ſufficient to remove the danger had the ſecret remained impenetrable. On the king's arrival the Swediſh ambaſſador, count Gyllenbourg, was put under arreſt; and baron Gortz, the Swediſh reſident at the Hague, was alſo confined. The plan of this intended invaſion was this; a number of veſſels had been purchaſed, and were to repair under various pretences to Gottenburgh in Sweden, about the latter end of March, the ſeaſon when the eaſterly winds, which are fair for bringing ſhips from the Baltic to England, generally prevail. Eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, all picked men, together with a formidable train of artillery, a large quantity of amunition and proviſions, and arms ſufficient for twenty thouſand men, were to have been embarked on board theſe ſhips. The confederates were ſo ſure of being joined by the diſcontented party in England, that the deſign had been intruſted to a very few perſons only; nor was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair; the mutual intereſt each had in the ſucceſs was thought more binding than the moſt ſolemn engagements.

In the mean time the arreſting the Swediſh ambaſſador, and ſeizing his papers by which the whole plot was diſcovered, alarmed the other foreign miniſters reſiding at the court of London. They complained to the miniſtry of this outrage committed againſt the law of nations. The two ſecretaries of ſtate wrote circular letters to theſe reſidents, aſſuring them that in a few days they ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons for this extraordinary proceeding. All, except the marquis de Monteleone ambaſſador from Spain, were ſatisfied with this intimation. He replied, that he was extremely ſorry no other way could be found to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, than that of arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing his papers, the ſacred repoſitories of his maſter's ſecrets; and that in whatever light thoſe two facts might ſeem to be underſtood, they very ſenſibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was far from being true: the Engliſh monarch acted conſiſtently with the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice in impriſoning his enemy. Gyllenbourg had violated the law of nations by conſpiring againſt the prince to whom he was ſent in a public character; and therefore the Engliſh had an undoubted right to diſpenſe with the obſervance of the ſame law, by arreſting his perſon.

A. D. 1717. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of February, and the ſeſſion opened with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I was in hopes that the ſucceſs which it has pleaſed God to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have ſecured to this nation, peace, plenty and tranquillity.

"My endeavours have not been wanting, during your receſs, to improve the happy proſpect which was in view, by entering into ſuch negotiations, as I judged moſt conducive to thoſe good ends: and it is with pleaſure I can acquaint you, that many defects in the treaty of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the ſecurity of theſe kingdoms, have been remedied by ſubſequent conventions, the happy conſequences of which have already very ſenſibly appeared, by the flouriſhing condition of our trade and credit.

"By the alliance lately concluded with France and the ſtates-general, we are ſoon to be eaſed of all future apprehenſions from Dunkirk and Mardyke. The pretender is actually removed beyond the Alps: His adherents are deprived of all hopes of ſupport and countenance from France; and even the aſſiſtance of that crown is ſtipulated to us in caſe of exigence.

"It ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a ſituation of affairs at home and abroad, would have recovered from their deluſion all ſuch of our ſubjects, as had unhappily been ſeduced by the craft and wickedneſs of deſperate and ill-deſigning men, and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I deſired, of following the natural bent of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this ſeſſion with an act of grace. But ſuch is the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of a faction amongſt us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and ſtir up foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their own native country: they will chuſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, and to venture even the putting this kingdom under a foreign yoke, than give over their darling deſign of impoſing a popiſh pretender.

"I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have paſſed between the Swediſh miniſters on this occaſion, which contain a certain account of the projected invaſion: And I promiſe myſelf from your experienced zeal and affection to my perſon and government, that you will come to ſuch reſolutions, as will enable me, by the bleſſing of God, to defeat all the deſigns of our enemies againſt us.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion, would have ſo far ſecured the peace and tranquillity of the nation, that I might, conſiſtently with the ſafety of my people, have made a conſiderable reduction of the forces. But the preparations that are making abroad to invade us, oblige me to aſk ſuch ſupplies, as you ſhall find abſolntely neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

"You are all ſenſible of the inſupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for from the neceſſity of the times, the preſſures of a long and expenſive war, and the languiſhing ſtate of public credit. But the ſcene being now ſo happily changed, if no new diſturbances ſhall plunge us again into ſtreights and difficulties, the general expectation ſeems to require of you, that you ſhould turn your thoughts towards ſome method of extricating yourſelves, by reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have an entire confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to aſk, but, that you would take ſuch meaſures, as will beſt ſecure your religion and liberties. While you preſerve thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings, I ſhall ſit eaſy and ſafe on my throne, having no other view but the happineſs and proſperity of my people."

The letters of the Swediſh miniſters being read in both houſes, very loyal addreſſes were voted to his majeſty. But when the ſupply came under conſideration, ſeveral members declared againſt it, inſiſting that it was contrary to the cuſtom of parliament; that new alliances ought not to be purchaſed with money. After long and violent debates the ſupply was granted, though only by a ſmall majority. And thus Great Britain found herſelf engaged in continental connections, becauſe the reigning family poſſeſſed eſtates in Germany; an inconvenience which has more than once been felt, and which always muſt be felt whilſt a ſtanding army ſhall be thought neceſſary to the prince as it is uneaſy to the people.

The carrying this vote by ſo ſmall a majority alarmed the king, and a change in the miniſtry was thought neceſſary. Accordingly Sir Robert Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pulteney, ſecretary at war; Mr. Methuen, ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Devonſhire, preſident of the council; and ſeveral others, reſigned their employments; ſo that the miniſtry underwent an almoſt total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Stanhope, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs ſecretary at war; the earl of Berkely firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the duke of Newcaſtle lord-chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, who had languiſhed about two years in the Tower, availed himſelf of this quarrel in the miniſtry, to demand his trial. The moſt violent diſputes happened between the two houſes concerning the manner of the proceſs. The lords inſiſted that the commons ſhould firſt proceed to make good the articles of high treaſon againſt the earl, before they attempted to prove thoſe relating only to high crimes and miſdemeanors. The commons refuſed to proceed only as they ſtood in the impeachment. The breach became wider between the two houſes, and the lords refuſed a conference which had been demanded by the commons. The accuſers were now ordered to appear and make good their charge againſt the earl of Oxford; they refuſed, and the noble priſoner was ſet at liberty. The lower houſe were ſo exaſperated at this proceeding, that they excepted the earl, together with Mr. Prior and ſome others, from the act of grace which the king had, at length, granted. This act did not, however, efface the impreſſions the ſeverity preceding it had occaſioned. A prudent clemency knows how to forgive with propriety, and how to induce repentance. George was accuſed of not imitating his predeceſſors in this particular.

Great preparations were made for oppoſing the deſcent meditated by the Swediſh monarch, but an unforeſeen event rendered them unneceſſary. Charles XII. who was on the point of concluding an alliance with the czar of Muſcovy, was ſlain at the ſiege of Frederickſhal in Norway; and all that he had taken remained in the hands of the poſſeſſors. George had not yet received the inveſtiture of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, for which reaſon he thought proper to ſupport the emperor Charles VI. againſt Spain. Whilſt Charles, as an ally of the Venetians, was carrying on a war againſt the Turks, a war famous for the victories of prince Eugene; Philip V. under ſome ſpecious pretence, made himſelf maſter of part of Sardinia. Cardinal Alberoni his miniſter, a man of unbounded ambition, expoſed the throne of Spain to dangers which a more prudent miniſter might have avoided. The emperor, France, England, and Holland, concluded the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, for the tranquillity of Europe. This treaty regulated the diviſion of certain demeſnes. Philip was diſſatisfied, and preparations were made for a war. The parliament fixed the number of troops to ſixteen thouſand men, and paſſed a bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion. An act ſo contrary to the genius of the Engliſh, ſufficiently diſplays what extraordinary alteration of principles had taken place; though the œconomy of military diſcipline might poſſibly be beſt conſulted by this meaſure.

A. D. 1718. The purpoſe of the quadruple alliance was to oblige the king of Spain to make peace with the emperor, to whom the duke of Savoy was to give up Sicily in exchange for Sardinia. This treaty, too advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe power it augmented in Italy, was rejected by the court of Spain; and the king of England prepared to ſupport his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng was ſent into the Mediterranean with twenty-one ſail of the line. The Spaniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail, was diſcovered on the ninth of Auguſt, in the Faro of Meſſina. On ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron they ſtood away, but ſtill in order of battle. On the eleventh ſix of the Spaniſh men of war, with all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which Sir George Byng detached captain Walton, with ſix ſhips of the line, in purſuit of them. The admiral himſelf continued to chaſe the main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards made but a poor defence, and were ſoon totally defeated, and all taken, except three ſhips of the line and three frigates, which eſcaped to Malta.

The Spaniards exclaimed againſt this conduct of the admiral, as a breach of the law of nature. Several members of both houſes of parliament, and Mr. Walpole in particular, blamed it with great aſperity. Complaint was alſo made of the injury done to commerce by this irregular and precipitate rupture; but theſe complaints had little effect. The parliament, where the intereſt of the court prevailed, approved of all that had been done, and war was declared againſt Spain.

About this time the duke of Orleans, regent of France, diſcovered a plot formed by cardinal Alberoni againſt his perſon. That intriguing and audacious miniſter propoſed nothing leſs than overturning the whole French government. This diſcovery produced a declaration of war. France, who had laviſhed her blood and her treaſures in ſupporting Philip V. now turned his enemy. So eaſily are the ties of nature broken by political motives. Alberoni, always rendered impatient by oppoſition, projected an invaſion of England in favour of the pretender. He cauſed him to paſs into Italy, and projected methods for landing him in Scotland, where he flattered himſelf the diſcontented party would join him.

A. D. 1719. The deſigns of Alberoni were not long a ſecret in England, and the moſt proper meaſures were taken to render it abortive. The king came to the houſe of peers, and informed both houſes of parliament of the deſigns of the Spaniards, and received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport. The commons deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land, in ſuch a manner as he ſhould think proper, promiſing to make good any increaſe of expence that might be incurred on that account.

In the mean time the fleet that had been for ſome time fitting out at Cadiz, conſiſting of ten men of war, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, on board of which were ſix thouſand regular troops, and arms for ten or twelve thouſand, put to ſea. The duke of Ormond, who was impatient to revenge his diſgrace, was appointed the chief conductor of this undertaking, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain: he was ordered to publiſh, in proper places, a declaration in that king's name, wherein he ſaid, that for many very good reaſons, he was reſolved to ſend part of his land and ſea forces into England and Scotland, to ſerve as auxiliaries to king James. What had confirmed him in this reſolution was the certain advices he had received, that great numbers of perſons in the two nations, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe, who were either powerful or willing to aſſiſt them: that to remove this and other difficulties that might ariſe, he declared he was determined to uſe all his power for the reſtoration of a prince, in a country belonging to him by undeniable right: that he hoped providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe; but that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not hinder any perſon from declaring readily for him, he promiſed a ſecure retreat in his dominions to all that ſhould join him, and, in caſe they were forced to leave their country, he declared that every ſea or land officer ſhould have the ſame rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the ſoldiers be received and treated as his own.

But the duke never had an opportunity of publiſhing this declaration. The ſquadron was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre, and laſted two days and two nights, whereby the fleet was entirely diſperſed, and diſabled from purſuing their voyage. The admiral's ſhip of ſixty-four guns, having loſt all her maſts, made for the coaſt of Spain; and the reſt did the ſame, and with great difficulty reached their own harbours. Two frigates, however, which ſailed from Port-Paſſage, reached Kintail in Scotland, and landed their forces, conſiſting of three hundred men, together with the earls of Seaforth and Mariſchal, and the marquis of Tullibardine. They joined the rebel army, conſiſting of about two thouſand one hundred highlanders. But they were ſoon after defeated by general Wightmen, and the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The chief of the rebels, Seaforth, Tullibardine, Mariſchal, and ſame others, eſcaped to Lewis or the Orkney iſlands.

Soon after the emperor's general, ſupported by admiral Byng, ſubdued part of Sicily. Lord Cobham, aſſiſted with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips commanded by captain Meghels, took Vigo, and Ponta Vedra, and deſtroyed the ſhips in the harbour. The king of Spain, unable to reſiſt ſo many enemies, acceded to the quadruple alliance, and diſmiſſed Alberoni, whoſe ambitious projects had involved him in this war.

But before theſe events happened, the king came, on the eighteenth of April, to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am now come to put an end to this ſeſſion, in which you have ſhewn many great and ſeaſonable proofs of your duty and affection to my perſon and government, and of your care for the ſafety and welfare of your fellow ſubjects,

"By the bleſſing of God and our own endeavours we have hitherto diſappointed the deſigns of our enemies, who flattered themſelves with ſucceſs from our unhappy diviſions.

"We perceive, by the raſh and deſperate counſels which have lately prevailed in the court of Spain, and the deſperate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man, though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours, may occaſion to them ſome expence and trouble.

"That court, being influenced by counſels odious and deſtructive to the Spaniards, who find themſelves neglected and oppreſſed, after having endeavoured to foment conſpiracies and ſeditions, both here and in France, and ſtooped to practices unuſual, accompanied by maniſeſtoes of a ſtile unheard of among great princes, at laſt proceeded to acknowledge the pretender.

"As this news has given great ſurprize to all Europe, I queſtion not but it will be received by every good Briton with indignation and contempt.

"It is our happineſs, at this juncture, to find ourſelves aſſiſted by the greateſt powers in Europe, againſt an enemy, that has no allies, but thoſe who would betray the government under which they live and are protected.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I thank you very heartily for the ſupplies you have granted me this year. The manner in which you have raiſed them, without any new burden to my people, the great addition you have made to the fund for ſinking the debts of the nation, the diſcharge of the exchequer bills, and the proviſions you have made to pay whatſoever remains juſtly due to foreign ſtates and princes, are the ſtrongeſt proofs of your wiſdom, as well as your zeal for my ſervice, and the good of your country. You may obſerve I have hitherto been very cautious of making uſe of the power you have given me to increaſe our forces by ſea and land. If your enemies ſhould oblige me to a greater expence, it ſhall be employed for your ſervice. This is what the truſt you repoſed in me requires at my hands, and what I owe to ſo dutiful and affectionate a houſe of commons.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"There being nothing more deſirable at all times than a firm union among proteſtants, I reflect with ſatisfaction on a law you have paſſed this ſeſſions, which will, I hope, prove effectual to that purpoſe. As it is a ſignal inſtance of moderation and indulgence in our eſtabliſhed church, ſo I hope it will beget ſuch a return of gratitude from all diſſenting proteſtants, and will greatly tend to our honour and ſecurity, both which I ſhall ever have near at heart.

"I have alſo looked upon the glory of a ſovereign and the liberty of a ſubject as inſeparable; and think it is the peculiar happineſs of a Britiſh king to reign over a free people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of all my ſubjects, and eſpecially of my two houſes of parliament, do juſtly claim my moſt tendern concern, if any proviſion deſigned to perpetuate theſe bleſſings to your poſterity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this ſeſſion, maturely to diſcuſs and ſettle matters of ſo great importance, I promiſe myſelf you will take the firſt opportunity to render my wiſhes for your happineſs complete and effectual, and to ſtrengthen the union which is of ſo much conſequence to the welfare of this kingdom.

"If the circumſtances of my affairs ſhall allow of my going abroad this ſummer, I ſhall take the ſame care of your intereſts as if I remained here. The many negotiations which will be on foot, to reſtore the peace of the North, in which the trade and tranquillity of this kingdom may be very much concerned, will make my preſence there of great uſe to theſe my dominions. And as, in that caſe, I deſign, by the bleſſing of God, to meet you early next winter, I will only recommend to you moſt earneſtly, that, laying aſide all animoſities, you would, in your ſeveral counties and ſtations, uſe your utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the public peace, and ſee a due execution of the laws."

A. D. 1720. We are now come to a period which will always be remarkable in Engliſh hiſtory for the deſtructive South-ſea ſcheme, when the inſatiable hand of avarice threw the whole kingdom into confuſion. At the opening the ſeſſion of parliament, his majeſty had earneſtly recommended the conſideration of proper means for reducing the national debt, which amounted to more than fourteen millions. A ſcheme was accordingly formed for reducing all the public funds into one, in order to diſcharge the whole. This plan was laid by Sir John Blount, one of the directors of the South-ſea company, a perſon poſſeſſed of all the art, plauſibility and boldneſs requiſite in ſuch an undertaking. This ſcheme he communicated to Mr. Aiſlebie, chancellor of the exchequer, and alſo to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. It was conſidered by the miniſtry; and appearing to be very advantageous to the public, it was adopted.

It now remained to carry the plan into execution; and the South-ſea company laid a propoſal before the houſe of commons, offering to give three millions five hundred thouſand pounds for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts, amounting to near eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum; and alſo the redeemable debts then at the bank and exchequer, moſtly bearing five per cent. intereſt, either by purchaſe from the proprietors, or by ſubſcriptions into their capital ſtock. This method of increaſing their capital was looked upon as a very valuable acquiſition, and excited the jealouſy of the directors of the bank of England, and accordingly the directors of that opulent body laid their propoſal before the commons. They offered to give above five millions for the ſame privilege. This rivalſhip proved the deſtruction of the whole. The South-ſea company made a ſecond propoſal: they offered no leſs than ſeven millions and a half, in caſe theſe debts ſhould be ſubſcribed, and in proportion for any part of them. They alſo propoſed to pay to the uſe of the public one year's purchaſe of all the irredeemable long annuities that ſhould be brought into their capital. The bank now made a ſecond propoſal, more advantageous, in ſeveral reſpects, to the public, than that of the South-ſea company. They obliged themſelves to give ſeventeen hundred pounds bank-ſtock for every hundred pounds irredeemable long annuities. But this offer was far from intimidating the South-ſea company. Determined, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, they offered to incorporate all the funds of the bank, Eaſt-India company and exchequer, into their own capital. It was not, indeed, thought proper to adopt this propoſal, but the very rumour of ſuch a ſcheme raiſed their ſtock to one hundred and twenty per cent. They now offered five hundred thouſand pounds more than the bank, and alſo four years and a half purchaſe upon all annuities they ſhould take into their capital; which, if all the annuities were taken in, the whole would amount to three millions, five hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred and three pounds; ſo that their whole offer was ſeven millions, five hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds. Beſides this, they not only offered to circulate one million of exchequer-bills gratis, but to pay three per cent. for that million, and one year's purchaſe of ſuch annuities as ſhould be ſubſcribed into the company's capital in fourteen months.

This propoſal was adopted, and a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of commons for that purpoſe. While the bill was under conſideration, the company's ſtock roſe to near four hundred per cent. The bill paſſed both houſes, but not without great oppoſition in the houſe of lords, and received the royal aſſent. The king paſſed over to his German dominions, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe domeſtic tranquillity. But the reſtleſs paſſion of avarice ſoon obliterated theſe pleaſing appearances, and threw the nation into the utmoſt diſtreſs.

The South-ſea company finding their ſtock began to ſink in its value, cauſed a notion to be propagated, that Gibraltar and Portmahon would be given up to the Spaniards, in exchange for a large diſtrict in Peru, where the Engliſh trade to the South-ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed with great induſtry, inſpired the people with ſuch extravagant hopes, that two millions of original ſtock were ſubſcribed in leſs than five days after the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament. The ſtock of the company roſe to above a thouſand per cent. The Miſſiſippi ſcheme in France, which had juſt turned that kingdom upſide down, was better founded. But the paſſion for riches, like other paſſions, is ſometimes too blind to be directed by experience, and too deaf to liſten to the voice of reaſon. The deſire of acquiring large fortunes drew into the ſnare a multitude of unhappy people, who became the dupes of intereſted artifice. The rage of ſtock-jobbing filled every head, and ſwallowed up every other idea. Whigs, tories, jacobites, the nobility, the clergy, phyſicians, lawyers, merchants, and the very women themſelves, were all animated with the ſame ſpirit: all converted their money into paper; all believed they ſhould grow rich by parting with their riches. But this charm was of no long duration. It was ſoon found, that the South-ſea commerce, the ruinous foundation of theſe enormous proceedings, was far from being ſufficient to anſwer the views of avarice. Stocks therefore fell prodigiouſly; and ſeveral projects, ſet on foot by the fraudulent induſtry of covetouſneſs, were totally rejected. No money appeared; payment of the dividends was ſtopped, and public credit vaniſhed. Families, without number, were reduced to beggary; and the intoxication of frivolous and ſenſeleſs hope was ſucceeded by the cries of deſpair.

Recourſe was now had to the bank for ſupporting the South-ſea company. That corporation entered into an agreement to take a quantity of the South-ſea ſtock at four hundred per cent. in payment for three millions ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, redeemable debt, which the company was to repay at Lady-day and Michaelmas of the enſuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank-contract, the very rumour of which cauſed the South-ſea ſtock to riſe prodigiouſly. But this riſe did not continue long. It ſoon appeared that this ſuppoſed contract had no real foundation, being nothing more than a temporary expedient, to quiet the clamours of the people. The directors of the bank, finding their property to be in danger of being ſwept away by that portentous tide of ruin, which bore down every thing before it, renounced their agreement; and the South-ſea company, deprived of this ſupport, ſunk under its own weight.

The king, who had been in Hanover ſince the beginning of the ſummer, haſtened to England, to remedy a diſorder that threatened the deſtruction of the whole nation. In this alarming criſis, the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the eighth of December, with the following ſpeech from the throne.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ Since we laſt parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the ſouth wants only the form of a congreſs; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a concluſion. I ſhall, at a proper time, order the ſeveral treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the ſucceſs of our endeavours to eſtabliſh peace throughout Europe, and to ſecure and ſupport the proteſtant religion. At the ſame time, I can never ſufficiently expreſs my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has ſo much affected the public credit at home.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I do moſt earneſtly recommend it to you, that you conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be aſſiſted in ſo commendable and neceſſary a work, by every man that loves his country, and eſpecially by the ſeveral great ſocieties of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occaſion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper and reſolution, are neceſſary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you ſucceed, ſerve to increaſe that reputation you have ſo juſtly acquired; particularly, if you ſhall be able, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, to diſcharge a part of the national debt. I have ordered the ſeveral eſtimates to be laid before you of the expence of the enſuing year, and deſire you to diſpatch the ſupplies neceſſary for them.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I am glad to obſerve to you, that our trade appears to have been more extended this year than in the preceding. We have the moſt flouriſhing navy of any nation whatſoever to protect us; and I hope you will turn your thoughts to the beſt methods for the ſecuring and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend upon my hearty concurrence to all ſuch proviſions as ſhall appear to you neceſſary for the good of my people.”

The two houſes ſhewed the greateſt zeal to effect that neceſſary particular, the re-eſtabliſhment of the public credit. All the members of the commons, who had been concerned in theſe iniquitous proceedings, were expelled the houſe. Knight, caſhier to the South-ſea company, perceived the ſtorm, and paſſed over to the continent, to prevent its effects. All the reſt were determined to ſtand the ſhock of national reſentment, which was now raiſed to an enormous height. The commons ſeemed to have laid aſide all party diſtinctions, and to vie with each other in promoting an enquiry of ſo much importance to their country. Favour was diſregarded by all; the guilty were examined; the eſtates of the directors were confiſcated, except a bare ſubſiſtence; the creditors were indemnified as far as circumſtances would permit; and public credit, the deſtruction of which muſt have ruined the nation, was reſtored. The parliament could not poſſibly have done a greater favour to the nation. Sir Robert Walpole contributed largely, by his genius and application, to the ſucceſs of this perplexed affair. Upon this he was reſtored to favour, and made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer.

A. D. 1721. Among the many diſputes that had been agitated in the parliament, ſome eccleſiaſtical matters had a conſiderable ſhare. In 1718, a bill had paſſed for annulling the ſevere acts againſt the non-conformiſts. Dr. Hoadly, biſhop of Bangor, aſſerted, that ſuch bills were laws for perſecution; and that if bills of intolerance were admitted in eccleſiaſtical matters, all perſecutions of infidels, of heathens, and even the popiſh inquiſition, might be juſtified. In the mean time, the increaſe of impiety and licentiouſneſs awakened the zeal of thoſe who were of more rigid ſentiments. Unbounded luxury, unbridled debauchery, and an affected contempt of religion and morality, were the effects of a ſyſtem which had made gold and ſilver the objects of human worſhip. Atheiſm walked abroad, without a maſk, in open day. The Deity himſelf was deſpiſed, or not acknowledged; and no reſtraint, no principle, no rule, remained. One of the peers delivered a very pathetic ſpeech on this ſubject; in conſequence of which, a bill was brought in againſt blaſphemy and profaneneſs, in which were ſeveral clauſes not perfectly conſiſtent with the liberty of conſcience previouſly granted to the non-conformiſts. Theſe clauſes occaſioned a ſtrong oppoſition to the bill. Diſputes grew warm, and gave occaſion to ſome very ſingular propoſitions. One of the biſhops having repreſented the evil conſequences of the reigning vices, lord Onſlow anſwered with deriſion, that the prelate muſt have been himſelf a great ſinner, ſince he had loſt large ſums in the South-ſea. The duke of Wharton, famous for his licentiouſneſs, declared that he was neither a friend to blaſphemy, nor an enemy to religion; but, at the ſame time, could not approve the bill, becauſe he thought it contrary to ſcripture; and taking a bible out of his pocket, he read ſeveral paſſages, and thence concluded that the bill ought to be rejected. The opinion of the earl of Peterborough was ſtill more ſingular: he declared, that he was very willing to have a parliament king, but neither a parliament God nor a parliament religion; and that if the bill laid any reſtraint on him, on this account, he would go to Rome, and canvaſs for a cardinal's hat; for he thought it much better to treat of ſuch matters in the conclave than in the houſe of peers. The ſupporters of the bill finding an oppoſition they did not expect, moved that it ſhould be poſtponed. This was agreed to, and the whole was dropped.

It was very late before the ſupplies were granted, and even then not with the uſual chearfulneſs and alacrity. All difficulties were, however, at laſt ſurmounted, and the king obtained ſufficient ſupplies to ſatisfy his engagements with Sweden; engagements that had very little relation to the Engliſh. His majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the tenth of Auguſt; when he declared in his ſpeech, that he entertained a moſt ſincere concern for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty, relative to the South-ſea ſcheme: that he had readily given his aſſent to ſuch bills as had been preſented to him for puniſhing the authors of the late miſfortunes, and for obtaining reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe who had been injured by them in ſo notorious a manner: that they could not fail to have obſerved the diſcontents occaſioned by this unhappy event, which had been induſtriouſly fomented by wicked and ſeditious libels; but he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in their ſeveral counties, all the enemies of his government, who flattered themſelves with being able to blow up the preſent complaints into popular diſaffection, would be finally diſappointed in their deſigns and expectations.

A dreadful plague having for ſome time raged at Marſeilles, a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into England from any part of France, between the Bay of Biſcay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Lazarettos were ordered to be built, and lines to be drawn round where the contagion had penetrated. On this occaſion it was repreſented, that to ſhut up the people in hoſpitals, by order of government, and to draw lines round the places infected, were practices inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of England, incompatible with the mildneſs of a free government, and more particularly odious, as they imitated, in this reſpect, the government of France. Theſe arguments, though ſtrongly refuted, procured a repeal of the act of parliament that had given offence. The idea of conſtitutional liberty prevailed over public ſecurity.

A. D. 1722. The parliament having finiſhed all the buſineſs before them by the month of March, they were diſſolved, and another ordered to be choſen. Soon after the diſſolution of parliament, the great duke of Marlborough paid the debt of nature. His faculties had been for ſome time greatly impaired; he was no longer capable of ſhining either in the ſenate or the field. He was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance and colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

The election was ſo well managed, that moſt of the members of the former were returned for the new one, which met on the nineteenth of October, and the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I acquainted you when we parted laſt, of our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; ſince which peace is happily reſtored in the north, by the concluſion of a treaty between the czar and the king of Sweden, and by that which I have made with the Moors, a great number of my ſubjects are delivered from ſlavery; and all of them who trade to thoſe parts of the world, are, for the future, ſecured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

“ In this ſituation of affairs we ſhould be extremely wanting to ourſelves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining ſo public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities uſed in the manufacturing of them, as practical and eaſy as poſſible. By this means the balance of trade may be preſerved in our favour, our navigation increaſed, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

“ I muſt therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to conſider how far the duties upon theſe branches may be taken off and replaced, without any violence of public faith, or laying any new burden upon my people. And I promiſe myſelf, that by a due conſideration of this matter, the produce of thoſe duties, compared with the infinite advantage that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found ſo inconſiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

“ The ſupplying ourſelves with naval ſtores, upon terms the moſt eaſy and leaſt precarious, ſeems highly to deſerve the ear and attention of parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with moſt of the proper materials for this neceſſary and eſſential part of our trade and maritime ſtrength: and if, by a due encouragement, we could be furniſhed from them with thoſe naval ſtores, which we are now obliged to purchaſe and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but by employing our own colonies in this uſeful and advantageous ſervice, divert them from ſetting up and carrying on manufactures, which directly interfere with thoſe of Great Britain.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ It will be a great pleaſure to me, if, in raiſing the ſupplies of this year, it may be ſo ordered, that my people may reap ſome immediate benefit from the preſent circumſtances of affairs abroad. I have ordered the eſtimates to be prepared for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and alſo an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you. You muſt be ſenſible of the ill conſequences that ariſe from ſuch a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a very large diſcount, they do not only affect all other public credit, but greatly increaſe the charge and expence of the current ſervice. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that you could find a method of diſcharging this part of the national debt, being of all other the moſt heavy and burdenſome; and by that means have it in your power to eaſe your country of ſome part of the taxes, which, from an abſolute neceſſity, they have been obliged to pay.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The unſpeakable miſery and deſolation that has raged in ſome parts of Europe, cannot but be a ſufficient warning to us to uſe all poſſible precautions to prevent the contagion from being brought in among us; or, if thoſe kingdoms ſhould be viſited with ſuch a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with God's bleſſing, to ſtop its farther progreſs. And as all other proviſions will be altogether vain and fruitleſs, if the abominable practice of running goods be not at once totally ſuppreſſed, I moſt earneſtly recommend to you, to let no other conſideration ſtand in competition with a due care of preſerving ſo many thouſand lives.

“ The ſeveral affairs which I have mentioned to you, being of the higheſt and moſt immediate concern to the whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into a conſideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and diſpatch, that the neceſſity and importance of them require.”

Soon after the king communicated to both houſes, a newly diſcovered conſpiracy. Though there was no certain proof, the alarm ſpread with amazing rapidity, and excited, for a time, the ſame alarms as if the danger had been obvious, and on the point of being carried into execution. The habeas corpus act was ſuſpended for above a whole year; and conſequently the nation left, in ſome meaſure, at the diſcretion of the miniſtry. Some peers, and ſeveral private gentlemen were impriſoned; a manifeſto, ſaid to have been publiſhed by the pretender, inflamed the minds of the people. Some ſevere bills were paſſed againſt the catholics: and the preparations for war put the whole kingdom in agitation. To believe this conſpiracy real, there is a neceſſity for ſuppoſing that the conſpirators wanted common ſenſe, as they were accuſed of applying to the regent of France, whoſe intimate connections with the king of England were well known. The commons, however, avowed the certainty of a plot to change the government, and place a papiſt on the throne. Several perſons were accuſed; and among the reſt Chriſtopher Layer, a young counſellor of the Temple, was executed at Tyburn.

A. D. 1723. But the principal perſon that felt the hand of power on this occaſion, was the famous Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, a prelate of obſcure birth, but diſtinguiſhed merit, a friend to letters, and equally remarkable for his underſtanding and virtues. He was odious to the court, becauſe he had not followed its principles; and odious to the whigs, becauſe he had not followed their ſentiments. Being impriſoned, he denied the juriſdiction of the houſe of commons, and declared he would produce his defence before the peers. The proofs againſt him were reduced to two letters, intercepted at the poſt-office, written in a very peculiar cypher, and, to all appearance, fabricated by his enemies. The commons paſſed a bill, whereby he was to be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without the conſent of parliament; but nevertheleſs, he ſhould not forfeit his goods and chattels.

When this bill came before the lords, it met with a very ſtrong oppoſition. The duke of Wharton, earl Cowper, and the lords Bathurſt and Gower, ſpoke againſt it with great energy: they diſplayed the danger and injuſtice in departing, in ſo extraordinary a manner, from the fixed rules of evidence: that ſuch a practice muſt for ever ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the poſt-office, was a very dangerous precedent, eſpecially as, in this caſe, it was taken for granted, that thoſe clerks might carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. They deſired to know from whom theſe clerks had received authority to intercept and open letters, eſpecially thoſe of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied theſe letters had themſelves intercepted the originals? or whether they had received them from any other perſon? "If ſuch proceedings as theſe (ſaid lord Bathurſt) are encouraged, we have no other part to take, but to retire into the country, and ſeek tranquillity and ſecurity, if we may find them by our fire-ſides. The leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt letter intercepted, may render us criminal." He inſiſted on the example of cardinal Mazarine, who ſaid, "That with two lines of a man's hand-writing, added to a ſmall number of circumſtances, proved by evidence, he ſhould be maſter of his life." Then turning himſelf towards the biſhops, who ſhewed very little favour to their brother, he expreſſed his indignation againſt the inveterate hatred of ſome perſons towards the biſhop of Rocheſter; "a hatred (added he) abſolutely inconceivable, unleſs they hold the ridiculous opinion of ſome ſavages, who believe they inherit not only the ſpoils, but the talents of an illuſtrious enemy, when they have ſlain him in battle." But notwithſtanding theſe, and other powerful reaſons urged againſt the bill, it paſſed by a ſmall majority, and afterwards received the royal aſſent. Atterbury retired into France, where he met with repoſe, eſteem, and all the indulgences that poliſhed ſociety can ſhew to men of ſuperior parts.

A. D. 1724. While his majeſty continued abroad, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, paid the debt of nature. This event greatly affected the king, and he haſtened over to England, it being uncertain whether the new regent would entertain the ſame views as his predeceſſor; and on the ninth of January he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot open this ſeſſion without congratulating you upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours laſt year, for the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. The riſe of the public credit, the flouriſhing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy conſequences of your prudent reſolutions. It is to be hoped that the few examples which were made of ſome notorious offenders, will be ſufficient to deter the moſt diſaffected from engaging in the like deſperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our national forces by ſea and land, has not only ſecured the general quiet of the kingdom againſt any ſudden attempts or inſurrections, but has alſo given me ſuch weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preſervation of the peace of Europe.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I will order the proper officers to lay before you the eſtimates for the ſervice of the current year. I deſire ſuch ſupplies only as you ſhall find abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſecurity of my people; and thoſe I hope may be raiſed without laying any additional charge or burden on my ſubjects.

"I muſt, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom, as the moſt national concern you can poſſibly take into your conſideration. I am perſuaded it muſt be a very great ſatisfaction to all my faithful ſubjects, to ſee the ſinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a method of being ſo much the ſooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a Britiſh parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make ſuch a progreſs therein, as, with a ſtrict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and deſireable end.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"In the preſent happy ſituation of affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make uſe of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in conſidering of ſuch farther laws as may be wanting for the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for exciting and encouraging a ſpirit of induſtry in the nation.

"I am fully ſatisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the grandeur of the crown conſiſts in their proſperity: and I am as fully perſuaded, that all who wiſh well to their country, muſt agree with me, that it is the vaineſt of all deluſions to imagine, that the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, can ever be ſecured, but by ſupporting the preſent eſtabliſhment, and maintaining the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing that may tend to promote our mutual happineſs, and to extinguiſh the hopes of thoſe who long have been, and ſtill are reſtleſs in their endeavours to ſubject this nation to the whole train of miſeries that are inſeparable from popery and arbitrary power."

The principal, and, indeed, almoſt the only debate, during this ſeſſion of parliament, was in the houſe of lords, on the affairs of the army. During the laſt year, an addition of four thouſand men had been made to the land forces, on account of the conſpiracy; and it was now propoſed to continue the ſame number. The commons had agreed to it, and paſſed the bill; but the continuance of theſe additional troops met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords. The earl of Orrery, and the lords Trevor, North, Grey, and Bathurſt, ſpoke with great force againſt it. They were anſwered by lord Townſhend and the duke of Argyle. The latter obſerved, "That if he ſaw the nation unanimous in opinion, that our religion, laws, liberties and properties, entirely depend upon the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and on the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his majeſty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army; but he was very much afraid that ſome people ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on diſbanding the additional troops, with no other deſign than that of weakening the government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native country in new troubles. And therefore thoſe noble lords who ſpoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their ſeveral counties, to aſſure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reaſons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely ſafe under his majeſty's government." After a long debate, the motion for diſbanding the additional troops was rejected; and the bill paſſed as ſent up from the commons.

On the ſixteenth of May, the king ſent the following circular letter to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: "We being greatly deſirous to favour and encourage theſe ancient and laudable nurſeries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to anſwer the end of their inſtitution, by ſending forth conſtant ſupplies of learned and able men to ſerve the public, both in church and ſtate; and having obſerved, that no encouragement or proviſion has hitherto been made in either of the univerſities for the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, or modern languages, the knowledge of which is highly neceſſary towards gratifying the youth committed to their care, for ſeveral ſtations, both in church and ſtate, to which they may be called: and having ſeriouſly weighed the prejudice that has occurred to the univerſities from this defect, perſons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either ſent directly abroad from ſchools, or taken away from the univerſities before the courſe of their ſtudies can be there completed, and opportunities frequently loſt to the crown of employing and encouraging members of the two univerſities, by conferring on them ſuch employments, both at home and abroad, as neceſſarily require a competent ſkill in writing and ſpeaking the modern languages; in order, therefore, to remedy theſe and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two perſons of ſober converſation and prudent conduct, of the degree of maſter of arts, or batchelor of laws, or of ſome higher degree, in one of the univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our profeſſor of modern hiſtory, one for the univerſity of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools, at ſuch times as ſhall hereafter be appointed. And we have farther determined, that each of the profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of four hundred pounds per annum, and out of the ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain with ſufficient ſalaries, in the univerſity where he ſhall be eſtabliſhed, two perſons at leaſt, well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the languages, which teachers ſhall be under the direction of the profeſſors reſpectively, and ſhall be obliged to learn two at leaſt of the languages, both the profeſſors and teachers taking eſpecial care, that the times and hours for teaching and inſtructing the ſcholars be ſo ordered as not to interfere with thoſe appointed for their academical ſtudies; which profeſſors and teachers ſhall be obliged once every year to give in an atteſted account of the progreſs made by each ſcholar committed to their care, to our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of ſuch among them as ſhall have qualified themſelves for our ſervice, by giving them ſuitable employments, either at home or abroad, as occaſion ſhall offer.' "

On the twelfth of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am perſuaded you ſhare with me in the ſatisfaction I feel at the proſperous ſituation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad; and at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of the favour and protection of the divine providence: and theſe, with all their happy conſequences, will, I doubt not, by the bleſſing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

"The ſame proviſion by ſea and land, for the defence and ſafety of the nation, will continue to make us reſpected abroad, and, conſequently, ſecure at home. The ſame attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, will eſtabliſh credit upon the ſtrongeſt baſis, and raiſe ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry, as will not only enable us gradually to diſcharge the national debt, but will likewiſe greatly increaſe the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you eſtimates of the expences of the enſuing year; and as they do not exceed what has been found, by experience, to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the kingdom, I make no queſtion but I ſhall have your ready concurrence in raiſing the ſupplies in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt eaſy to my people.

"There is one thing which I muſt mention to you as deſerving your particular conſideration. It is too manifeſt, that the funds eſtabliſhed for finiſhing the works at Greenwich hoſpital, and providing for a competent number of ſeamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be ſufficient to anſwer the expences of this great and neceſſary work. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that ſome method could be found out to make a farther proviſion for a comfortable ſupport to our ſeamen, worn out in the ſervice of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"You muſt all be ſenſible how much our preſent happineſs is owing to your union and ſteady conduct. It is therefore wholly unneceſſary to recommend to you unanimity and diſpatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occaſions ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt of your country, even under the greateſt difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your intire and effectual concurrence in every thing that may tend to the ſervice of the public, and to the good of my people."

A. D. 1725. Great part of this ſeſſion was taken up with the trial of Maccleſfield, lord-chancellor. There had been, for ſome time, a murmuring againſt the inſufficiency of the maſters in chancery to anſwer the great ſums lodged in their hands by the ſuitors in that court; and it was ſuſpected that the large ſums they paid for admiſſion to their places, made it more eaſy than it ought to have been, and very much leſſened the enquiry into their qualifications. Theſe complaints were now riſen to ſuch a height, that Maccleſfield thought proper to reſign the great ſeal, hoping by that means to eſcape any enquiry into his conduct. But he was miſtaken. The king, on the ninth of February, ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, requeſting that ſome enquiry might be made into the abuſes committed by the maſters in chancery.

The rigour of the law cannot be better employed than in puniſhing thoſe who have abuſed its authority; and the commons determined that thoſe who had abuſed the power intruſted with them for the good of the public, ſhould feel the whole weight of their reſentment. They accordingly enquired into the complaints, and it was found that they owed their origin to the chancellor. He was therefore impeached for ſeizing the property of the widow and orphan; for having ſold the offices in chancery at exorbitant prices; and for having given up to his ſubalterns large ſums belonging to litigating parties, that his officers might indulge his private rapacity. The trial laſted twenty days, when he was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, and to continue in priſon till payment was made. If corruption thus infects the magiſtracy, how great muſt be its ravages among the body of the people? Exemplary puniſhments are in ſuch caſes indiſpenſible; but unfortunately the more general the vice prevails, the leſs frequently the puniſhments take.

During this ſeſſion of parliament a bill was paſſed to reverſe the attainder of lord Bolingbroke, with reſpect to his forfeitures, his majeſty having before granted him a pardon with reſpect to his life. This bill met with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons; but after a long debate it was paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

On the thirty-firſt of May the king, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, and expreſſed his gratitude to the commons for the large ſupplies they had granted, prorogued the parliament. The behaviour of the lower houſe merited theſe acknowledgements: they were now as much too prodigal as they were formerly too penurious. The nation was leſs loaded with taxes at a time when the public complained of deſpotiſm. The king, as elector of Hanover, having intereſts, foreign to thoſe of Great Britain, his policy conſiſted in ſupporting thoſe intereſts at the expence of England.

The Scots, ever ſince the union, had unwillingly paid any of the taxes laid on the united kingdom; and had behaved, on all occaſions, as if they thought themſelves injured, when they were obliged to conbute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies of the government failed not to cheriſh this diſpoſition in the people, and, under the maſk of a pretended zeal for the old conſtitution, to inſpire the populace with a hatred of that which was now eſtabliſhed. The malt-tax occaſioned the greateſt clamour; and it was foreſeen that it could not be collected without expoſing the officers of the revenue to the utmoſt danger. At Edinburgh, indeed, the exciſemen were ſuffered to take an account of the malſters ſtock in hand; but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of the exciſe at Edinburgh for protection and aſſiſtance, their lives being threatened if they dared to viſit the malt-houſes.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the commiſſioners applied to general Wade, commander of the forces in Scotland, who, on the twenty-third of June, ſent captain Buſhel, at the head of two companies of ſoldiers to Glaſgow. On entering the town they perceived a great number of people, who ſaluted them with the moſt abuſive language, and threw ſtones at them as they marched along the ſtreets, crying out, No malt-tax. The officer deſired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provoſt gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him he could not put him in poſſeſſion of the guard-room, the populace having locked the door and carried away the key. Unwilling to exaſperate the rabble by breaking open the door, the officer ordered the guard to be kept at a public houſe, which he had hired for that purpoſe. Every thing continued quiet till about eleven at night, when ſeveral thouſands of the lower claſs of people aſſembled about the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, repreſentative in parliament for Glaſgow, and threatened it with deſtruction. Captain Buſhel, deſirous of putting an end to the tumult, before the rioters had committed any diſorders, ſent a meſſage to the provoſt, informing him of the miſchief they threatened to commit, and that he was ready to give him any aſſiſtance. The provoſt anſwered, that he thought the number of his ſoldiers too ſmall to oppoſe the rabble, and therefore he thought it more prudent not to make uſe of them. Encouraged by the timidity of the magiſtrate they proceeded to carry their threats into execution; forced into the houſe, and ſtripped it of every thing that was portable. The magiſtrates took no notice of the riot; and though ſeveral of them were found next morning drunk in the houſe, not one of them was ſent to priſon. The officers of exciſe concealed themſelves from the fury of the populace, who threatened to puniſh them in the moſt dreadful manner. About four in the afternoon the cabal began to aſſemble again; and captain Buſhel, not knowing what their deſigns might be, ordered the ſoldiers to be ready at the guard-room, which the provoſt had now cauſed to be opened. The mob did not, however, long keep their ſecret, they advanced towards the guards, crying, "Drive the dogs out of town: we will cut them to pieces." The officer deſired them to deſiſt, told them they intended to do them no hurt; but if they continued to provoke the ſoldiers it would not be in his power to prevent their firing. This had no effect upon the rabble, they continued throwing large ſtones in ſuch quantities, that ſome of the locks and bayonets of the ſoldiers were broken, and ſome of them wounded. The ſoldiers were now ordered to fire over their heads to intimidate them; but this had no effect; they continued to advance, and threw ſtones in ſtill greater quantities. Exaſperated at this uſuage, the ſoldiers fired among them and killed three or four. This had the deſired effect; they were terrified and retired to ſome diſtance. The provoſt now deſired captain Buſhel to ſave himſelf and his men by retreating out of town, as the rioters were collecting all the arms they could find; and that a deſperate engagement muſt otherwiſe ſoon enſue. The captain followed his advice, and marched directly for Dumbarton; but was followed ſeveral miles by the mob, and obliged to face about and fire upon them ſeveral times in order to ſecure his retreat.

As ſoon as he reached Dumbarton he diſpatched a meſſenger to general Wade, informing him of the riot, and deſiring inſtructions how to act for the future. The general perceived the danger, and ſaw the neceſſity of enforcing the laws. He therefore ſet out from Edingburgh, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, and the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to rendezvous on a moor within two miles of Glaſgow, conſiſting of two regiments of horſe, a detachment of dragoons, and about two regiments of foot. The general now informed the magiſtrates that he was preparing to march into Glaſgow, and the next day, about two o'clock he entered the town. The troops advanced with ſilence and good order, and were diſtributed into quarters without any diſturbance. The next day the exciſemen proceeded to take an account of the malſters ſtock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The terms of the act were complied with and every thing continued in tranquillity.

The king ſet out for his German dominions on the third of June, and ſoon after engaged in new continental engagements. The emperor, who had always been diſtreſſed for want of money, determined to have recourſe to trade, and accordingly eſtabliſhed an Eaſt India company at Oſtend. This ſoon excited the jealouſy of the maritime powers, who ſeemed determined to cruſh it in its birth. The emperor, in order to ſupport this eſtabliſhment, and maintain it againſt the efforts of the Engliſh monarch, to whom he had not granted the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden, terminated his differences with Spain. The treaty was ſigned at Vienna, by the duke de Riperda, a Dutchman, who to raiſe his fortune, had abandoned both his religion and his country, and was appointed prime miniſter to Philip V. The two ſovereigns gave up all pretenſions to their reſpective properties. Philip granted to the Auſtrian traders, the privileges which the merchants of other foreign nations enjoyed; and undertook to guarantee the Oſtend-company. He alſo promiſed an annual ſubſidy of four millions of piaſters to the emperor. The czar of Muſcovy entered into this alliance, and George was alarmed for his Hanoverian dominions. He therefore concluded, at Hanover, a defenſive alliance with France and Pruſſia. Theſe negotiations being finiſhed the king ſet out for England about the middle of December.

A. D. 1726. As this treaty had very little concern with England a ſtrong oppoſition was expected, and every precaution taken to procure a majority in parliament, and to ſpread reports among the people that the emperor having concluded an alliance with Spain, was endeavouring to diſturb the tranquillity of Great Britain; and that Gibraltar and Port Mahon, would be the firſt object of their deſigns. A general cry was raiſed againſt "the machinations of ill-deſigning people, the plots of a popiſh pretender, the proteſtant intereſt, the balance of power, the liberty and ſecurity of the kingdom." Political artifices calculated entirely to facinate the nation, and induce it to ſacrifice its intereſts to the affairs of the continent. Theſe meaſures being taken, the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the twentieth of January, with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have had ſuch frequent experience of the wiſdom and zeal of this parliament on many important occaſions, that it is with pleaſure I meet you again; and I make no doubt but that your endeavours for the good and ſervice of your country, will be as ſucceſsful as they have hitherto been.

"The diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements entered into by ſome foreign powers, ſeem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten my ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loſs of time, to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe, who are endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns. For theſe ends I have entered into a defenſive alliance with the moſt chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the ſtates-general, have been invited to accede: and I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of their concurrence. This treaty ſhall, in a ſhort time, be laid before you. By theſe means, and by your ſupport and aſſiſtance, I truſt in God I ſhall be able, not only to ſecure to my own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges, long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of all my endeavours.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered the eſtimate for the ſervices of the enſuing year to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an unwillingneſs I always have to put my ſubjects to any extraordinary expence by any unneceſſary precautions, are formed on the foot of employing no greater number of forces than was thought neceſſary the laſt year, for which, if the ſupplies you give ſhall be fully and effectually raiſed, I ſhall be enabled to have a ſtrong fleet at ſea early in the ſpring. If the poſture of affairs ſhould, at any time, make it neceſſary to augment our maritime force, I confide ſo entirely in the zeal and affection of my parliament, that I aſſure myſelf you will enable me to make ſuch an addition to the number of ſeamen as ſhall be found requiſite.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is not to be doubted, but the enemies of my government will conceive hopes, that ſome favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts may offer, from the proſpect of new troubles and commotions. They are always very buſy by their inſtruments and emiſſaries in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeem moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſolliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender. But I perſuade myſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they have received, or flatter themſelves with, the proviſion you ſhall make for the ſafety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually ſecure us from any attempts from abroad, and render all ſuch projects vain and abortive.

"When the world ſhall ſee, that you will not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be menaced and inſulted, thoſe, who muſt envy the preſent happineſs and tranquillity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us ſubſervient to their ambition, will conſider their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by prudent and powerful alliances, and, though deſirous to preſerve the peace, able and ready to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of all aggreſſors. Such reſolutions and ſuch meaſures, timely taken, I am ſatisfied are the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the bleſſings of peace and proſperity."

Theſe treaties occaſioned a long and very warm debate in both houſes. It was ſaid that the offenſive treaty concluded with France and Pruſſia was contrary to the act of ſettlement, which admitted of no war in defence of the king's poſſeſſions in Germany. But the court intereſt prevailed; the treaty was approved of, extraordinary ſupplies were granted, and both houſes promiſed to ſupport his majeſty, in caſe any attack ſhould be made upon his foreign dominions.

On the twenty-fourth of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the bath, delivered the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons:

"His majeſty having nothing more at heart than an earneſt deſire to ſecure his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, as have been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it neceſſary not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert ſuch other meaſures, as may moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends: and as theſe ſervices will require ſome extraordinary expence, his majeſty hopes he ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, and to enter into, and make good ſuch engagements, as the circumſtances and exigency of affairs may require."

This meſſage occaſioned a long debate in the houſe of commons; but it was at laſt agreed to comply with, and an addreſs was voted to his majeſty, informing him that his faithful commons would ſupport him, and had agreed to the required augmentation.

By ſome miſtake this meſſage had not been communicated to the houſe of lords, though the king mentioned his hopes of being enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted. This omiſſion cauſed a very warm debate. The earl of Strafford aſſerted, "that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the ancient privileges of the houſe of peers, who are the grand ſtanding-council of the ſovereign, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to the king, the principal part of the legiſlature, and who, therefore, have a right to be conſulted in all matters of public concern." He moved, therefore, "that an addreſs be preſented to know, who adviſed his majeſty not to ſend the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peers, as was ſent to the houſe of commons." The lord Trevor, in order to prevent diſagreeable debates, moved, that the conſideration of that matter might be put off for a month; but lord Lechmere repreſented, "that the ſubject was of great importance to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the ancient conſtitution of parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom; that it ought not to be poſtponed at all much leſs for ſuch a length of time, as amounted to a laying it entirely aſide. That it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the crown, upon all occaſions, to have the advice of both houſes of parliament; and as the meſſage was only ſent to the houſe of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordſhips upon it, though it contained matters of the higheſt importance, it tended to undermine the foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom. That the rights of the people of England were in ſome meaſure invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of that houſe of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubjects. And therefore, if this debate ſhould be adjourned to ſo long a day, it might be inferred from ſuch a dilatory proceeding, that their lordſhips were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to ſupport and defend both, as any of their anceſtors and predeceſſors had formerly been. That it was the unbounded inherent, and fundamental right of the houſe of peers, to alter and amend all money bills, which came from the commons; and though, in ſome late inſtances, the commons had diſputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it. That according to ancient uſuage, all demands of ſupply ſhould come from the throne in the houſe of peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the conſtitution." He was anſwered by the lords Onſlow and Townſhend; and theſe were replied to by lord Bathurſt, who obſerved, "That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and ſeparately from the lords, was indeed new and unprecedented. That this was ſo far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money bills, yet there was a time when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the lords to deſire them to provide money for the public ſervice. That if, at this time, the lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked in this manner, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as they had formerly been. And therefore, leſt any miſtake at this time ſhould be attended with ſuch ill conſequences, as to encourage any evil miniſters hereafter, to a total neglect of the houſe of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice ſhould be taken of it immediately, inſtead of deferring the farther conſideration of it for a month." The earl of Scarborough ſaid, "He did not deny, that the peers have a right to be adviſed with in all matters of importance, and to give their conſent to money-bills. But in the caſe before them, it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to the houſe, becauſe their lordſhips had implicitly given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been ſuggeſted, that formerly the commons applied to the lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of it was, becauſe at that time, none had any money to give but the lords, moſt of the lands being then in their hands; whereas, ſince the reign of Henry the ſeventh, the caſe is very much altered; and therefore they ought not conſider how things were formerly but how they are at preſent, and act accordingly." Several other ſpeeches were made on this occaſion; but the adjournment took place, and the addreſs was afterwards rejected.

Three fleets were now fitted out, one of ſeven men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Hoſier, and deſtined for the Weſt Indies; another of twelve ſhips of the line, for the Mediterranean, under Sir John Jennings; and a third intended for the Baltic, conſiſting of twenty-one men of war, and two fire-ſhips, commanded by Sir Charles Wager and Sir George Walton.

Incenſed to the higheſt degree at theſe proceedings, Spain made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thouſand men was formed at St. Roche near Gibraltar, and all the neceſſaries for a ſiege were provided. Preparations were alſo made at ſea; four thouſand ſailors were landed; ſeveral men of war were already at Cadiz, and ſhips purchaſed wherever they were to be ſold. The pretence for theſe preparations, was to rebuild the caſtle of Old Gibraltar; but it was very viſible that a blow of much greater conſequence was intended.

A. D. 1727. In this ſituation of affairs the parliament aſſembled on the ſeventeenth of January, and the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech from the throne;

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I acquainted you laſt year, with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain. As that ſudden and unaccountable conjunction, gave, at the firſt appearance, juſt grounds of jealouſy and apprehenſion to the neighbouring powers of Europe, and the ſubſequent proceedings and tranſactions in theſe two courts, and the ſecret and offenſive alliances, concluded between them about the ſame time, have laid the foundations of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power, and are ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling intereſts and privileges of this nation, that we muſt determine either tamely to ſubmit to the peremptory and unjuſt demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently to acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped and extended exerciſe of trade and commerce, or muſt reſolve to be in a condition to do ourſelves juſtice, and to defend our undoubted rights againſt theſe reciprocal engagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all national faith and the moſt ſolemn treaties.

"I have likewiſe received information from different parts, on which I can entirely depend, that the placing the pretender on the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the ſecret engagements: and if time ſhall evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another, is made the price and reward of impoſing upon this kingdom a popiſh pretender: what an indignation muſt this raiſe in the breaſt of every Briton!

"Nor were theſe fatal combinations confined to thoſe parts of the world alone, but they extended themſelves unto Ruſſia, and had not the deſigns of that court againſt ſome of their neighbours been prevented by the ſeaſonable arrival of our fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way had been opened for invading thoſe kingdoms, and given a powerful aſſiſtance to any attempts to be made from other quarters.

"Such circumſtances would not ſuffer me and my allies, among whom there has been, and is, the moſt perfect harmony, union and concert, to be idle ſpectators and regardleſs of their own ſafety and the common cauſe of Europe, for which his moſt Chriſtian majeſty has been at a great expence this laſt year, in augmenting his forces; and the ſtates-general, ſenſible of the imminent danger, have not only acceded to the defenſive alliance, concluded at Hanover, but have come to ſtrong and ſeaſonable reſolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by ſea and land. The acceſſion of the crown of Sweden is in ſuch a forwardneſs, and the negotiations with the crown of Denmark are ſo far advanced, that we may reaſonably depend upon the ſucceſs and good effect of them.

"This ſhort view of the preſent poſture of affairs, will, I am confident not only ſecure to me the ſupport and aſſiſtance of my parliament in carrying on this great and neceſſary work, in conjunction with my allies, but juſtify the meaſures hitherto taken, and the expences already made.

"The confidence you repoſed in me laſt year, has been made uſe of for the benefit of the public; and as the chief article of exceeding, has, by my equipping and ſending to ſea three conſiderable ſquadrons, fallen upon the head of the navy, I am perſuaded that the neceſſity of the ſervices, and the ſecurity, advantage, and glory, that has accrued to this nation from theſe ſquadrons, will ſufficiently ſpeak for themſelves, as long as both friends and foes, with joy and concern, confeſs they have ſeen and felt the effects of the naval power of Great-Britain.

"It is not to be wondered at, that the princes engaged in theſe enterprizes are very much diſturbed to ſee their projects rendered abortive. The king of Spain, impatient of the diſappointment he has met with, can no longer diſguiſe that enmity to us, which, for ſome time, he has only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He has now ordered his miniſter reſiding here to depart immediately from this country, leaving a memorial that is little ſhort of a declaration of war, wherein he again demands and inſiſts upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. He does not himſelf deny the offenſive alliance, nor his engagements to ſupport the Oſtend company. He makes my recalling thoſe ſquadrons, which his conduct has put me under the neceſſity of ſending to the Weſt-Indies, and the coaſt of Spain, the condition of any farther correſpondence between the two crowns; and ſuppoſing the continuance of my fleet abroad to be actual hoſtilities, threatening to repel them with force to the utmoſt of his power.

"But not content with thoſe menaces, inſults, and infractions of treaties, his Catholic majeſty is now making preparations to attack and beſiege Gibraltar; and in order to carry on that ſervice, or to cover another deſign, has aſſembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood. But as the preſent ſtate and condition of that garriſon, with the reinforcements I have ordered thither, give me little cauſe to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for ſucceſs in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now reſolved to attempt an invaſion upon theſe kingdoms, in favour of the pretender, by an embarkation from the coaſt of Spain, gives me reaſon to believe, that though the ſiege of Gibraltar may probably be undertaken, the public avowed and immenſe preparations made for that purpoſe are chiefly calculated to amuſe the world, and to diſguiſe the intended invaſion, which I am ſurely informed has been, for ſome time, agreed to be the firſt ſtep, and beginning of the long-premeditated rupture.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"Theſe conſiderations muſt awaken in you all ſuch a ſenſe of our common and immediate danger, as will, I doubt not, inſpire you with a zeal and chearfulneſs in raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for the defence of our country, and for making good our engagements with our allies.

"I receive too much ſatisfaction from the happineſs of my people, in their full enjoyment and future proſpect of peace, eaſe and proſperity, not to be ſenſibly affected with theſe new convulſions, and the unavoidable neceſſity I am under of aſking larger ſupplies of my people, and of deſiring to be enabled to make ſuch an augmentation of my forces by ſea and land, as the preſent exigency of my affairs requires.

"I will order the proper eſtimates to be laid before you, and ſuch treaties as I have made with foreign princes for the hire of foreign troops: and as the expence I was laſt year, in a particular manner, intruſted to make, has amounted to no inconſiderable ſum, and the public utility may again require the like ſervices to be performed, I hope you will again repoſe the ſame truſt and confidence in me.

"It is with great pleaſure that I ſee the time ſo near approaching, when ſuch a conſiderable addition will be made to the ſinking fund. Let all that wiſh well to the peace and quiet of my government, have the ſatisfaction to ſee, that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no interruption in the progreſs of that deſireable work of gradually diſcharging the national debt. I hope, therefore, you will make a proviſion for the immediate application of the progreſs of the ſinking fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtands now appropriated.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have had no thoughts of making any acquiſitions to any parts of my dominions. My whole care and concern has been to preſerve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people, and therefore all my meaſures have been preventative and defenſive. But ſuch meaſures being now rendered impracticable, vigorous reſolutions, and a ſpeedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers that ſurround us. However hazardous and deſperate the enterprizes formed againſt us may appear to be, your being aſſured of their being reſolved upon, will, I am perſuaded, be ſufficient to prevail upon you to put yourſelves in a condition to reſiſt and defeat them.

"If preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſion of the crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage to our trade and commerce; if ſupporting that trade and commerce againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and, if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties and properties of a proteſtant people, are any longer objects worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, I need ſay no more to incite my loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert themſelves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

This ſpeech raiſed the zeal and indignation of the commons to ſuch a height, that, in their addreſs, words ſeemed wanting to expreſs the deep reſentment at the inſults offered the king, at the invaſion of the moſt valuable branches of trade, at the deſigns formed againſt the nation, and to applaud the wiſe meaſures taken by the king, to prevent the deſtructive deſigns formed againſt the liberties of Europe. They voted forty-ſix thouſand men, together with a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound.

But the upper houſe was leſs complaiſant. A violent debate at firſt ſeemed to promiſe a powerful oppoſition. Lord Bathurſt, after repreſenting the inconveniencies of the war, obſerved, that conſiderable ſums had been diſtributed in different places to give ſucceſs to certain meaſures, and recommended it to the lords to make a ſtrict enquiry into an object of ſuch importance. "As to myſelf, (ſaid he) I have never touched either Engliſh or Spaniſh gold; I am neither a Frenchman nor a Spaniard, but ſhall always glory in being a true Engliſhman, and in ſpeaking and acting for the good of my country, while I ſhall have the honour of being a member of this houſe." The meaſures of the king were, however, voted to be honourable, juſt, and neceſſary.

Nor was the houſe of lords the only place where the king's ſpeech was examined. The court of Vienna was highly offended, and paſſed ſevere cenſures upon it. The count de Palms, ambaſſador from the emperor, had orders to preſent and publiſh a remonſtrance, wherein the king of England was charged with giving an imperfect, mutilated, or very groundleſs account of facts. It was inſiſted, that the article reſpecting the pretender was falſe; that there was no offenſive alliance between the emperor and Spain; that the treaty of Vienna was no infringement of the lawful rights of England; and laſtly, reparation for the injury done to his imperial majeſty by theſe calumnious imputations was required.

This memorial was highly reſented by the parliament. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the affront offered to his majeſty by the memorial of the count de Palms, and at his inſolence in diſperſing the ſame throughout the kingdom; aſſuring his majeſty, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a ſeditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation.

"The endeavouring," ſaid they in their addreſs, "to inſtill into the minds of any of your faithful ſubjects the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence of your majeſt's ſacred royal word, or to make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain as preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important ſuccours (confeſſed to have been received from Great-Britain) gratitude, affection, and eſteem for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour; and juſtice to the people, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of kings is now defending, againſt the encroachments made upon them."

The ſecretary of ſtate wrote a letter to the count de Palm, ordering him to quit the kingdom immediately. The two powers attacked each other at the imperial diet, by writings replete with perſonal animoſities. Nothing leſs than a violent and obſtinate war was expected. The king entered into new negotiations with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. Support was alſo procured in Germany, but not without being attended with a vaſt expence to England.

It was now determined by the miniſtry to obtain, if poſſible, a power to diſpoſe of the ſupplies. Accordingly a motion was made in the houſe of commons, by Mr. Scroope, ſecretary to the treaſury, for empowering the king to apply ſuch monies as he might find neceſſary to defray expences, and fulfil ſuch engagements as already were, or might be contracted before the end of the year. This motion occaſioned a long and very warm debate. It was ſaid by the miniſterial party, "That his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more ſupplies this ſeſſion than what he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year. But, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a farther expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties his majeſty had thought proper to enter into, were not yet finiſhed; and therefore, that the parliament ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies: that the houſe had ſeveral times repoſed the ſame confidence in him, which he had never abuſed, eſpecially as it was now aſked only for a ſhort time." To this it was anſwered, "That the wiſdom of parliament had always taken precautions againſt the improper employment of the public money; that a power ſo unlimited, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence, could not be admitted under a free government; that it was eſſential to the welfare of the ſtate, to preſerve the forms of parliament, to grant ſupplies upon eſtimates, and to apply the monies granted to the purpoſes publicly avowed and acknowledged as neceſſary: in ſhort, that if parliament ſhould diſpenſe with eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and principles, ſuch examples would become frequent, the crown would acquire an abſolute power of levying taxes, and the conſtitution of England would ſoon be annihilated." But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the court party prevailed, and the bill paſſed both houſes by a conſiderable majority.

In the mean time, the Spaniards laid ſiege to Gibraltar with an army of twenty thouſand men, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and neceſſaries ſufficient for making a brave defence, till ſupplies could arrive from England, for which preparations had been made. But there was little to be feared from the attempts of the Spaniards; their meaſures were ill planned, and worſe executed: ſo that, after lying four months before the place, and loſing half their army by ſlaughter, ſickneſs, and deſertion, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

The hoſtile powers, notwithſtanding their reſentment, had not that paſſion for war which prolongs the miſeries of mankind. France effectually employed her mediation to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Preliminaries were ſigned, whereby it was agreed, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould be held within that period, for finally determining all differences.

During the laſt two years, the king had not viſited his German dominions. He therefore prepared for his journey to Hanover ſoon after the breaking up of the parliament. On the ſeventh of June, he landed at Vaert, in Holland, and the next day proceeded on his journey. But on the tenth, about nine in the morning, he was ſeized in his coach with a kind of apoplectic fit, and died at Oſnaburg on the eleventh, in the ſixty-eighth year of his, and the thirteenth of his reign.

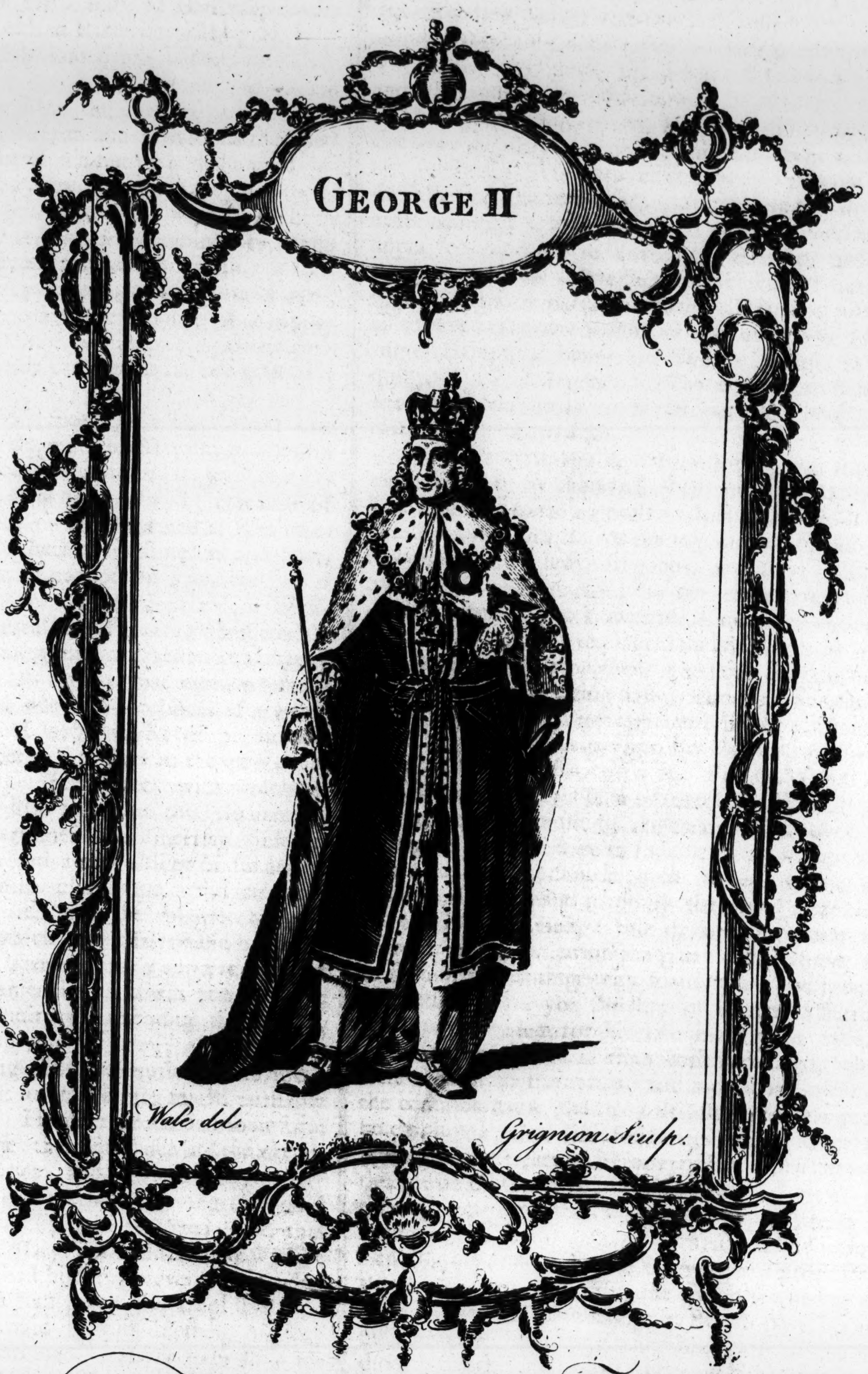
George I. was endowed with great qualities, a conſiderable capacity, diſcernment, policy, and a talent for negotiation. He was an enemy to parade, grave in his conduct, but not wholly ſuſceptible of pleaſure. That reputation for wiſdom which he enjoyed before he came to the throne, was tarniſhed by a government inconſiſtent with the principles and intereſts of the nation. Poſſibly the counſels of his miniſters carried him farther in this reſpect than he would himſelf have gone; but, indeed, the deſire of extending their authority is common and natural to princes. By making himſelf maſter of the parliament, he loſt the affections of the people, the greateſt treaſure a prince can poſſeſs. He was of a very generous diſpoſition; and the ſerenity and benignity of his diſpoſition were ſufficiently diſplayed in his countenance.

He married the princeſs Sophia-Dorothy, daughter and heireſs to the duke of Zell, by whom he had one ſon, who ſucceeded him in the throne; and a daughter, married to the late king of Pruſſia.

# GEORGE II.

**A.D. 1727.** AFFAIRS on the continent were in a critical, though not dangerous ſituation, when George II. aſcended the throne. The nation was, however, in a very flouriſhing condition. Commerce, the great idol of the Engliſh, was every day improving, and riches flowed in from every quarter. The navy was on a very reſpectable footing; near two hundred ſhips of war were either cruiſing in different parts, or ready to ſail, on the ſhorteſt warning, to protect our trade, or annoy the enemy. Several regiments of well-diſciplined troops were quartered in different parts of the three kingdoms, ſo as to over-awe the diſaffected, and ſecure the peace and tranquillity of the whole; while they ſtrengthened the hands of government, and gave the new ſovereign an aſcendency, which had been unknown to his predeceſſors on the Engliſh throne for many years.

The parliament met on the twenty-ſeventh of June, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty declared, that the happineſs and welfare of his people, their rights, privileges and poſſeſſions, ſhould be his greateſt care. It, however, appeared, that his plan of government, with regard to foreign affairs, was the ſame with that of his father; and that he was reſolved to adhere to the engagements the late king had entered into by the treaty of Hanover, which, he told his parliament, had been attended with ſuch good effects, that he hoped ſoon to reduce the expence of the public.


GEORGE II
Wale del.
Grignion Sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

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After preſenting their addreſs of condoleance and congratulation, the commons proceeded to ſettle the civil liſt; and voted, "that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced about one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds a year, above the yearly ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds enjoyed by the late king, ſhould be ſettled on his majeſty during his life." They alſo voted, "that one hundred thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on the queen during her life, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty; together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old-park."

Bills on theſe reſolutions being paſſed, the king came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he thanked the commons for the proviſions they had made for the ſupport of his family and the civil government, and for the ample proviſion they had made for the queen. Then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, he added, "It is a great happineſs to me to ſee the nation in ſo proſperous and flouriſhing a condition, at the higheſt pitch of glory and reputation, of great weight in holding the balance of Europe, defending themſelves in their juſt privileges and poſſeſſions, and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great-Britain."

At the cloſe of this ſpeech, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ninth of Auguſt; but before that time, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs iſſued for chuſing a new one. On the eleventh of October, the coronation was performed at Weſtminſter with great magnificence, and peace and tranquillity reigned in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1728. The new parliament met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-third of January, when Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; was choſen ſpeaker, with an unanimity which could only be inſpired by that opinion of his virtues and abilities, which his conduct afterwards ſo fully juſtified in a longer ſeries of public and irreprehenſible ſervices in that ſtation, than any other man ever diſcharged. The ſpeech with which his majeſty opened the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, breathed an air of frankneſs and ſincerity. He informed them, that he had a probability of ſucceſs in reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe. "I am very ſenſible," continued he, "of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which our affairs have been for ſome time, and have been extremely concerned to ſee many of the inconveniencies of a war attending us, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries ſuſtained, or gaining any of thoſe advantages in return, which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of our arms, might probably have ſecured to us." He next proceeded to inform them of the difficulties that had ariſen in the execution of the preliminaries; and, "that though there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon open, and all difficulties be removed; yet, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general war in Europe, and had given the Engliſh nation advantages which would be loſt if their military meaſures were diſcontinued." After expreſſing his readineſs to lend all the aſſiſtance in his power for reducing the national debt, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit, he recommended to their conſideration the increaſe and encouragement of our ſeamen in general, that they may be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration worthy of the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce. He alſo recommended to them the care of increaſing the fund for Greenwich hoſpital; and concluded with recommending unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch. "This," ſaid he, "will convince the world, that none of you are capable, out of any views or conſiderations whatſoever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or to give an occaſion, from the proſpect of difficulties that may ariſe, and be fomented here at home, to interrupt or diſappoint our preſent promiſing expectation."

This ſpeech produced the deſired effect: the commons voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the current year; and twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-five land forces, being about three thouſand ſix hundred leſs than the preceding year. The laſt vote was not, however, carried without a warm debate, on the general topics of ſaving to the nation; the danger of the conſtitution from a numerous ſtanding army, and the little effect which the augmentation of troops raiſed laſt year produced, or was likely to produce, in favour of Great-Britain, and which ought therefore now to be reduced.

The oppoſition were not, however, diſcouraged at the large majority that divided againſt them on the laſt queſtion. The very circumſtance, that of the duration of the miniſter's power, which, in any other country, would have irretrievably ruined their hopes, tended only to encourage them to believe, that it would at laſt effect his removal, if not his ruin. They were perſuaded that his influence, which, in matters of government, now ſeemed to be ſo deciſive, inſtead of being his ſecurity, muſt, in the end, prove his deſtruction. They were not miſtaken; but the great abilities of Sir Robert Walpole long baffled all their attempts.

The next conſiderable debate during this ſeſſion, was occaſioned by the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay. The ſum amounted to two hundred thirty thouſand, nine hundred and thirty-three pounds, for twelve thouſand men, horſe, dragoons, and foot. Theſe troops had been engaged by the earneſt requeſt of the late king, and to anſwer the ends of the treaty of Hanover. This was explained by Mr. Horatio Walpole, the miniſter's brother, who ſaid, that the tranquillity of Europe being ſtill precarious, the original reaſon which had been approved by the parliament for taking theſe troops into Britiſh pay, ſtill ſubſiſted. He was anſwered by Sir William Wyndham, who endeavoured to ſhew, "that the demand was prepoſterous, becauſe, by the treaty of Hanover, the contracting parties were to furniſh their contingencies either in troops, ſhipping, or money, within two months after demand made by the party attacked." To this it was replied, "that though the treaty did leave it in the option of the party called upon, not to furniſh his contingencies ſooner than two months after requiſition; yet, the ſtate of affairs in Europe rendered it prudent for his late majeſty to have in readineſs, at all events, the troops ſtipulated, which were cheaper to the nation, and more convenient for the common cauſe, than any Britiſh forces that could be employed: that the differences which, ſince the ſigning of the treaty of Hanover, had ariſen between the courts of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, (one of the three principal contracting parties in the treaty of Hanover) having occaſioned a material and unforeſeen diſappointment in the carrying the purpoſes of that treaty into execution, the reaſon for hiring and continuing the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay, became indiſpenſable: that experience had evinced the method to be wiſe and proper, becauſe it had preſerved the tranquillity of Germany, an object highly meriting the attention of the Britiſh nation; and that, upon the whole, not only prudence, but neceſſity, required it ſhould be continued till the event of the approaching congreſs at Cambray ſhould be known."

It was eaſily ſeen, from the very beginning of the debate, that the queſtion would be carried by the miniſtry; but the oppoſition, probably for no other reaſon than that of knowing the ſtrength of their party, called for a diviſion, when it appeared that two hundred and eighty were for the queſtion, and eighty-four againſt it.

Extraordinary ſupplies being neceſſary for the ſervice of the current year, a propoſition, in conſequence of a motion in the houſe of commons, was made by the lords of the treaſury, to the directors of the bank. This propoſal was, that the bank might advance one million, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for the purchaſe of ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum of the duty upon coals, to be converted into annuities; and that the bank be empowered to ſell or diſpoſe of thoſe annuities, at ſuch times and in ſuch proportions as they ſhould judge proper; and that the ſinking fund ſhould be applied to pay off one million at the bank.

The directors of the bank very readily agreed to the propoſal; but the city of London thought proper to preſent a petition to the houſe of commons, with regard to the coal-tax. They repreſented, that the duties already laid on coals and culm, brought into the port of London only, conſiderably affected their trade; and that the inequality of that burden was a great diſcouragement to the manufactures, as well as a great hardſhip upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London. They therefore prayed the houſe to take theſe reaſons into conſideration, and grant them ſuch relief as they ſhould think meet. This petition was ſupported by the anti-miniſterial party, but was rejected by a great majority.

The increaſe of the national expences, however, gave the oppoſition great advantages. They publiſhed a ſtate of the national debts, and attempted to prove that they were abſolutely increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, which was intended ſolely to reduce them. When the loan by the bank came to be debated, Mr. William Pultney ſpoke very warmly on that ſubject: he called the ſhifting of funds a perpetuating of taxes, and putting off the evil day; inſiſting upon it, that the ſinking fund was nothing more than a pompous project, which, ſince its eſtabliſhment, had ſwelled the national debt. Sir Nathaniel Gould, a very eminent merchant, ſaid, if he underſtood any thing, it was numbers; and he durſt pawn his reputation to prove, that the calculations made uſe of by the authors of the ſtate of the national debt were erroneous, and therefore not to be depended upon. Mr. Pultney was equally poſitive that the calculations in that book were juſt. But this being only a matter of opinion, Sir Robert Walpole attempted to juſtify what the merchant had advanced, and the diſpute was in danger of becoming perſonal, when Mr. Hungerford, a member remarkable for jocularity, interpoſed, and prevented it from having any farther conſequences.

On the twenty-ſixth of February, the whole ſupply, amounting to near four millions, was voted; and the particulars of the diſtribution of the money granted laſt year had been laid before them. But in this account two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds not being particularly ſpecified, they addreſſed his majeſty for a particular and diſtinct account of that ſum. In anſwer to this addreſs, Sir Paul Methuen, by his majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe, "That the late king, his majeſty's royal father, having, on the like occaſion, received from the laſt parliament the moſt dutiful acknowledgments of his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements as he thought would beſt conduce to the ſecurity of this kingdom and the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their future ſupport in all ſuch farther meaſures as he ſhould find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majeſty, for iſſuing and applying ſuch ſums of money as he ſhould find neceſſary, for anſwering and defraying ſuch expences and engagements as had been, or ſhould be made for theſe great and neceſſary purpoſes; ſome part of the money mentioned in this addreſs had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty; and the remaining part had been applied by his majeſty for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, for ſtrengthening his alliances, and in fulfilling engagements of the utmoſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and to the general tranquillity of Europe, and which require the greateſt ſecrecy. His majeſty therefore hopes, that this houſe will repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and be aſſured that the money has been neceſſarily expended, purſuant to the power given by act of parliament, and for the uſes and purpoſes therein directed; and that a particular account thereof cannot be given, without manifeſt prejudice to the public."

This anſwer, it muſt be acknowledged, was far from being conformable to the conſtitution of parliament, though it was not without a precedent. The oppoſition would not ſlip ſo fair an advantage; they attacked the miniſtry with all the power of reaſon and eloquence. They repreſented, that the anſwer was unparliamentary; that if ſuch were accepted, the parliament muſt give up their moſt valuable privileges, thoſe of enquiring into the diſpoſal of public money, and the conduct of corrupted and corrupting miniſters, to thoſe very miniſters who ought to be the objects of their cenſure." It was added, "That the anſwer was vague and frivolous, and might be made with equal propriety upon all occaſions of enquiry into the diſpoſal of public money." On the other hand, it was urged, "That this anſwer was conformable to an anſwer returned in the late reign, upon a ſimilar addreſs; that there was no more reaſon for diſtruſting his preſent majeſty, than there was for diſtruſting his father; and the houſe of commons was ſo well ſatiſfied on that occaſion, that inſtead of expreſſing any ſymptoms of diſſatiſfaction, they had returned the crown an addreſs of thanks for that anſwer." Sir Robert Walpole added, "That it was impoſſible the public ſervice, alluded to, conſidering the various complication of intereſts on the continent, could be carried on if every ſhilling expended for the intereſt of the common cauſe, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world." Theſe reaſons appeared ſatiſfactory; for, on the queſtion's being put, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and two againſt ſixty-ſix.

The Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt-Indies had long raiſed an univerſal clamour in the nation; and negotiations had, for ſome time, been carrying on with that court, for putting an end to theſe diſputes. After many difficulties, a treaty was concluded at Seville on the ninth of November; by the fourth article of which, the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, are to be reſtored to their former footing, and orders are to be immediately diſpatched by all parties for that purpoſe. By the fifth, his Catholic majeſty engages to make reparation for all damages that had been done by his ſubjects to the other contracting powers. By the ſixth, commiſſaries are to be nominated, with ſufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhall aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, to examine and decide what concerns the ſhips and effects taken at ſea on either ſide, to the time ſpecified in the preceding article. The ſaid commiſſaries are alſo to examine and decide the reſpective pretenſions relating to the abuſes that are ſuppoſed to have been committed in commerce, both in the Indies and Europe, and all the other pretenſions in America, founded on treaties, whether relating to the limits, or otherwiſe. And the ſaid commiſſaries, after having examined, diſcuſſed and decided, ſhall make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who promiſe, that within the ſpace of ſix months after making the ſaid report, they will cauſe to be executed, punctually and exactly, what ſhall have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſaries.

A. D. 1729. The parliament met on the thirteenth of January, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty congratulated his people on having concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby preventing the miſeries and confuſions of war. He aſſured them, "that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to make the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance more effectual; and that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction, both of the army and the fleet. He recommended to their ſerious attention the ſtate of public credit, and the hardſhips of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons were no ſooner returned to their houſe, than Sir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville; and one of his friends moved for a particular and loyal addreſs to the throne, almoſt in the very words of the ſpeech. This motion was oppoſed by the country party, who were for ſaying no more than "to aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government, and family; and that the houſe would effectually ſupport his majeſty in all meaſures neceſſary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the intereſts and welfare of his people."

In ſupport of this alteration and omiſſion, many ſevere things were ſaid of the treaty, which had been publiſhed ſome time. Sir John Hind Cotton ſaid, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty in calling the peace an abſolute one, becauſe the moſt important intereſts of Great-Britain were left to a future diſcuſſion. On the contrary, the miniſter maintained, that the peace was abſolute, and that no difference could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them by the diſſention that might happen at home. Several other ſpeeches were made on both ſides, but the motion for the omiſſion was rejected by a great majority.

The debates in the houſe of lords, when the treaty of Seville came before them, were of great importance, and carried to a conſiderable length. It was urged, that his Imperial majeſty would certainly detach himſelf from a people whoſe miniſters had concluded a treaty ſo eſſentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was replied, that there never was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion to the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; and that introducing Spaniſh, inſtead of neutral troops, into the garriſons of theſe dominions, could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had, in the ſtrongeſt manner, ſtipulated, that the troops ſhould be withdrawn as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to theſe dutchies, which was a principal object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured. It was farther urged, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion, and the quadruple alliance; yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatiſfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehenſion from a reſentment that could be founded only upon pride and ambition.

Great exceptions were alſo taken by the lords in the oppoſition at the ſixth article, whereby the merchants, and others, who had ſuffered greatly by the Spaniſh depredations, were obliged to repair to the court of Spain, in order to make proof of their loſſes. This was repreſented as not only a diſcouragement to the ſufferers, but derogatory to the honour of the nation. This was, however, conſidered as an unreaſonable objection, ſince it was neceſſary for the merchants to apply where only they could have redreſs. The commiſſaries were to meet at the court of Spain; they could not properly meet elſewhere, becauſe the validity or invalidity of the captures complained of muſt be diſcuſſed in thoſe courts where the proofs remained; and the law of nations eſtabliſhes the ſentence of the court of admiralty of that nation where the capture is made, and to be final in all caſes, and in all parts. Had the Spaniards been the complainants, the cauſes muſt have been tried in Great-Britain.

After a very tedious debate, objections being made to almoſt every article, the treaty was approved by a very conſiderable majority. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the miniſtry, in concluding it, were chiefly deſirous of preſerving the public tranquillity, by which England was every day making immenſe acquiſitions of wealth, and improvements in commerce. But this was totally deſtructive of the views of the oppoſition, who well knew that the power of the miniſtry could only be ſhaken in a time of war and commotion. On the other hand, the miniſtry treated the oppoſition they met with too ſuperciliouſly within doors, and too incautiouſly without. Secure of their own numbers in the houſe of commons, and perſuaded that the oppoſition proceeded only from views of intereſt and ambition, they did not enter into that length and ſolemnity of debate that was neceſſary either for the conviction or converſion of the few who oppoſed their meaſures from principle only. They carried their meaſures rather by dividing than debating. Many noblemen and gentlemen of independent fortunes were provoked at this method of proceeding, and reſented it by voting againſt the miniſtry. This gave the public ſuch unfavourable impreſſions of his majeſty's meaſures, that nothing either ſpoken or wrote on the ſide of the miniſtry had a fair hearing.

A moſt excellent act was paſſed this ſeſſion for the better regulation of juries. Before this time, it was a reproach to the Engliſh law, that no proviſion was made to oblige men of ſubſtance to ſerve on juries; for which reaſon it was very common for perſons of property to throw the burden from themſelves on men of indigent circumſtances; and this opened a way for corruption in the moſt capital caſes.

Another act was paſſed this ſeſſion for granting liberty to carry rice from his majeſty's province of Carolina, in America, directly to any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, in ſhips built in, and belonging to Great-Britain, and navigated according to law.

By this act, a general principle that had been eſtabliſhed by all the nations in Europe who had dominions in America, was broken through. It had hitherto been a maxim with every country, to preſerve all intercourſe with their plantations entire to their mother country; by which incredible advantages accrued to them in commerce and navigation. For this reaſon no commodities were to be exported from the Engliſh plantations, but in ſhips that firſt touched at England. But rice being a periſhable commodity, this act exempted it from the general rule; provided the ſhip that carried it belonged to Great-Britain, and was navigated by Britiſh ſailors. This act has proved very advantageous to that colony.

A great remiſſneſs of government prevailed at this time in England. Peace, both at home and abroad, continued to be the great object of the miniſter. Proſperity in commerce introduced luxury; hence neceſſities were created, and theſe drove the lower claſs of people into the moſt abandoned wickedneſs. Averſe to all penal and ſanguinary meaſures, the miniſter gave not that encouragement to the ordinary magiſtrates that could enable them to give an effectual check to vice among the multitude. This produced a very pernicious effect among the higher claſs; ſo that an almoſt univerſal degeneracy of manners prevailed. It was not ſafe to travel the roads, or walk the ſtreets; and often the civil officers themſelves dared neither to repel the violences, nor puniſh the crimes that were committed. A ſpecies of villains now ſtarted up, unknown to former times, who made it their buſineſs to write letters to men of ſubſtance, threatening to ſet fire to their houſes, in caſe they refuſed their demands; and ſometimes their threats were carried into execution.

A. D. 1730. In the midſt of theſe domeſtic diſorders, the parliament met on the twenty-firſt of January. It was generally ſuppoſed that the obſtinacy of the emperor would occaſion a war, he having given orders for a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppoſe the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons, ſtipulated by that treaty. The king hinted at this in his ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion; and almoſt the whole of his ſpeech conſiſted of earneſt exhortations to his parliament, to enable him to be ready to carry the treaty into execution by arms, if force ſhould be found neceſſary.

On the return of the commons to their houſe, a very loyal addreſs, in anſwer to the ſpeech, was moved for by Mr. Campbell; but the oppoſite party made a motion, that all the complimentary part of it ſhould be left out, and only promiſe to concur with ſuch means as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary to procure the ſatisfaction due to the allies, and provide for the intereſts of the people; and then to inſert the following words: "aſſuring ourſelves, that his majeſty will take effectual care to prevent the breaking out of war upon the Rhine, or in the Auſtrian Netherlands; the preſervation of which, in the hands they now are, is of the greateſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and the maintenance whereof has coſt the nation ſo much blood and treaſure."

The chief ſpeakers, in ſupport of this motion, were Sir William Wyndham, and Meſſrs. Daniel and William Pultney, who enjoyed the infinite advantage of having on their ſide all the popular topics, which experience has ſince evinced, in many caſes, to have been mere ſounds; and yet, at that time, were of ſuch force, that the court party durſt not diſpute them. The power of France was repreſented as threatening the liberties, both of England and of Europe. Evidence was again offered to be produced of their having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. Great complaints were made of their encroachments upon us in the Weſt-Indies; and all was aſcribed to the pernicious connections we had lately run into with them. It was farther repreſented, that, for England to join with France in any attempts againſt the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would be acting againſt the moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of the late glorious confederacy, that had humbled the power of France under the duke of Marlborough; and that it would undo the balance of power, which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and was the chief acquiſition which England or Europe had obtained by that confederacy. Some obſervations were likewiſe made on the danger and inexpediency of the houſe promiſing indiſcriminately the firſt day of the ſeſſion, to ſupport all his majeſty's meaſures and engagements, before they knew what they were; and that, in fact, ſuch an aſſurance rendered all their future deliberations, for that ſeſſion, uſeleſs and inconſiſtent.

Theſe arguments preſſed hard upon ſeveral in the houſe, particularly Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, lord Hervey, and Sir William Young. Being profeſſed whigs, they could not, with conſiſtency, deny, that it would be very dangerous for public liberty, ſhould England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, againſt the emperor; and yet nothing could be more plain, than that the amendment propoſed was impolitic in itſelf, and diſreſpectful to his majeſty. In the courſe of the debate, they publicly declared their ſentiments on this head; obſerving, "that if the amendment was agreed to, it would be attended by the worſt of conſequences, both at home and abroad, and appear as if his majeſty had intended any thing that was not abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt of England, and ſtrictly agreeable to the principles of public liberty: that ſuch an inſinuation could only tend to diſcourage the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and therefore they ought to truſt to his majeſty's wonted prudence; and, that the putting ſuch words in the addreſs would look like an encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown, and directing the operations of the future war." Lord Hervey obſerved, "that the houſe of Auſtria, as well as the houſe of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, deſtroy that balance of power, ſo juſtly dear to England: that as the conduct of the French court upon the continent could give no juſt umbrage, the deſtroying the houſe of Bourbon, only to enable the houſe of Auſtria to riſe on its ruins, was highly abſurd: that he did not doubt but his majeſty had ſufficient intereſt with his allies, to concert meaſures which would prevent every bad conſequence apprehended: and, that to agree to the propoſed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might act as he pleaſed, ſince he was invulnerable at preſent in Italy, by the ſituation of his dominions, and the great number of troops he had there: if, therefore, the allies ſhould agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in the Netherlands, his majeſty and his allies had nothing to do, but meekly ſubmit to laws impoſed by the court of Vienna."

Theſe arguments being admitted by the houſe, and the propoſed alteration on the point of being rejected, one of the members moved, that it ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "that they would ſupport his majeſty's engagements, ſo far as they related to the intereſts of Great-Britain." But this amendment being ſubject to the very ſame, if not greater objections than the former, they were both rejected, and the addreſs, as moved for, was voted without any diviſion.

An amendment, in almoſt the ſame terms as in the lower houſe, was moved for, by lord Carteret, in the houſe of peers; but being oppoſed by the dukes of Newcaſtle and Argyle, it was over-ruled.

The rejection of the penſion-bill, during the laſt ſeſſion, having cauſed a great ferment in the nation, the oppoſition reſolved to bring it again on the carpet. The motion was introduced with great ſolemnity; and after paſſing, with very little oppoſition, through the houſe of commons, was ſent to the houſe of peers, where it was thrown out. A remarkable ſpeech was made on this occaſion by the biſhop of Bangor; wherein he plainly proved, that, under the maſk of popularity, this motion concealed the moſt dangerous tendency; and concludes in the following words: "Though this bill, at firſt ſight, ſeems to be a ſelf-denying bill, and to ſome particular members, may, perhaps, prove ſo; yet the commons, conſidered as an houſe of parliament, will find in it, no doubt, a great enlargement of power; and whatever tends to break the balance between the powers, eſſential to this conſtitution, muſt, ſooner or later, prove the ruin of the whole. An independent houſe of commons, or an independent houſe of lords, is as inconſiſtent with our conſtitution, as an independent, that is, an abſolute king; and whoever loves the liberties and laws of his country, will no more deſire to ſee the one than the other. Let bribery be puniſhed; let corruption be puniſhed; but not by giving ſo much ſtrength to one power of this conſtitution, as ſhall make it able to overbear the reſt."

The oppoſition did not fail to repreſent this ſpeech in the moſt heinous light. They cauſed it to be circulated throughout the kingdom, with their own notes and commentaries upon it; wherein they endeavoured to prove, that his lordſhip only expreſſed the ſentiments of the miniſter, who had formed a deſign of ſubverting the conſtitution, by deſtroying the independency of the two houſes of parliament.

The facility with which every queſtion was carried by the miniſterial party, was imputed, by the minority, to the remiſſneſs of their friends, in not attending the houſe; and having no compulſive power over them, they endeavoured to obtain one by the following method. A call of the houſe being ordered and held, two members, who were conſidered of the country party, were, by their friends, moved to be taken into cuſtody for non-attendance; but, on the interpoſition of the court party, they were held excuſed; which ſerving as a precedent, the ſame lenity was extended to ſuch as could plead excuſes of indiſpoſition, being on the road, or any other trivial cauſe. The majority, however, having afterwards taken this affair into conſideration, found that they had treated it with too little attention; and agreed, that certain days ſhould be appointed for the defaulters to attend; and, in caſe of diſobedience of theſe orders, they were to be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms.

The real motive for this preparation on the part of the minority, was to ſtrengthen a ſecond attack they meditated upon the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſians in Britiſh pay: for, after the houſe had been furniſhed with all neceſſary papers, a motion was made for referring the eſtimate of the twelve thouſand Heſſian troops in the pay of Great-Britain, to the committee of ſupply. This motion occaſioned a very warm debate. Mr. Daniel Pulteney obſerved, "that wars had happened on the continent of Europe, of which, though foreign to the intereſts of England, ſhe had borne the expence." In reply to this, it was urged, "that commerce had connected England with the continent, though nature had diſjoined her from it: that the Engliſh, by their influence on the affairs of the continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and in order to maintain theſe, they were ſometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that ſome of the countries of Europe, which conſumed a great number of Engliſh commodities, had ſo little communication with the ſea, that they were inacceſſible to our fleets; and therefore, if they laid the trade of the Engliſh under any hardſhips or inconveniencies, or offered them any inſults or indignities, the Engliſh had no other means of aſſerting their rights, or recovering their wrongs, than by employing ſome of the powerful ſtates upon the continent to ſupport their reſentment: that this had frequently been found a very uſeful expedient to England; but that ſhe could not any longer avail herſelf of it, than while ſhe, in her turn, was ready to perform as friendly offices for thoſe ſtates. They aſſerted, that it was upon this very principle that the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Heſſian troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and that thoſe two meaſures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obſtinacy of the emperor: that upon the ſame principle likewiſe was founded the treaty of Seville, which, by our engaging for the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of thoſe garriſons. It was alſo obſerved, that the Heſſians, who were in Britiſh pay, were the only curbs the emperor had in Germany; conſequently, that the diſmiſſion of theſe forces would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might coſt Great-Britain many millions to extinguiſh.

Theſe were the principal arguments made uſe of during the courſe of this debate, and by which the parliament was determined to continue the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops. Arguments to the ſame purport were urged when the ſubſidy to the duke of Wolfenbuttle was brought upon the carpet. The minority affected to treat that prince with great contempt for his inſignificancy and indigence; and in order to protract the time, and expoſe the meaſure as much as poſſible, a motion was made, and agreed to, for reading the third ſection of an act paſſed in the reign of William III. for the further limitation of the crown; which ſays, "In caſe the crown ſhall come to any perſon, not being a native of England, this nation ſhall not be obliged to go to war for defence of dominions not belonging to this crown." They likewiſe addreſſed for all the papers and treaties relative to the ſubſidy; but the ſame being referred to a committee of the whole houſe, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four againſt one hundred and twelve; the queſtion paſſed in the affirmative, and the prince's ſubſidy was continued.

The minority now ſuppoſing themſelves more conſiderable than ever, and knowing, that ſince the reſignation of lord Townſhend, the management of foreign affairs had created public murmurs againſt the miniſter, reſolved to diſtreſs him as much as poſſible on that ſubject, by making motions, which, if carried in the negative, would heighten the ill impreſſions already conceived of him. They accordingly addreſſed for all the papers relative to the treaty of Seville; for an account of the progreſs of the commiſſaries appointed by his majeſty and the king of Spain in conſequence of that treaty, for adjuſting the demands and reparations due to the merchants of Great-Britain. The eſtabliſhment of a civil government at Gibraltar had been long a favourite point with the people; but being attended with great difficulties, it had not yet been put in execution: they therefore carried an addreſs for an account of all the proceedings that had been had on that account, and for declaring Gibraltar a free port, ſince the laſt application of the houſe to his majeſty on that head. Another cauſe for an addreſs, and which appeared too plauſible to be refuſed, was the non-compliance of the Spaniards with the treaty of Seville in commercial points, and their continuing in a manner to block up Gibraltar. This addreſs was for copies of ſuch repreſentations as his majeſty had received from the governor of Gibraltar, and from his majeſty's miniſter at the court of Spain, in relation to any works carried on at Gibraltar by the Spaniards ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Seville; together with ſuch orders as had been given thereupon. All theſe papers were accordingly laid before the houſe, but very little uſe ſeems to have been made of them, except furniſhing the heads of the party with materials for pamphlet-writing, which now raged in England to an exceſſive height.

The diſputes which had happened in the execution of the treaty of Seville, by the haughtineſs and obſtinacy of the court of Spain, threw Europe, at this juncture, into a very extraordinary ſituation. The emperor alledged, that the treaty was an encroachment upon him, as head of the empire; and that Don Carlos ought to have been introduced into Italy, and the ſucceſſion of the dominions there ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the conſent of the empire; both which were ready to be granted when demanded. He alſo aſſerted, that the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos to the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Spain. In the beginning of this year, the duke of Parma died ſuddenly, and the imperial troops took immediate poſſeſſion of his dominions; but the dutcheſs of Parma, in order to retard the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos, was prevailed on to declare herſelf with child; upon which the imperialiſts publicly avowed, that they had taken poſſeſſion of the dutchies under the auſpices of the emperor, in the name of the infant Don Carlos, the heir, provided he did not come armed, but in a pacific manner; and a ſalvo was included for the iſſue of the pregnant dutcheſs, if it ſhould prove a male.

The court of Spain was immediately informed, by her emiſſaries, of this tranſaction, and likewiſe that a negotiation was far advanced between the courts of Vienna and London; whereby it was agreed, that the contracting parties in the treaty of Seville ſhould guaranty the pragmatic ſanction, by which the emperor's female iſſue was to ſucceed to his hereditary dominions. This intelligence, added to the commercial diſputes which ſtill ſubſiſted between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain, ſo greatly exaſperated the latter, that the marquis de Caſtelar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſigned a declaration to the miniſters of the allies of the treaty of Seville, in the name of the king, his maſter, importing, "that his Catholic majeſty looked upon himſelf as entirely free from the obligations of the ſaid treaty."

On the ſixteenth day of March, a treaty was actually ſigned between his Britannic majeſty and the emperor, conſiſting of nine articles. By the firſt, a mutual guaranty of all the territories belonging to the contracting powers is ſtipulated. The ſecond ſtipulates a general guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the emperor's female heirs. By the third, his imperial majeſty conſents to the introduction of the Spaniſh troops into the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; and binds himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the conſent of the empire for that purpoſe. By the fourth, it is ſtipulated, that all parts of the treaty ſhall be duly and truly executed. The fifth entirely aboliſhes all navigation to the Auſtrian Netherlands, excepting the ſending, once only, two ſhips from Oſtend; and, by the ſame article, commiſſioners are to meet, on the part of both powers, at Antwerp, for ſettling a tariff between Great-Britain and the Auſtrian Netherlands. By the ſixth, it is agreed, that all points of difference among the contracting powers, or any of their allies, ſhould be amicably adjuſted; and that the preſent treaty is not to derogate from the force of any of the former treaties ſubſiſting between either the contracting parties, or their allies, excepting ſo far as they are inconſiſtent with the preſent treaty. By the ſeventh, the Engliſh, touching their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, are to be treated on the ſame footing as they were in the reign of Charles II. of Spain, and as it is uſual to treat a nation with which one is in ſtrict friendſhip. The eighth fixes eight months after the ratification for the acceſſion of the other powers who ſhall be invited into the treaty: and the ninth allows ſix weeks for exchanging the letters of ratification. Beſides theſe, there was a ſeparate article, which declared, "that the guaranty entered into by the contracting powers ſhould not extend to the emperor's dominions, which might be attacked by the Turks." At the ſame time, his Britannic majeſty declared authentically, "that notwithſtanding the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into the ſtrong places of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been ſettled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his imperial majeſty and the empire, or to the ſecurity of the kingdoms and ſtates, which his imperial majeſty actually poſſeſſes in Italy; or, laſtly, to the preſervation of the quiet and dignity of thoſe who were then the lawful poſſeſſors of thoſe dutchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of thoſe countries." But to take away all ſuſpicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he publiſhed a declaration, of the ſame force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant dutcheſs-dowager of Parma ſhould be delivered of a ſon, the introduction of the Spaniſh troops to that dutchy ſhould ſtill take place; and that if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed of a daughter, Don Carlos was immediately to be put into poſſeſſion of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, by an eventual inveſtiture from the emperor and the empire." And his imperial majeſty farther declares, "that in caſe the dutcheſs-dowager ſhould be delivered of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, to give way to the peaceable poſſeſſion.

Notwithſtanding the ſtates-general appeared as one of the principal contracting parties in this treaty, yet it was pretended that the nature of their government required ſome time before they could formally accede to it: but the real fact was, that the ſtates, at the inſtigation of the French, who were greatly chagrined by this ſecond treaty of Vienna, reſented, at firſt, their being excluded from all the negotiations previous to a treaty in which they were inſerted as principal contracting parties. France had, at that time, ſuperior influence in their government, either to the emperor or Great-Britain, as ſeparate powers, but was not equal to them jointly; and the Dutch, after making ſeveral reſtrictions, acceded to the treaty.

France was highly offended at the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction by Great-Britain and the ſtates-general; and ſo far prevailed upon the Spaniſh miniſtry, that a joint reſolution was taken with the council of Madrid to render the execution of the treaty of Seville as difficult and as expenſive to England as poſſible.

The diſſentions that continued to rage in the Britiſh parliament, greatly contributed to encourage theſe attempts abroad. For while the government was making preparations for executing the favourite project of Spain, that of introducing Don Carlos into Italy, the parliament was daily receiving petitions, complaining of the Spaniſh depredations in the Weſt-Indies. Nor had the commiſſaries appointed by his majeſty, purſuant to the treaty of Seville, been able as yet to prevail upon the court of Madrid to name commiſſaries on her part, and conſequently, had not made the ſmalleſt progreſs in obtaining ſatiſfaction for the Britiſh ſufferers. Every petition afforded freſh matter for railing againſt the miniſter, for not declaring war, or at leaſt iſſuing orders for repriſals.

A. D. 1731. It is very difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to account, upon the principles of ſound policy, for the backwardneſs of the miniſtry to enter into vigorous meaſures againſt Spain, who ſeemed to pay no regard to the many remonſtrances ſent thither, nor even to the articles of the treaty of Seville. The miniſtry, however, proceeded according to the plan they had formed; and on the fourteenth of July, Sir Charles Wager ſailed from Portſmouth with a ſtrong fleet, and arrived at Cadiz on the firſt of Auguſt. But finding the Spaniards were not ready, he proceeded to Barcelona; where being at laſt joined by the Spaniſh fleet, he purſued his courſe to Leghorn. In the mean time, proper diſpoſitions were making for introducing, in a peaceable manner, the Spaniſh troops into the garriſoned towns of Italy. This was greatly facilitated by the ducheſs of Parma, who at laſt declared ſhe was not with child: upon which the imperial general reſigned to the duke of Tuſcany, and the dutcheſs-dowager of Parma, as joint guardians to the infant Don Carlos, the adminiſtration of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, and marched with his troops into the Milaneſe. Don Carlos being thus quietly ſettled, Wager returned with his fleet to England.

A. D. 1732. The miniſtry now challenged the boldeſt of their opponents to mention a ſingle circumſtance neceſſary for the tranquillity of Europe, that had been unprovided for. His majeſty expreſſed the ſame ſentiments in his ſpeech, at the meeting of the parliament on the thirteenth of January. He aſſured them, that the general tranquillity of Europe was now eſtabliſhed, and that all his deſires on that head were fulfilled. "The ſhare of credit and influence," added he, "which the crown of Great-Britain has had in bringing about this difficult and deſireable work, and which redounds ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it is univerſally confeſſed abroad, will, I am confident, be agreeable to my people, and acknowledged with gratitude by you. It is well known, that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe have been employed in finding means to execute, what the principal powers had agreed to, for the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of an infant of Spain; but the various jarring and contending intereſts were hard to be reconciled and united in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the extended views and hopes of extending, on every ſide, further advantages, and the natural jealouſies and diſtruſts ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned, were not eaſily deſtroyed. Such oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpence, and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart; and occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſts of this nation.

"This happy ſituation of affairs," continued he, "will, I promiſe myſelf, inſpire you all with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch reaſonable zeal for the public good, as becomes a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſings they enjoy. The duty and affection of my ſubjects are all the return I deſire for my paternal love and concern for them. My government has no ſecurity but what is equally conducive to your happineſs, and to the protection of my people; and your proſperity has no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of my government: our ſafety is mutual, our intereſts are inſeparable."

It is ſufficiently evident from this ſpeech, that his majeſty and his miniſters imagined the ſucceſs and wiſdom of their conduct had ſtopped the mouth of oppoſition, and given univerſal ſatiſfaction to the people. They were miſtaken; the oppoſition continued as ſtrong and violent as ever. The very motion for an addreſs was oppoſed; the miniſtry ridiculed for the inconſiſtency of their negotiations, and ſome of them perſonally attacked with the ſevereſt reflections.

Senſible that the acrimony with which all their meaſures, both at home and abroad, were repreſented, the miniſtry reſolved to make an eſſay towards recovering their popularity with the landed intereſt of England. This was no other than that of leſſening the land-tax by reviving the duty upon ſalt. Accordingly, when the houſe was reſolved into a committee, Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, "That in raiſing the ſupply voted, his majeſty was deſirous that the burden ſhould fall as equally as poſſible upon all his ſubjects: that it had long reſted upon the gentlemen of the landed intereſt; and that as no tax could be more general than that upon ſalt, though, at the ſame time, ſeverely felt by individuals, however poor; he moved, that, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſeveral duties on home-made ſalt, granted, by ſeveral acts of parliament, to king William, be revived, and granted to his majeſty for the term of three years."

In order to ſupport this motion, he ſaid, he hoped the land-tax might be reduced one ſhilling in the pound; and obſerved how hard it bore upon ancient Engliſh families, who had many children, and but ſmall eſtates to ſupport them; but the reducing the land-tax might reſtore them to their ancient hoſpitality and figure, in their ſeveral counties; both which, by the preſſure of that impoſition, were now greatly reduced."

But this ſpeech was not received with that pleaſure he ſeemed to expect. Mr. Plummer, in very ſtrong terms, endeavoured to prove, that the reaſons for taking off the ſalt-duty was ſuch as muſt always ſubſiſt againſt ever reviving it; becauſe it was very juſtly conſidered as a tax that, of all others, was moſt burdenſome to the poor, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of this kingdom: that the very character of a right tax was wanting in this; for it was ſo far from taxing the luxuries of life, that it taxed the moſt ordinary neceſſities: that the motion, if complied with, tended to diſtreſs the landed gentlemen more than the land-tax itſelf; becauſe, by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, it diſabled tenants from paying their rents; and that it was, beſides, highly impolitical, ſince the revival of it might tend to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty.

"I only deſire," continued he, "that every landed gentleman who hears me, would conſider what he would make of his eſtate, if we had no trade, no manufactures, nor any number of populous towns in England. Who would be ſuch a fool as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land-tax, when he muſt pay as much for the ſalt made uſe of in his family; and when at the ſame time he diminiſhes the yearly income of his eſtate much more than one ſhilling in the pound, nay much more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax is but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate, he may perhaps be free from a part of it the enſuing year; but if, by the decay of our trade, and the charge laid upon the poor farmer, he is obliged to lower the rents of his eſtate, that will be diminution, which, I fear, will endure for ever."

This oppoſition was not expected, and therefore the arguments were the more difficult to be anſwered; eſpecially as the oppoſition conſidered the tax in the moſt minute particulars. The bill, however, paſſed the houſe by a conſiderable majority. It was oppoſed with the ſame vigour in the houſe of peers; and when it paſſed near twenty lords entered their proteſts.

The private domeſtic occurrences of this year are not worth mentioning in a general hiſtory; but an oppoſition very dangerous to the mininiſter, was now fomenting in the nation. The debates about the revival of the ſalt duty, and ſome other ſurmiſes, which had taken riſe from the complaints of the officers of the revenue in general made of the collection of the duties upon wine and tobacco, two capital branches of the revenue, impreſſed the public with a notion, that either a general exciſe, or an exciſe on theſe two articles was intended by the miniſter. The whole nation was alarmed even before the miniſter had openly declared his intention.

A. D. 1733. Such was the diſpoſition of the nation when the parliament met on the ſixteenth of January. His majeſty's ſpeech was ſhort and general, recommending "the annual ſupplies in the leaſt burdenſome manner; and exhorting the members to avoid heats and animoſities, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be diverted, by any ſpecious pretences, from ſteadfaſtly purſuing the true intereſt of their country."

But however inoffenſive this ſpeech might appear, yet an addreſs, which was nothing more than its eccho, was ſtrongly oppoſed. Sir John Barnard opened the debate, and ſufficiently ſhewed by his ſpeech that he was no ſtranger to the ſcheme intended to be brought into the houſe by the miniſter, and that both himſelf and all his friends in the oppoſition were determined to exert all their power to render it abortive. He concluded with propoſing an amendment to the addreſs, implying, "that the manner of raiſing the ſupplies ſhould be conſiſtent with the trade, intereſt and liberty of the nation." Mr. Sandys ſeconded his motion; and Mr. Shippen moved for adding, "and ſuch as ſhall be conſiſtent with the honour and juſtice of parliament."

Sir Robert himſelf ſeconded theſe amendments; but could not help obſerving that he had reaſon to think ſome very unfair methods had been made uſe of, to make the people complain without any real foundation. The addreſs, with theſe amendments, was agreed to, and his majeſty returned a very gracious anſwer.

Among the number of debates which engaged the attention of the commons, that relating to the depredations of the Spaniards was the moſt intereſting.

It was opened by Sir Wilford Lawſon, who made a motion to addreſs his majeſty, "that there be laid before the houſe copies of the reports made by his majeſty's commiſſaries in Spain, together with all letters and papers relating thereto, and what ſatisfaction had been made to the ſubjects of Great Britain for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the depredations of the Spaniards in Europe or the Indies, purſuant to the ſecond ſeparate article of the peace concluded at Seville."

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that this motion was made merely to diſtreſs him; but he could not, without the utmoſt danger to himſelf, prevent its paſſing. The Britiſh reſident had preſented ſeveral memorials to the court of Spain, complaining that nothing had been done to prevent the depredations ſo long complained of in the American ſeas. At laſt the following cedula was obtained from the king of Spain.

"Whereas the Britiſh miniſter reſiding at this court, has repreſented to me, that notwithſtanding the orders I have iſſued to hinder the Spaniſh privateers in America, from committing hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and their ſhips frequenting thoſe ſeas; nevertheleſs not only ſuch perſons as have patents from ſome of the governors, of ſome of the ports in my dominions, but alſo ſome who have no patents at all, continue their hoſtilities under a pretence of preventing an illicit commerce; while the governors refuſe to admit of the complaints given in by the Engliſh, who have experienced ſuch unjuſt moleſtations, or to indemnify them of the loſſes they may have ſuffered hereby. My reſolution is, that the orders already iſſued for that purpoſe ſhould be repeated: whereby I command by theſe preſents, all governors in any port or place of my dominions in America, not to ſuffer any of my ſubjects to moleſt or abuſe the Engliſh, or any of their ſhips that ſhall ſail in thoſe ſeas, as long as they keep in their proper diſtances, and are not concerned in any illicit trade; and that my governors take ſpecial care, that my ſaid ſubjects do conform exactly, and indiſpenſibly to the royal laws and ordinances which treat of thoſe matters; and if any of my ſubjects ſhould commit any exceſs, contrary to thoſe laws, I command my governors to puniſh them, with all the ſeverity that the offence they ſhall have committed requires; as alſo ſuch as, without patents, ſhall go to ſea in order to commit hoſtilities, and make unlawful prizes: that the ſaid governors do hearken to, and admit all complaints that ſhall be made to them, from the miniſters or chief commanders of Great Britain, either by word of mouth, or by writing; taking care to do them juſtice at all times; and to give them teſtimonies of all that ſhall be tranſacted, and that ſatisfaction be given them, for the loſſes they may have ſuſtained unjuſtly by the ſubjects, who may have occaſioned them, and who ought to make them good; for ſuch is my will: and the aforeſaid governors are to underſtand that they ſhall be made accountable for the exceſſes committed by the privateers; becauſe, before they grant them patents to go to ſea, they ought to examine them who the perſons are, and inſiſt upon proper ſecurities."

Theſe conceſſions on the part of Spain might have been ſatisfactory between two miniſters, who were not accountable for their conduct to any but their maſters; but were far from being ſo to a Britiſh parliament. It was inſiſted upon by the oppoſition, that the expreſſion in the catholic king's cedula, of proper diſtances to be kept by Britiſh ſhips on the coaſts of America, was a fallacious condition, and tended to defeat the whole purpoſe which England ought to expect from the cedula. Becauſe it was impoſſible for ſhips, ſailing from one Britiſh colony to another, to be able to perform their voyages without being ſometimes forced by accidents of winds and tides to come within diſtances of the Spaniſh coaſts, which the Spaniards might judge to be improper diſtances, and therefore a ſufficient cauſe for capture, according to the ſecret orders they might have from the court of Madrid.

Theſe reaſons formed the foundation of Sir Wilfred Lawſon's motion; and had prevented the Spaniſh and Engliſh commiſſaries from entering on a deciſive plan for putting a final period to the differences that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations.

This Sir Robert Walpole plainly perceived, and was very ſenſible the oppoſition had gained a very material advantage over him; but he acted with great addreſs. He frankly owned, "That his majeſty had nothing to lay before the houſe, relative to the motion which had been made, becauſe many unforeſeen accidents had prevented the commiſſaries from entering upon buſineſs ſooner than the month of February laſt: adding, that the delays they at firſt met with, rendered it neceſſary to prolong the time for ſettling and adjuſting thoſe matters; and accordingly it had been agreed between the two nations, that the three years ſhall be computed from that day in February laſt, on which the commiſſioners firſt met; and by that time, it is hoped, all thoſe affairs will be ſettled in ſuch a manner, as will give full ſatisfaction to every member of this houſe, and ſufficient reparation to every one of the ſubjects of Great-Britain, who have met with a real injury from the Spaniards."

This apology was treated with great contempt by the oppoſition. It was ſaid, "that the houſe ought not to take, from any member of it, an anſwer which they could regularly have from his majeſty only: that as the commiſſaries had large ſtated ſalaries, it was not to be ſuppoſed they would be in a great hurry to loſe them, by bringing the affair of their commiſſion to a ſpeedy iſſue: that in conſequence of the vigorous remonſtrances made in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, ſome Engliſh ſhips had been ſent to the Spaniſh coaſt, to demand ſatisfaction; but having been treated with inſults by the Spaniards, the commander, with the ſpirit of a true Engliſhman, ſeized the firſt Spaniſh ſhip he could meet with. This Spaniſh ſhip was, however, ordered to be reſtored, though the Spaniards have never thought proper to return their capture, nor have the owners received any ſatisfaction for the loſs they have ſuſtained."

To this fact it was anſwered, that though the Engliſh veſſel in queſtion had not been releaſed, yet it was not owing to the orders of his Catholic majeſty, which were pacific, but to the chicanery, excuſes, and delays of the Spaniſh governors in America, who, notwithſtanding the expreſs orders from their court for delivering up the ſhip and cargo, had found ſome pretences for delay." This explanation was, however, far from being ſatisfactory: it was ſaid, "that if the orders of his Catholic majeſty were not obeyed, it would be in vain to carry on negotiations at the court of Madrid; but imitate the conduct of the Engliſh commander, and demand ſatisfaction from the American governors." Though the miniſter could eaſily have put a negative upon this amendment, yet he well knew it would render him extremely unpopular, which he was very deſirous of avoiding: he therefore ſuffered the motion to be carried; and the addreſs, with the propoſed amendments, was preſented to his majeſty, who returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

The ferment in the nation every day increaſed, in expectation of a plan formed by Sir Robert Walpole, and generally known by the appellation of the Exciſe-ſcheme, which the miniſter had openly declared he intended to bring into the houſe. The nature of this ſcheme was ſtill a ſecret; yet it was confidently given out by the oppoſition to be nothing leſs than a general exciſe, though the miniſter had never entertained any thought of that kind. He added, that all he intended was to prevent the frauds committed in collecting the duties upon wine and tobacco. The fourteenth of March was appointed for laying the whole ſcheme before the houſe. In the mean time, ſeveral pamphlets and papers were publiſhed on the ſubject of exciſe, and the whole painted in the moſt horrid colours by the anti-miniſterial writers. Theſe writings produced the deſired effect; they raiſed an univerſal clamour againſt the miniſter, even before it had been offered to the parliament.

On the fourteenth of March, Sir Robert, in a long ſtudied ſpeech, explained his ſcheme. He began with taking notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his propoſal, before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices had originally ariſen from ſmugglers and unfair traders, who had enriched themſelves by cheating the public; and that theſe had been ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted by another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds daily committed in that branch of the revenue ariſing from tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill uſuage they had met with from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and upon the loſs ſuſtained by the public in reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted, that the ſcheme he was going to propoſe, would remove all theſe inconveniencies, prevent numberleſs frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds a year to the revenue. He entered into a long detail of the frauds practiſed by the unfair dealers in thoſe commodities; he recited the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the duties on wine and tobacco; he declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe; and he endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, which he now proceeded to explain. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the former ſubſidy of three farthings per pound, chargeable on imported tobacco, ſhould be ſtill levied at the cuſtom-houſe, and payable, as before, to his majeſty's civil liſt: that the tobacco ſhould then be lodged in warehouſes appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of exciſe: that the keeper of each warehouſe, appointed alſo by the commiſſioners, ſhould have one lock and key, and the merchant importer another; and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured till the merchant ſhould find vent for it either for foreign or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound, paid at its firſt importation, and then exported without any farther trouble: that the portion deſigned for home conſumption ſhould, in the preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconveniency of paying the duty on importation, or of giving bond, and finding ſecurities for the payment before he found a market for the commodity: that all the penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould, for the future, be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majeſty, and in the country by the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceeding in courts of law and equity.

Such was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe-ſcheme, the propoſing of which occaſioned the moſt intereſting debate that could happen in a Britiſh houſe of commons. It held till two o'clock the next morning, and was managed by the moſt able ſpeakers on both ſides of the queſtion. Thoſe who argued againſt the ſcheme, accuſed the miniſter of having miſrepreſented the frauds, and made falſe calculations with regard to the hardſhips under which the planters were ſaid to labour. They affirmed that the planters had never thought of complaining till they were put upon it by letters and applications from London: that the ſcheme was ſo far from being calculated to relieve the planters, that the factors would be expoſed to ſuch grievous oppreſſions, as would render it impoſſible for them to continue the trade, whence the planters muſt be ruined; and that, after all, it would not prevent the frauds againſt which it was ſaid to be provided: that from the examination of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, it appeared that thoſe frauds did not exceed forty thouſand pounds a year, and might, in a great meaſure, be aboliſhed by a due execution of the laws in being; conſequently, the ſcheme was unneceſſary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to promote a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a very grievous oppreſſion. They ſuggeſted, that it would produce an additional ſwarm of officers and warehouſe-keepers appointed and paid by the treaſury, which could not fail of multiplying the dependents on the crown, and enable it ſtill farther to check the freedom of elections: that the traders would become ſlaves to exciſemen and warehouſe-keepers, as they would be debarred all acceſs to their own commodities, except at certain hours, when they were attended by theſe officers: that the merchant, for every pound of tobacco he ſhould ſell, would be obliged to make a journey, or ſend a meſſenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay; and that if a law ſhould be enacted in favour of this ſcheme, it would, in all probability, be, ſome time or other, uſed as a precedent for introducing exciſe laws into every branch of the revenue; and whenever this happened, the boaſted liberties of England would be no more.

But notwithſtanding theſe, and other powerful reaſons, which were urged by the oppoſition, the queſtion being put, upon a motion made by the miniſter, that the preſent duties on wine and tobacco ſhould, from and after the twenty-fourth of June next, ceaſe and determine, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-one. The other reſolutions ſubſequent to this, for altering the cuſtoms to an inland duty upon theſe commodities, and for appropriating this inland duty to the ſame uſes as the cuſtoms, were paſſed without a diviſion.

On the ſixteenth, the committee made their report, and a very long and warm debate enſued; but the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, purſuant to theſe reſolutions. It was accordingly preſented to the houſe on the fourth of April, and read the firſt time; and, after a very powerful oppoſition, ordered to be read a ſecond time. The whole trading part of the nation was now alarmed; and the lord-mayor having procured a copy of the bill, laid it before the common-council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to petition the houſe againſt it. The petition was immediately drawn up, and preſented to the houſe by the ſheriffs. As ſoon as it was read, Sir John Barnard roſe, and, in a very expreſſive manner, repreſented how much the city and citizens of London, as well as all the other trading cities and towns in the kingdom, would be affected by the bill for altering the method of raiſing the duties payable upon tobacco, and how juſt reaſon they had to inſiſt upon being heard by their council againſt it. He ſaid, that he would not entertain a ſuſpicion that the miniſtry wiſhed not to hear every thing that could, with reaſon, be advanced againſt the bill; and therefore moved, that the petitioners might be heard by their council againſt it.

This motion, however reaſonable it might appear, was ſtrongly oppoſed. It was inſiſted upon, that it had always been the practice of that houſe never to receive any petition, much leſs to admit council to be heard againſt any bill for impoſing taxes on the ſubject; becauſe it would then be impoſſible ever to paſs any ſuch bill, as the number of petitions preſented againſt it would, doubtleſs, be too great to examine during one ſeſſion of parliament; that no inconveniency could ariſe in refuſing to admit council to be heard againſt it, becauſe every man, and every body of men, had their repreſentatives in that houſe, who would certainly eſpouſe their cauſe, ſhould they think themſelves aggrieved by any particular hardſhip.

To this it was anſwered, that the houſe had never pretended to any particular cuſtom of refuſing petitions, except againſt thoſe bills which were called money-bills; that is, ſuch as were brought in for raiſing money for the ſervice of the current year; and that even with regard to them, there were many precedents where the houſe had admitted the parties, whom they thought to be particularly intereſted, to be heard by their council againſt the paſſing ſuch bills; that the admitting council, even in ſuch caſes, could never prevent their paſſing, becauſe the houſe could order all perſons petitioning to be heard at one time; and give ſuch directions, that it could never take up many days to hear every thing that could be objected by every one of the petitioners: that tho' every part of the nation had their repreſentatives in that houſe, yet it was very well known, that ſpeaking in public was not the talent of every man; whence it might happen, that the particular perſons, or part of the nation that would be moſt aggrieved, might not have any ſuch members who could lay their caſe properly, clearly, and fully, before the houſe; and therefore it was proper, even with regard to money-bills, to admit parties to be heard by counſel againſt them, when it appeared that they were particularly intereſted in the tranſaction. But with regard to the caſe before them, there was not the leaſt pretence for refuſing the requeſt of the petition, becauſe the bill againſt which it was preſented was no money-bill; on the contrary, it was inſiſted on by the advocates for it, as one of the greateſt arguments in its favour, that there were no new duties to be impoſed; it was a bill intended only to alter the method of collecting the taxes already impoſed; and therefore it could never be pretended, that there was any practice or cuſtom of the houſe to refuſe parties intereſted to be heard againſt ſuch a bill: that if there had been ſuch a cuſtom introduced, it ought not to be obſerved, eſpecially when ſo conſiderable a body as the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came with an humble petition to be heard againſt the bill, which they thought would not only be highly injurious to them in particular, but deſtructive to the trade and commerce of the whole nation. The motion was, however, rejected by a majority of ſeventeen only. The petition was therefore ordered to lie upon the table till the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time.

While the bill was depending before the commons, the minds of the people were wrought up to ſuch a pitch of fury and reſentment, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than a rebellion. The houſe was ſurrounded with crowds of people; moſt of the principal merchants of London attended in the court of requeſts and lobby of the houſe of commons. This exaſperated the miniſter, who, after declaring that he did not conſider the clamours without doors to be the voice of the people, concluded his ſpeech with the following incautious and inflammatory expreſſions: “ Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe of the multitudes now at the door, and in the avenues leading to this houſe: they may call them a modeſt multitude, if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited ſo long at our door: it may be a very eaſy matter for ſome deſigning, ſeditious perſon, to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them; and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end: he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could, with the ſame facility, appeaſe them. For this reaſon, I muſt think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to uſe any methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit: it may be ſaid they came hither as humble ſupplicants; but I know whom the law calls ſturdy beggars; and thoſe who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the ſame manner.”

The houſe was immediately in a flame; and it was ſome time before the temper of the members was ſettled ſufficiently to renew the debate. At laſt Sir John Barnard aroſe; and after making ſeveral obſervations on the beginning of the miniſter's ſpeech, ſaid, “ that any ſet of gentlemen or merchants might take what method they pleaſed to ſollicit their friends and perſons of figure and character, to come down to the court of requeſts, and to our lobby, in order to petition their acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project they think may be prejudicial to their intereſts. This is the undoubted right of the ſubject, and what has been always practiſed. The honourable gentleman talks of ſturdy beggars: I do not know what ſort of people may now be at our door, becauſe I have not lately been out of the houſe, but I believe they are the ſame ſort of people that were there when I came in; and then, I can aſſure you, that I ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the name of ſturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever. It is well known, that the city of London was ſufficiently apprized of what was this day to come under our deliberation. Where they procured their information, I know not; but I am very certain they had a right notion of this ſcheme; and were ſo generally and zealouſly bent againſt it, that whatever methods may have been uſed to call them hither, I am ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal method to have prevented their coming.”

But though the miniſter carried his point with regard both to the London petition, and to the bill's being read a ſecond time, yet he thought it highly prudent not to puſh his ſcheme any farther. He could not hope that the majority ever would be greater, and a queſtion of ſuch importance to the public tranquillity, carried by a majority of only ſeventeen, was worſe than loſt. He therefore wiſely determined to let it drop; and accordingly, when the day came for its being read a ſecond time, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that it might be put off till the twelfth of June next.

Thus ended the famous exciſe ſcheme, a project which the populace were perſuaded threatened the entire deſtruction of their liberties; but which, now the rage of party has ſubſided, and the whole has been conſidered by the calm methods of unbiaſſed reaſon, has loſt great part of its horror, and even conſidered in a very favourable light.

On the eleventh of June, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he ſeverely reflected on the authors of the heats and animoſities that had been lately ſpread through the nation. “ I cannot,” ſaid he, “ paſs by, unobſerved, the wicked endeavours that have been lately made uſe of to inflame the minds of the people, and, by the moſt unjuſt miſrepreſentations, to raiſe tumults and diſorders that almoſt threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend upon the force of truth to remove the groundleſs jealouſies that have been raiſed of deſigns carrying on againſt the liberties of my people; and, upon your own fidelity, to defeat and fruſtrate the expectations of ſuch as delight in confuſion. It is my inclination, and has always been my ſtudy, to preſerve the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects. Let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them ſenſible of their preſent happineſs, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by ſpecious pretences, into their own deſtruction.”

The affairs on the continent, relative to the tranquillity of England, may be comprized in a very little compaſs. The death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, which happened on the fifth of February, occaſioned a dreadful ſcene of war in Europe. Staniſlaus, father-in-law to the French king, and the elector of Saxony, ſon to the deceaſed king, were candidates for the Poliſh ſceptre. The former was ſupported by France, and the latter by the emperor, the czarina, and the king of Pruſſia. England could not declare herſelf without the concurrence of the united provinces; and that cautious republic ſhewed a viſible reluctance to launch into an expenſive and ruinous war, merely for the ſake of ſupporting the emperor's quarrel. In vain did the emperor's miniſters ſollicit, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, both at the court of London and at the Hague, to take the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures to prevent their ally from being cruſhed by the power of his enemies, and the balance of power in Europe thereby utterly deſtroyed.

A. D. 1734. Such was the ſtate of affairs when the parliament met on the ſeventeenth of January; and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty, among other particulars, told the two houſes, "That though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy; that he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers which were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, eſpecially with the ſtates-general of the united provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for the common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe: that he would order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their preſent and immediate care: that the augmentation that would be propoſed for the ſea-ſervice, would be very conſiderable; but he was confident they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary: that he moſt particularly recommended to their care the debt of the navy, which had been every year laid before them; but, from the preſent circumſtances of the times, he believed they would be perſuaded that he now required ſome proviſion to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſt of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner opportunity of conſulting a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and whatever inſinuations might be thrown out againſt the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great-Britain ought always to act that part which the honour and intereſt of the nation called upon it to undertake."

This ſpeech cauſed a violent debate in the houſe of commons, though it muſt be owned, without any neceſſity, there was nothing in the ſpeech exceptionable. The miniſterial party, however, prevailed, and an addreſs of thanks was voted to his majeſty. Several other topics that came before the houſe, occaſioned very warm debates, in which the ſpeeches generally abounded with perſonal ſatire, and often with very indecent reflections. But the ſubject that gave occaſion to the moſt violent debates between the two parties, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley for repealing the act for ſeptennial parliaments.

In ſupport of this motion, he alledged, that the reaſons for prolonging the ſitting of parliament from three to ſeven years, were now at an end: that the people in general looked upon ſeptennial parliaments as a grievance and innovation in the conſtitution: that he begged leave to remind the houſe of the act made in the ſixteenth of Charles II. which wiſely provided againſt the too long continuance of one and the ſame parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament ſhould be called once in three years, and oftener, if need required: that this act was expreſsly confirmed by the bill of rights: that from the time of the revolution to the firſt year of the late king, no parliament had ſat above three years, and ſome only one ſeſſion: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones, and conſequently ſeptennial parliaments muſt be doubly more grievous than thoſe which laſted only three years! that ſuppoſing he ſhould be miſtaken in this point, which, nevertheleſs, he could never admit without due conviction, the argument in the preamble to the ſeptennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the preſent times: that the act againſt bribery and corruption would neceſſarily remedy that evil, as it would prevent corruption in the elections; but nothing but the frequent returns of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected. In order, therefore, to effect this deſireable purpoſe, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the ſeptennial, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

Sir John Aubin, knight of the ſhire for Cornwall, ſeconded Mr. Bromley. In his ſpeech upon this occaſion, he gave a kind of detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry VIII. ſhewed how triennial parliaments came to be ſecured at the revolution, and how they came to be loſt again to the nation when the ſeptennial act took place. He was next at ſome pains to prove, that ſeptennial parliaments are moſt proper for the purpoſes of a wicked miniſtry; but that the more frequent parliaments are, they are the more ſalutary both for the king and people; and, at the ſame time, throughout his whole ſpeech, he complained greatly of the increaſing influence of the crown. He was anſwered by Mr. Conduit, a relation of the great Sir Iſaac Newton. He endeavoured to ſhew, from Prynne's writings, that the prerogatives of the kings of England, and the liberties of the people, are very different from what they were in former days. He took notice, that the heavy complaints againſt Charles I. and his ſon James II. did not ariſe from continuing the ſame parliament too long, but for not calling, or not holding any parliament at all. He thought that miniſters could more eaſily manage a triennial than a ſeptennial parliament; and confirmed his obſervations by ſaying, that in ſeptennial parliaments it has been ſeen, that a ſmall minority againſt the miniſter at the beginning of the parliament, has often increaſed greatly, and even nearly to an equality before the end. He thought that the diſpoſal of poſts and places rather weakened than ſtrengthened the crown; becauſe every place having three or four candidates for it, when one only can ſucceed, the diſappointed candidates immediately become enemies to the court. He maintained, that the reaſons for paſſing the ſeptennial act ſtill exiſted; that one of the reaſons was a ſpirit of jacobitiſm prevailing when the ſeptennial act paſſed; and he thought that the great diſcontent that had lately appeared in the nation, had a conſiderable mixture of jacobitiſm in their compoſition.

The next who ſpoke was Sir Thomas Robinſon, who maintained, that the expence of chuſing triennial parliaments muſt fall far heavier upon the public than that of chuſing ſeptennial ones. He obſerved, that during the twenty-two years, while triennial parliaments continued, they were found to be attended with great inconveniencies; whereas, during the eighteen years in which ſeptennial parliaments had continued, many excellent laws had paſſed, and many wiſe inſtitutions had been formed for the good of the people. He took notice, that when gentlemen ſpeak of the whole conſtitution of England, they ſpeak in very vague terms; becauſe the conſtitution of England was never fixed till the time of the revolution. He next examined the ſtate of parliaments under the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. and maintained, that in the longeſt parliament that ever ſat in England, which happened under the latter, the longer they ſat, they were more and more averſe to the meaſures of the crown, notwithſtanding all the power of corruption employed to ſeduce them; and therefore, by parity of reaſoning, ſeptennial parliaments are more favourable to public liberty than triennial ones. In ſhort, he thought, that a deſire to revert back to the practice of remote antiquity in that reſpect, might be compared to a man in his full growth and ſtrength, deſiring to return back to his childhood. He obſerved, that if antiquity was to be the only rule, a ſeſſion of parliament ought ſeldom or never to continue above twenty days; for parliaments, in former times, had not buſineſs ſufficient to keep them any longer ſitting: but, in fact, the whole form of the conſtitution has been ſince altered, by the alterations that have, from time to time, happened in the modes of property and the multiplication of buſineſs, through the increaſe of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce. He affirmed, that ſhould the motion be agreed to, it muſt have a very bad effect upon all foreign negotiations, becauſe foreign miniſters, in their negotiations with Great-Britain, and alſo with other courts, are chiefly determined by the ſentiments of a Britiſh parliament: but ſhould they have thoſe to conſult anew every three years, they would not be able to know how to determine with regard to many great and important points.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who had acquired great experience in elections for members of parliament, ſpoke ſtrongly for the queſtion. He inſiſted upon it, that a man who could get a hundred guineas for his vote for a ſeptennial parliament, would not get fifteen for a triennial one; and that bribery and corruption are the natural conſequences of long parliaments. He was anſwered by Sir John Willes, attorney-general. He obſerved, that if any time was to be fixed upon for imitating the old conſtitution with regard to parliaments, "we are not ſurely," ſaid he, "to take the time when our conſtitution was weak, and in its infancy; we certainly ſhould chuſe that time, when it had reached its full ſtrength and vigour, which, in my opinion, is the preſent. But as gentlemen have mentioned the bill of rights, let us examine how it ſtood at that time; for I am perſuaded it will be agreed to by every gentleman in this houſe, that after that claim was ſettled and confirmed, our conſtitution has been more vigorous than it ever was before that time; and yet, even in this claim of rights, there is no mention made of frequent new parliaments: it is, indeed, ſaid, that, for the redreſs of grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not ſo much as inſinuated, that every one of theſe ought to be a new parliament: and as to the frequency of parliaments, I am ſure there never was leſs reaſon for complaints than ſince the ſeptennial bill paſſed; for, ever ſince that time, the ſeſſions have been regularly held, and all of them been allowed to ſit as long as it was neceſſary or proper they ſhould. He then obſerved, that the triennial act itſelf was not obtained upon principles of liberty, but in order to diſtreſs king William, and the friends to the revolution. He was of opinion, that the tranſition of the conſtitution from triennial to ſeptennial parliaments, was, in itſelf, a right meaſure, and agreeable to the true principles of Engliſh government, independent of any temporary conſideration. He maintained, that it was owing to the inconveniencies of triennial parliaments, that king William was obliged to make ſo bad a peace with France, when he might have carried on the war in ſo advantageous a manner for the liberties of Europe.

In anſwer to the objection, that the elected, during a long parliament, are apt to forget their dependence upon their conſtituents, which could not be the caſe if parliaments were annual, he made the following obſervations: "That we have all a dependence upon the people for our election, is what I readily grant; but after we are choſen, and have taken our ſeats in this houſe, we have no longer any dependence on our electors, at leaſt ſo far as regards our behaviour here. Their whole power is then devolved upon us; and we are, in every queſtion that comes before this houſe, to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to our own judgments: if we do not, if we depend upon our conſtituents, and follow blindly the inſtructions they ſend us, we cannot be ſaid to act freely, nor can ſuch parliaments be called free parliaments; ſuch a dependence would be a moſt dangerous dependence; it would, in my opinion, be more dangerous, and of worſe conſequence, than a dependence upon the crown; for in a dependence upon the crown I can ſee no danger, as long as the intereſt of the crown is made the ſame with that of the people, which every man muſt allow to be the caſe at preſent: whereas the people of any county, city, or borough, are very liable to be miſled, and may often be induced to give inſtructions directly contrary to the true intereſt of their country."

Sir John Barnard attacked this doctrine with all his power. "A learned and honourable gentleman" ſaid he, "has advanced a doctrine which I think altogether new; that we are to have no farther dependence on our electors, after we have taken our ſeats in this houſe; nay, that a dependence on them would be more dangerous than a dependence on the crown. This, Sir, is really, in my opinion, ſomething very new. Though that gentleman may, perhaps, like the one better than the other, yet I ſhall always look upon a dependence on the people of England, or even on thoſe I repreſent, to be leſs dangerous, and more honourable, than a dependence on the crown; and I value myſelf more on the honour I have received in ſitting here for two parliaments, as one of the repreſentatives of the people of England, and by the free and uncorrupted choice of thoſe I repreſent, than I ſhould on the greateſt honours the crown can beſtow. If, indeed, I had obtained my ſeat here by bribery, or the illegal and corrupt influence of any corrupt miniſter, I ſhould look upon it in a very different light; I ſhould look upon it as one of the moſt diſgraceful ſituations I could be in."

Sir William Yonge replied to theſe remarks of Sir John Barnard. "My learned friend" ſaid he, "happened to make an obſervation, which I ſtill think a very juſt one. He ſaid, that after we were returned, and had taken our ſeats in this houſe, we ought not any longer to have a dependence on thoſe we repreſent. This the honourable gentleman laid hold of. He not only called it a new and very extraordinary doctrine, but dropt an expreſſion, ſuch as I think ought not to be made uſe of in this houſe. As to the obſervation made by my learned friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almoſt every gentleman underſtood him, that after we had taken our ſeats in this houſe, we ought every one of us to look upon ourſelves as one of the repreſentatives of the whole body of the commons of England, and ought not to have any particular bias for the county, city, or borough, we repreſent. This, Sir, is ſo far from being a doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wiſh every gentleman in this houſe would make it a ſtanding rule for his conduct; for I cannot help obſerving, that there are ſome in this aſſembly, who, on many occaſions, confine their thoughts too much to the particular county, city, or borough they repreſent; but ſurely they muſt be ſenſible, that many things may happen in parliament which may be for the intereſt of the nation in general, though they may not, perhaps, quadrate ſo exactly with the particular intereſt of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, or other particular places; and, in ſuch a caſe, the gentleman himſelf muſt ſurely grant, that, as members of this houſe, they ought to drop, not only their dependence upon, but even their concern for the particular city they repreſent, in order to concur with the reſt of the members of this houſe, in what they judge to be for the general intereſt of the nation."

Several other ſpeeches were made on this intereſting motion; but when the queſtion was put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt one hundred and eighty-four.

On the fourteenth of March, the nuptial ceremony between the prince of Orange and the princeſs-royal of England was performed with great pomp; and ſome days were ſpent in the warmeſt congratulations from both houſes of parliament, the city of London, and other public bodies, upon the marriage.

The buſineſs before the parliament being completed, the king came to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth of April, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he "congratulated the two houſes on their unanimity, and upon the meaſures that had been taken for reducing the navy debt, which, he ſaid, had been unavoidably incurred, and bore a higher intereſt than the national debt." He then proceeded, in a moſt pathetic manner, to recommend unanimity to his people, and requeſted the members to uſe their beſt endeavours to heal the unhappy diviſions of the kingdom. "It would" added he, "be the greateſt ſatisfaction to me, to ſee a perfect harmony reſtored among them that have one and the ſame principle at heart; that there might be no diſtinction but of ſuch as mean the ſupport of our preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and ſuch as wiſh to ſubvert both. This is the only diſtinction that ought to prevail in this country, where the intereſt of king and people is one and the ſame, and where they cannot ſubſiſt but by being ſo. If religion, liberty, and property, were never at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only an attempt, but even the ſhadow of a deſign, to alter or invade them, let not theſe ſacred names be made uſe of as artful and plauſible pretences to undermine the preſent eſtabliſhment, under which alone they can be ſafe.

"I have nothing to wiſh, but that my people may not be miſguided: I appeal to their own conſciences for my conduct, and hope the providence of God will direct them in the choice of ſuch repreſentatives as are moſt fit to be truſted with the care and preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the preſent eſtabliſhment, and all the religious and civil rights of Great-Britain."

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one. The whole nation was immediately thrown into a ferment, and every means made uſe of to influence the electors in their choice of repreſentatives. The power of the miniſtry, however, prevailed; and the elections, in moſt parts of the kingdom, were carried in favour of the court.

During theſe tranſactions in England, Staniſlaus had been elected to fill the throne of Poland; but the oppoſition againſt him was too powerful for him to withſtand. He retired to Dantzick, where the inhabitants promiſed to defend him at all events. He had no ſooner left the capital, than the other party proceeded to a new election, and Auguſtus was now placed on the Poliſh throne. The Ruſſian army then advanced againſt Dantzick, and laid great part of the city in aſhes. Staniſlaus, who felt more for the miſery of his friends than for his own, determined not to perſevere in a defence which muſt be attended with the deſtruction of the whole city. He accordingly made his eſcape from Dantzick in a very wonderful manner, and the city immediately opened her gates to the Ruſſian army, and peace was reſtored, on the inhabitants acknowledging the right of king Auguſtus to the crown of Poland.

The war in Italy was carried on with great ſucceſs againſt the emperor. Two very bloody battles were fought at Parma and Guaſtalla with doubtful ſucceſs. Don Carlos took poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily, and was placed upon the Neapolitan throne. Nor was any thing omitted by the Engliſh miniſtry for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence, as the conduct of ſome of the allies was very doubtful. The court of Spain ſuffered the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, by whom he was treated with diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect. That prince even made no ſcruple of declaring publicly, that whenever the ſituation of his affairs would permit, he would ſupport the intereſt of the abdicated family with all his power.

A. D. 1735. The new parliament met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-third of January, and was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty informed the two houſes, That having undertaken, in concert with the ſtates-general, to mediate between the belligerent powers, he had met with ſo much ſucceſs, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a negotiation for a general peace. He alſo acquainted them, that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark; a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the preſent conjuncture; and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order it to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons. At the ſame time, he put them in mind, that while a war was raging in Europe, it would be proper, at all events, though it might be attended with ſome expence, for Great-Britain to keep her forces on a reſpectable footing.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the mutiny-bill received a very material alteration. In all the preceding acts, the juſtice of peace had it in his power to commit a poor fellow to priſon, if, after receiving the inliſting money, he refuſed to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money: but a clauſe was now inſerted, importing, that every officer who ſhould hereafter inliſt any man to ſerve in any regiment, ſhould, within a certain number of days, carry the perſon inliſted before one of the next juſtices of the peace, where the man ſhould be at liberty to declare his diſſent to ſuch an act, and his having repented of what he had done; and upon his doing this, and returning the officer the inliſting money, and paying the expences incurred in the progreſs of the affair, ſuch juſtice ſhould forthwith diſcharge him; and that an officer guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties as are inflicted on thoſe who ſhould be guilty of falſe muſters.

But an affair of a much more ſerious nature was now before the commons. The magiſtrates of the royal burgh of Haddington had been ſeized and confined in a diſtant priſon, without the benefit of being admitted to bail, by a warrant from one of the Scottiſh judges. Another judge, however, had ventured to take bail, and ſet them at liberty. The injured party preſented a petition to the houſe of commons; and the caſe appeared ſo flagrant, that a motion was made to refer it to the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe. This was, however, oppoſed by the miniſter and his friends, from what motive is hard to ſay; and the motion was rejected.

Another incident that had happened in Scotland, greatly engaged the attention of parliament. This was a petition to the houſe of lords, ſubſcribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queenſbury, and Montroſe, by the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair; repreſenting, that undue influence had been uſed in carrying on the election of the ſixteen peers of Scotland.

A day was appointed for taking this petition into conſideration; but the houſe ſeemed divided with regard to the manner in which they ought to proceed in this delicate and intereſting affair. The duke of Newcaſtle obſerved, that it was doubtful whether the houſe had even the power of receiving ſuch a petition, there being nothing in the articles of union that gave a Britiſh houſe of lords a right to interfere in the election of the Scottiſh peers; nor indeed had they otherwiſe any ſuch right, unleſs ſome particular charge was ſtated, and offered to be proved. On the other hand, the party that ſupported the petition urged, that it was general; that the facts contained in it were of a very dangerous complexion, and ſuch as ought to be puniſhed if they were proved. But as the real deſign of the petition ſeemed to be uncertain, it was agreed that the conſideration ſhould be adjourned for a little time, during which the petitioners ſhould be ordered to declare, "Whether they intended to controvert the election of the ſixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them?"

This order being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioners, they, in a few days, delivered in a declaration, importing, "that they did not intend to oppoſe either the election, or return of the ſixteen Scottiſh peers; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordſhips the evidence of ſuch facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the conſtitution, and might, in future elections, equally affect the right of the preſent ſixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not timely prevented by a proper remedy."

When this declaration was read in the houſe, it was objected to by the court party, as unſatisfactory. The duke of Devonſhire therefore made a motion, "That the petitioners ſhould be ordered to lay before the houſe, in writing, inſtances of thoſe undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and alſo the names of the perſons they ſuſpected to be guilty." This motion was warmly oppoſed by the earls of Cheſterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, and the lords Bathurſt and Carteret. Lord Cheſterfield concluded his ſpeech on this occaſion with the following remarkable expreſſions. "Suppoſing, my lords, we ſhould get information that ſeveral barrels of gunpowder had been placed under this houſe, in order to blow us up; would it not be very fooliſh to delay going to ſearch for and remove the gunpowder, till we ſhould be informed by what means, at what time, and by whom the powder was placed there? The caſe before us is the very ſame: there is a ſort of metaphorical gunpowder placed under this houſe, which will, in time, blow us up, if it be not removed; and, in ſuch a caſe, are we to trifle away our time in inquiries after the names of the perſons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed?" However beautiful and expreſſive this compariſon might be, it produced not the deſired effect; like the reaſonings of the other lords, it was overcome by the majority, who voted the declaration unſatisfactory; and the petitioners were ordered, in eight days, to lay their complaints before the houſe in writing.

Accordingly the petitioning noblemen preſented a remonſtrance to the lords on the day appointed, in which they obſerved, "That as they had no intention to become accuſers, they could not take upon them to name particular perſons, who might have been concerned in thoſe illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordſhips, upon their taking the proper examination: that, nevertheleſs, they begged leave to acquaint their lordſhips, that the petition was laid before them upon information that the liſt of the ſixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by perſons in high truſt under the crown: that this liſt was ſhewn to the peers, as a liſt approved by the crown, and was called the king's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition of their conforming to certain meaſures: that peers were ſollicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage their ſuffrages for this liſt by the promiſe of penſions and offices, civil and military, to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums of money were actually given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, and releaſes of debts owing to the crown, were granted to peers who concurred in voting for this liſt, and to their relations: that on the day of election, a battalion of his majeſty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court, contrary to cuſtom, and without any other apparent cauſe than that of over-awing the electors: that theſe inſtances of undue practices would, they hoped, be abundantly ſufficient to ſatisfy their lordſhips, that they had juſt cauſe to pray the houſe to take this matter into their ſerious conſideration, and to provide ſuch remedy as might be effectual for preſerving the right and freedom of elections; ſuch right of electing being the only right that now remained with the peers of Scotland, in lieu of a conſtant and hereditary ſeat in parliament."

The reading of this remonſtrance gave riſe to another warm debate. The holding under arms a battalion of ſoldiers was repreſented as a moſt ſcandalous, arbitrary, and flagrant infringement of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and of that independency that ſhould ever be preſerved in all elections. The fact was acknowledged by the oppoſite party; but it was alledged that ſuch a ſtep was at once both legal and prudent: that the ſoldiers were drawn out by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, in order to prevent riots and tumults among the populace, who had been inflamed by the oppoſite party to a pitch of reſentment that threatened the moſt fatal conſequences, if not timely ſuppreſſed. Theſe reaſons prevailed with the majority, the petition was voted unſatisfactory, and the whole affair laid aſide.

The ſupplies being granted, and the other buſineſs of the ſeſſion completed, the ſeſſion was cloſed on the fifteenth of May by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty was pleaſed to acknowledge, that the plan of pacification he had formed with the ſtates-general had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was ſtill determined to perſiſt in the ſame pacific meaſures, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to compoſe the troubles of Europe. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by ſea and land; acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions, and that he ſhould conſtitute the queen regent during his abſence.

The affairs of Europe were, at this juncture, in a delicate and critical ſituation. The emperor complained loudly of the pacific and puſillanimous meaſures of the Engliſh court, which, from the treaties ſtill ſubſiſting between Great-Britain and the empire, he expected would have eſpouſed his cauſe. In the mean time, the belligerent powers grew heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to acknowledge their real ſentiments. At laſt an armiſtice took place between the emperor and France, which gave occaſion to ſome preliminary articles, by which the latter offered to reſtore to the empire all the places ſhe had taken during the war. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the Mantuan, Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe. Don Carlos was to be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; the dutchy of Tuſcany was aſſigned to the duke of Lorrain, who afterwards married Maria-Thereſa, eldeſt daughter to the emperor: the dutchy of Lorrain was annexed to the crown of France, and the dutchy of Bar given to Staniſlaus, king of Poland, who renounced that crown, but was to enjoy the title. By this plan of pacification, Leghorn was to be declared a free port; France was to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction; and England, Holland, Portugal and Vienna, were to be ſollicited to guaranty the preſent treaty, to which the kings of Spain and Sardinia were to be invited to accede.

A. D. 1736. The parliament met on the fifteenth of January, when it appeared, by his majeſty's ſpeech, that the plan of pacification between the French and imperial courts was nearly the ſame with that which had been concerted between him and the ſtates-general, though communicated as a new plan formed by the principal contracting powers. He told both houſes of parliament, "That he had agreed to the plan which had been communicated to the kings of Spain and Sardinia; and there were hopes of their agreeing to it, upon their obtaining reaſonable ſecurity for their poſſeſſing the countries ſtipulated to them." His majeſty added, "That he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces both by ſea and land; but hoped they would agree to ſome extraordinary expence, till the peace of Europe was more fully ſettled;" and concluded with pathetically exhorting them, in imitation of the great powers of Europe, to peace and unanimity.

The ſupplies were voted without any remarkable debate; but a ſubject of the greateſt importance to the ſafety of the nation ſoon after engaged the attention of parliament. The drinking of geneva, and other diſtilled ſpirituous liquors, had, for ſome years paſt, encreaſed to a ſurprizing degree, eſpecially among the lower claſs of people, of whom thouſands had already periſhed by this abominable practice, and a much greater number were rendered wholly unfit for labour or ſervice. At the ſame time their morals had been ſo greatly debauched, that a general diſſoluteneſs had taken place among them. Theſe pernicious liquors, of which gin was principally drank, were not only ſold by diſtillers, but retailed in the ſmalleſt quantities in every petty chandler's ſhop and coal-ſhed, in the metropolis; by which means, journeymen, apprentices, and ſervants, were drawn in to intoxicate themſelves with this bewitching fluid. In ſhort, there was the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, that the public welfare and ſafety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was ſo dangerous to the health, ſtrength, peace and morals, and even threatened the total extinction of the lower claſs of people. Induced by theſe melancholy conſiderations, the magiſtrates of Middleſex preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, in which they enumerated theſe evils, and prayed the houſe to take the matter into their ſerious conſideration, and apply ſuch remedy as they ſhould think proper.

After a thorough examination of this affair, a motion was made for levying a duty of two ſhillings per gallon upon all ſpiritous liquors, and that fifty ſhillings ſhould be paid to his majeſty for a licence, to be taken out yearly by every perſon who ſhould ſell any of whatever kind.

This occaſioned a very warm debate. It was ſaid, that theſe duties amounted to a prohibition; and as this extended to rum, there was great reaſon to fear that it would prove of fatal conſequence to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thouſands depended for their livelihood on the Britiſh diſtillery; and that it was highly abſurd to argue againſt the uſe of a thing from the abuſe of it.

To this it was anſwered, that nothing but the extreme danger of the nation, from the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, could have induced them to make ſuch a motion: that they were fully ſenſible of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects would be reduced by the duties propoſed to be laid on ſuch liquors; but that the intereſt of individuals ought to give way to the general intereſt; and where the preſervation of the community was viſibly and ſo eſſentially concerned, the hardſhips of ſome few individuals muſt be overlooked: that with reſpect to rum and brandy, it was very certain thoſe liquors had often been drank to very great exceſs, notwithſtanding the high duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people as any home made ſpirit: that if any ſorts of ſpirits were exempted from the duties now propoſed, the retailer would ſell the moſt pernicious ſtuff under that denomination; and the diſtiller would compound them in ſuch a manner, that it would be impoſſible to detect the impoſition. Theſe reaſons were thought ſufficient by the majority, and a bill was ordered in for impoſing the above duties.

While this bill was depending ſeveral petitions were preſented to the houſe by the planters in the the ſugar colonies, and the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the hardſhips to which they ſhould be expoſed, by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from molaſſes. Theſe applications occaſioned a mitigating clauſe in favour of a compoſition known by the name of punch; and the diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment.

On the twenty-ſeventh of April his royal highneſs Frederic, prince of Wales, was married to the princeſs Auguſta of Saxe-Gotha. This event filled the nation with joy. The two houſes of parliament, the city of London, and almoſt every county-town and borough in England, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in addreſſes to their majeſties, and the prince and princeſs of Wales.

Among the acts paſſed this ſeſſion was one for reſtraining lands from being diſpoſed of in Mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. This bill took its riſe from ſeveral incidents that had lately happened; by which heirs at law had ſuffered conſiderably by injudicious diſpoſals of their lands to charitable and other uſes: it was therefore thought proper to put a ſtop to ſo growing an evil. This bill alarmed the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and they, as well as the colleges of Eaton, Wincheſter and Weſtminſter, preſented petitions againſt it. The petition from the univerſity of Cambridge was very particular, ſetting forth, "That the univerſity and the colleges in it, were founded and endowed for the maintaining fit perſons, in the ſtudy of uſeful knowledge, and to bring up youth in learning, virtue and religion; that in general the intention of the founders had been anſwered. But the petitioners apprehended, that if the bill now depending paſſed without amendment, it would be attended both in the preſent and in futurity, with very prejudicial conſequences, becauſe it would cut them off from donations to ſupply preſent and future deficiencies, or for any other wiſe or great purpoſes, how uſeful or neceſſary ſoever they might be thought; and that a conſiderable part of their revenue aroſe from annuities and other certain payments, iſſuing out of lands and other eſtates, and that many of thoſe payments having been fixed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and ſtill continuing invariably the ſame, were then by the great fall of money ſince that time, ſunk ſo far below their original value, as to be inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes to which they were deſigned; and that ſeveral headſhips were under one hundred and twenty pounds, ſome under a hundred a year, and that the ſalary of ſome profeſſorſhips were under fifty pounds a year; and others, as thoſe of botany, anatomy, and chemiſtry had no endowment at all; and that the income of much the greater part of their fellowſhips was under ſixty pounds, of many under forty pounds, of ſome ſo low as thirty, twenty, and fifteen pounds a year; and that many of their ſcholarſhips and exhibitions were even under thoſe ſmall ſums, and that many poor ſtudents had neither ſcholarſhip, nor exhibition to help towards their maintenance; and that the number of advowſons in moſt colleges was very ſmall in proportion to the number of fellows; and therefore praying the houſe to except that univerſity and the ſeveral colleges therein out of the ſaid bill."

The requeſt of all theſe ſeats of learning was complied with; but the petitions of the hoſpitals, and other charitable ſocieties were rejected. Several other amendments were alſo made to the bill both in the lower and upper houſe; after which it paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

In this ſeſſion of parliament the bill for building a bridge croſs the river Thames from New Palace yard to the oppoſite ſhore in the county of Surry, was paſſed into a law. And the ſtructure is now one of the nobleſt pieces of architecture in any part of the world.

On the twentieth of May his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech, in which he acquainted both houſes, "That ſince the preliminary articles had been concluded between his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the emperor, a farther convention concerning the execution of them had been made and communicated to him by both thoſe courts; and that negotiations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle the general pacification." His majeſty then expreſſed his concern with relation to the ſeeds of diſſention that had been ſown among his people; exhorted his parliament to cultivate unanimity, and promiſed impartial protection to all his ſubjects. He then acquainted them, "that being obliged that ſummer to viſit his German dominions, he hoped they would make the adminiſtration of the queen, whom he had reſolved to appoint regent in his abſence, as eaſy to her, as her wiſe conduct would render her government agreeable to them."

A tumult was expected to be the conſequence of the gin act's taking place, eſpecially as the common people had lately ſufficiently ſhewn their diſpoſition for riot and diſorder. The guards were, therefore, doubled at Kenſington, St. James's and Whitehall; a detachment of the life-guards and horſe grenadiers patrolled Covent-garden, and places adjacent; but contrary to expectation, every thing remained very quiet, and the act took place without the leaſt diſorder.

About the middle of April an incident happened in Scotland, which was attended with very ſerious conſequences. One Wilſon, a bold, reſolute fellow, had been tried and condemned to be hanged at Edinburgh, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue; and for having afterwards been guilty of one of the moſt daring actions ever attempted, that of reſcuing out of the hands of juſtice his brother-convict in the time of divine ſervice, when ſurrounded by his guards. So deſperate an offender filled the city of Edinburgh with terror, and the magiſtrates redoubled their uſual precautions for cauſing the ſentence pronounced againſt this deſperate criminal to be executed. This had the deſired effect, and Wilſon ſuffered without any diſturbance being raiſed by his friends; but while the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted with dirt and ſtones by the rabble. Some of the ſtones happening to ſtrike Porteous, who commanded the city guards, he gave way to his brutal paſſion, and ordered his ſoldiers to fire among the populace. They readily obeyed, and ſeveral perſons were killed, and others wounded. As this was done without any order from the magiſtrates, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted on full evidence, and ſentenced to be hanged on the eighth of September. The jury, however, by whom he was tried, found in their verdict, "that he and his guards had been attacked and pelted with ſtones of a conſiderable ſize, thrown by the multitude, whereby ſeveral of the ſoldiers were bruiſed and wounded."

This paliating circumſtance, together with the daring inſolence of the ſmugglers, of whom Wilſon was the chief, and who were then very numerous at Edinburgh, induced the queen, who was then regent, to indulge Porteous with a reſpite for ſix weeks, that a more particular enquiry might be made into the whole tranſaction. This reſpite occaſioned a very tragical cataſtrophe. The common people reſented in the moſt outrageous manner, this lenity ſhewn to a perſon who was the object of their deteſtation: they conſidered it as an attempt to ſanctify oppreſſion. The relations and friends of thoſe who had been killed, took every method in their power to increaſe this hatred in the populace; and a reſolution was formed to execute the criminal, and on the very day fixed by the judges for that purpoſe. Accordingly, about ten o'clock at night, on the ſeventh of September, a party of men from the adjacent country, entered Edinburgh, ſurprized the city guard, ſeized all their fire arms, locked up the gates, and gave the alarm that they were come to revenge innocent blood. They were immediately joined by ſeveral thouſands the populace, and repaired directly to the priſon where Porteous was confined. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to force open the door, they ſet it on fire, dragged the criminal from his apartment, and hanged him upon a dyer's pole near the graſs-market. From the boldneſs, ſecrecy and ſucceſs of this daring enterprize, it was univerſally believed, that ſome perſons, much above the rank of the vulgar, were concerned in it; eſpecially as they left the arms and drums of the city guard on the ſpot where they found them, as ſoon as the execution was over, and departed quietly without offering the leaſt violence to any other perſon.

The queen highly reſented this inſult offered to the government; and on enquiring it appeared, that the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had received intimation the day before of what was to happen, but had neglected to take the neceſſary precautions to render the attempt abortive. Her majeſty complained of this want of reſpect to her government, and a reſolution was taken to make a ſtrict enquiry into the whole proceeding, and to puniſh the guilty with the utmoſt ſeverity.

A. D. 1737. The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the firſt of February, and the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion from his majeſty. The lord-chancellor acquainted both houſes, that a farther convention with regard to the execution of the preliminary articles had been communicated to his majeſty by the French and Imperial courts, and that negotiations were then carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He added, "That the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders iſſued for the evacuation and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and diſpoſition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity was greatly advanced. But that his majeſty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final concluſion of the new ſettlement which was to diſpoſe of ſuch conſiderable parts of Europe. That though there was the moſt promiſing appearance of a general and laſting tranquillity, yet common prudence called upon the Britiſh nation to avoid an indolent ſecurity and too great a diſregard to future events. In ſhort, that ſhe might be provided againſt all attempts that might be made againſt her peace by her enemies." He next acquainted the commons, "That his majeſty had, as ſoon as circumſtances would admit, made ſuch a reduction of the expences, as was conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms, the ſecurity of commerce, and the honour and intereſt of the nation." In the remainder of the ſpeech, the late diſturbance at Edinburgh was mentioned in the following manner. "His majeſty cannot but obſerve, that it muſt be matter of the utmoſt ſurprize and concern to every true lover of his country, to ſee the many contrivances and attempts carried on in various ſhapes, and in various parts of the nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. The diſturbers of the public repoſe, conſcious that the intereſt of his majeſty and his people are the ſame, and of the good harmony which ſubſiſts between him and his parliament, have levelled their ſedition againſt both, and, in their late outrages, have either directly oppoſed, or, at leaſt, attempted to render ineffectual, ſome acts of the whole legiſlature. His majeſty, in his great wiſdom, thinks it affords a melancholy proſpect to conſider to what height thoſe audacious proceedings may riſe."

This ſpeech was anſwered by very loyal addreſſes from both houſes of parliament. The lords, as forming the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom, took particular notice of that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, relating to tumults and riots. Lord Carteret obſerved, that notwithſtanding the power with which the civil magiſtrate was inveſted, the military force had been employed in ſupporting the late diſturbances, none of which, he ſaid, had proceeded from any diſaffection to the government, but from very different cauſes. He repreſented the murder which had been committed by the populace of Edinburgh, as a crime of the moſt attrocious nature; adding, that the conſpiracy by which it had been effected was the more alarming, as it had not been attended with any of thoſe diſorders ſo common to the tumults of a headſtrong and riotous populace; which afforded the greateſt reaſon to believe, that it had been framed and conducted by perſons of rank and conſequence. His lordſhip was therefore of opinion, that the houſe ought to make the moſt diligent inquiſition into this affair, in order to diſcover the delinquents, and bring them to condign puniſhment; and even to puniſh the city of Edinburgh, if it ſhould appear that the inhabitants and magiſtrates had not exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. He then moved, "That the provoſt and baillies of Edinburgh, in the year 1736, the perſon commanding the city guard at the time of the riot, in which captain Porteous was murdered; and the commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland at the time of the ſaid riot, ſhould all of them be ordered to attend the houſe on a day appointed; and that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be ſubmitted to their inſpection."

This motion was agreed to; and the gentlemen being arrived from Scotland, the houſe entered, with great alacrity, into the enquiry. The perſons were all ſeparately examined, but their evidence was confuſed and unſatisfactory. The houſe was, however, ſatisfied from the whole, that the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had not done their duty in ſuppreſſing the riot, though they had no legal evidence to convict them. A bill was therefore brought in for diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the provoſt of Edinburgh, from taking, holding, and enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in that city, or elſewhere in Great-Britain; and for impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds upon the corporation of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. This bill occaſioned very violent debates in both houſes, and was at laſt paſſed by a majority of twenty-ſeven only.

On the twenty-ſecond of February, Mr. Pulteney moved the houſe of commons, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to expreſs the juſt ſenſe of this houſe of his majeſty's great goodneſs and tender regard for the laſting welfare and happineſs of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales; and as this houſe cannot omit any opportunity of ſhewing their zeal and regard for his majeſty's honour, and the proſperity of his family, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that, in conſideration of the high rank and dignity of their royal highneſſes, the prince and princeſs of Wales, and their many eminent virtues and merits, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle one hundred thouſand pounds a year on the prince of Wales, out of the revenues chearfully granted to his majeſty, for the expences of his civil government, and better ſupporting the dignity of the crown, and for enabling his majeſty to make an honourable proviſion for his royal family, in the ſame manner his majeſty enjoyed it before his happy acceſſion to the throne: and alſo humbly to beſeech his majeſty to ſettle the like jointure upon her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, as her majeſty had when ſhe was princeſs of Wales; and to aſſure his majeſty, that this houſe will enable him effectually to perform the ſame, as nothing will more conduce to the ſtrengthening of his majeſty's government, than honourably ſupporting the dignity of his majeſty's government, than honourably ſupporting the dignity of their royal highneſſes, from whom we hope to ſee a numerous iſſue, to deliver down the bleſſings of their reign to the lateſt poſterity."

Sir John Barnard ſeconded this motion, which was ſupported by a great variety of inſtances from the Engliſh hiſtory, in order to prove that the heirs apparent of the crown always had been provided for in a very independent manner.

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that this motion muſt occaſion a breach in the royal family; and, at the ſame time, how greatly his own intereſt was concerned to keep up a good correſpondence with the heir apparent, did every thing in his power to prevent the motion being made in the houſe of commons; but his royal highneſs rejected all terms of accommodation, but ſuch as ſhould be made by parliament. He therefore entered into the debate with great decency and firmneſs, by endeavouring to ſhew, that his majeſty could not, out of his preſent revenue, ſpare a greater allowance, than he did to his royal highneſs: and then he told the houſe,

"That he was commanded by his majeſty to acquaint them, that his majeſty yeſterday ſent a meſſage to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, by the lord chancellor, lord preſident, lord ſteward, lord chamberlain, duke of Richmond, duke of Argyle, duke of Newcaſtle, earl of Pembroke, earl of Scarborough, and lord Harrington." Which meſſage, ſo ſent by thoſe lords, being in writing, was as follows:

"His majeſty has commanded us to acquaint your royal highneſs, in his name, that, upon your royal highneſs's marriage, he immediately took into his royal conſideration the ſettling a proper jointure upon the princeſs of Wales; but his ſudden going abroad, and his indiſpoſition ſince his return, had hitherto retarded the execution of theſe his gracious intentions; from which ſhort delay his majeſty did not apprehend any inconvenience could ariſe, eſpecially ſince no application had in any manner been made to him upon this ſubject by your royal highneſs; and that his majeſty hath now given orders for ſettling a jointure upon the princeſs of Wales, as far as he is enabled by law, ſuitable to her high rank and dignity; which he will, in proper time, lay before his parliament, in order to be rendered certain, and effectually for the benefit of her royal highneſs."

"The king hath farther commanded us to acquaint your royal highneſs, that although your royal highneſs has not thought fit, by any application to his majeſty, to deſire that your allowance of fifty thouſand pounds per annum, which is now paid you by monthly payments, at the choice of your royal highneſs, preferably to quarterly payments, by his majeſty's farther grace and favour, be rendered leſs precarious; his majeſty, to prevent the bad conſequences, which he apprehends may follow from the undutiful meaſures, which his majeſty is informed your royal highneſs has been adviſed to purſue, will grant to your royal highneſs, for his majeſty's life, the ſaid fifty thouſand pounds per annum, to be iſſued out of his majeſty's civil-liſt revenues, over and above your royal highneſs's revenues ariſing from the dutchy of Cornwall; which his majeſty thinks a very competent allowance, conſidering his numerous iſſue, and the great expences which do, and muſt neceſſarily attend, an honourable proviſion for his royal family."

And that to this meſſage his royal highneſs the prince returned a verbal anſwer; which, according to the beſt recollection and remembrance of the lords, was in ſubſtance as follows:

"That his royal highneſs deſired the lords to lay him, with all humility, at his majeſty's feet; and to aſſure his majeſty, that he had, and ever ſhould retain the utmoſt duty for his royal perſon; that his royal highneſs was very thankful for any inſtance of his majeſty's goodneſs to him or the princeſs, and particularly for his majeſty's gracious intentions of ſettling a jointure upon her royal highneſs; but that, as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no anſwer to it."

After which, his royal highneſs uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards his majeſty; and then added, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands; I am ſorry for it;" or to that effect.

His royal highneſs concluded with earneſtly deſiring the lords to repreſent his anſwer to his majeſty in the moſt reſpectful and dutiful manner.

This meſſage made various impreſſions upon the houſe, and the oppoſition affected to treat the whole of it as a wicked artifice of the miniſter to divide the royal family, the better to ſupport his own power. The beſt ſpeakers in the houſe intereſted themſelves in this debate; but the queſtion being called for, a negative was put upon it, by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four againſt two hundred and four.

On the twenty-fifth of February, the ſame motion was made in the houſe of peers by lord Carteret; and the duke of Newcaſtle preſented from his majeſty the ſame meſſage that Sir Robert Walpole had delivered to the commons, and a like debate followed; but a negative was put upon the motion by a majority of ſeventy-nine peers preſent and twenty-four proxies, againſt twenty-eight peers preſent and twelve proxies; upon this a proteſt was entered by fourteen peers.

His royal highneſs the prince of Wales having now been prevailed upon to enter, in ſome meaſure, into the views of the oppoſition, it became the general opinion that the miniſter could not long hold his power. Some other great men, about the ſame time, began to be uneaſy; amongſt theſe was John duke of Argyle, elder brother to the earl of Hay.

The whole of the national debt, as delivered to the houſe of commons on the eighteenth of March, amounted to forty-ſeven millions, eight hundred and fifty-five thouſand, nine hundred and forty-eight pounds, three ſhillings and three-pence halfpenny; and ſome gentlemen thinking that the intereſt paid for it was too great, Sir John Barnard, on the twenty-firſt of March, moved in the committee of ſupply, "that his majeſty be enabled to raiſe money, either by ſale of annuities for years or lives, at ſuch rates as ſhould be preſcribed, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old and new South-ſea annuities; and that ſuch of the annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others."

Though this motion, and arguments urged in favour of it, were founded upon undeniable principles of public utility, yet it is incredible what a popular ſtorm was raiſed amongſt the annuitants, who were very numerous, againſt the friends of the motion. Though the miniſter was convinced of the juſtice and expedience of the meaſure, yet he was very ſhy of encouraging or giving way to the motion till the public could be brought to a better diſpoſition to bear it. But the arguments in favour of the meaſure were ſo forcible, that he was obliged to give way; and on the thirtieth of March, Sir Charles Turner reported from the committee of the whole houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the national debt,

"That it is the opinion of the committee, that all the public funds redeemable by law, that carry an intereſt at four per cent. per annum, be reduced according to the reſpective proviſo's or clauſes of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or, with conſent of the proprietors, be converted into an intereſt of annuity not exceeding three per cent. per annum, not redeemable till after fourteen years.

"That his majeſty be enabled to borrow from any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, any ſum or ſums of money, at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the national debt."

Upon reading the firſt reſolution a ſecond time, ſome friends of the miniſter moved, that the conſideration of the report ſhould be adjourned for a fortnight; but a negative was put upon this motion by a majority of two hundred and twenty againſt one hundred and fifty-ſeven. Upon this it was moved, that the reſolution ſhould be re-committed; and it was agreed to, as was the ſecond, by the houſe, without any diviſion.

Though theſe reſolutions had received a form different from what Sir John Barnard originally moved for, yet they were thought to contain a good introduction to the leſſening of the national debt; and, upon their being agreed to, Sir John Barnard moved,

"That that houſe would, as ſoon as the intereſt of all the national redeemable debt ſhould be reduced to three per cent. per annum, take off ſome of the heavy taxes which oppreſs the poor and the manufacturers."

Though this motion was very plauſibly introduced and ſupported, yet it was built upon principles which the generality of the houſe could not agree to; for it ſuppoſed a fact that was denied, that the public taxes fell more heavy upon the poor, and the manufacturers in England, than in any other country; neither did it appear to the ſatisfaction of gentlemen, that the redeemable part of the national debt, being reduced to pay an intereſt of only three per cent. could compenſate for the loſſes the government muſt be at, if the taxes that fell heavy upon the poor and manufacturers, ſuch as ſoap, candles, leather, and ſalt, were taken off. But, above all, the motion was deficient in point of form and regularity; becauſe, as no body ſuppoſed that the reduction mentioned in the motion could take place that ſeſſion, and it might happen not to take place even during that parliament, ſhould the houſe have agreed to it, they muſt, in effect, have undertaken for a future ſeſſion, if not for a future parliament. The motion, therefore, after long debates, was thrown out by a majority of two hundred againſt one hundred and forty-two; for the progreſs which the reduction of the intereſt had made, occaſioned ſo great a noiſe as alarmed the miniſter, who now found himſelf obliged to oppoſe the bill itſelf.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, Sir John Barnard preſented the bill according to order; the ſecond reading was put off till the twenty-ninth, at which time a motion was made for committing it; Sir Robert Walpole publicly declared, "that he had had no hand or concern in the formation of the ſcheme, either in its original ſhape, or in that in which it now appeared; and that he never had, either in public or private, any conference with Sir John about that, or any other ſcheme." Sir John replied pretty ſmartly to this; and a debate enſued, in which the miniſter and his friends carried the queſtion againſt committing the bill, by a majority of two hundred and forty-nine againſt one hundred and thirty-four. A long debate, as uſual, happened upon the number of land-forces to be kept up; but little new matter was offered on either ſide, excepting that the oppoſition in both houſes charged the diſorders and tumults that had lately happened, to the diſlike the people had conceived againſt the numerous army that was kept up, and the great load of taxes they were obliged to pay for maintaining them. The miniſterial party, on the other hand, endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the ſeditious practices of their oppoſers; and maintained, there was then no ſafety for any well-wiſher to his majeſty, but in the neighbourhood of the army, or part of it. The number propoſed was continued, by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſix againſt one hundred and ſeventy-eight.

A bill likewiſe paſſed this ſeſſion for reſtraining the number of playhouſes, that had been ſo lately and ſo juſtly complained of; and for ſubjecting all dramatical performances exhibited on the ſtage, to a licence from the lord-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, before they could be acted.

On the twenty-firſt of June, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he mentioned the licentiouſneſs of the times, "which, (ſaid he) under the colour and diſguiſe of liberty, you cannot be inſenſible what ſcandal and offence it gives to all honeſt and ſober men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is to reſtrain this exceſſive abuſe by a due and vigorous execution of the laws. Defiance of all authority, contempt of magiſtracy, and even reſiſtance of the laws, are become too general, although equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people; the ſupport of the one being inſeparable from the protection of the other. I have," continued he, "made the laws of the land the conſtant rule of my actions; and I do, with reaſon, expect in return all that ſubmiſſion to my government and authority, which the ſame laws have made the duty, and ſhall always be the intereſt, of my ſubjects."

The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the fourth of Auguſt, and by various ſubſequent prorogations, to the twenty-fourth of January enſuing.

The domeſtic events of this important year were various and affecting. A ſpirit of charity broke out among all ranks of people, and was led on by his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who ſent, in January, five hundred pounds for releaſing poor freemen of London out of priſon, where they were confined for debt; and a great number of others were diſcharged by the charitable donations of one Mr. Wright, a gentleman of great fortune, who died at Newington. A royal infirmary at Edinburgh for the maintenance of the ſick, was incorporated by his majeſty's charter, and met with great ſucceſs. About the ſame time Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Georgia with an account of the promiſing ſtate of that favourite colony, where the Indians had ſubmitted to his majeſty's authority. The Spaniſh government of Florida, and the council of War reſiding at St. Auguſtine, had ſigned a treaty with the colony; and beſides the town of Savannah, which was now in a flouriſhing ſtate, three other towns, Frederica, Auguſta, and Darien, were founded, and a new town called Ebenezer had been built by Saltzburghers, who had been obliged to leave their country, not by the perſecution of its government, but with regard to civil and religious liberties.

On the other hand, never were the common people known to be ſo diſſolute and turbulent. All the penalties of the law were inſufficient for reſtraining them from the uſe of pernicious ſtrong liquors, and the examples of juſtice which were made by the magiſtrates on that account, were repreſented by the enemies of the government, as ſo many acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. The truth is, that the law, as it then ſtood, was a little too ſevere upon the retailers of ſpiritous liquors, becauſe it admitted of no alleviation, through accident or inadvertence, of a hundred pounds fine for the ſmalleſt quantity ſold by retail. This was productive of very bad conſequences; for though ſome of the offenders were able to pay the penalty, yet many more being unable, they became deſperate, and betook themſelves to unlawful courſes of life. Hence it was that executions for robberies and murders of the moſt ſhocking kinds, now became frequent; and the government ſoon perceived, that the ſeverity of the law againſt drinking ſpirituous liquors would render it ineffectual.

A. D. 1738. On the fifteenth of January his majeſty arrived from Hanover at St. James's, and, in a grand council, which was immediately held, her majeſty ſurrendered to him her commiſſion for being ſole guardian of the kingdom in his abſence; and on the eighteenth her majeſty received the compliments of the city of London.

About this time died Dr. Wake, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He was a wiſe and moderate prelate, and had acquired great reputation by his writings againſt Atterbury, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, upon the rights and privileges of the convocation. His ſucceſſor was Dr. John Potter, biſhop of Oxford, whoſe promotion was obnoxious to no party; and who made a greater figure by his excellent account of the Greek antiquities, than he did by his polemical or theological writings.

Amongſt the many irregularities this ſpring produced, none was more inſolent than a conſpiracy amongſt the footmen in London and Weſtminſter, which went to ſo daring a height, that notwithſtanding the preſence of their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Wales and others of the royal family, they attempted by force to poſſeſs themſelves of a gallery in the playhouſe. A great number of people were wounded upon this occaſion; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that colonel Deveil, the Weſtminſter juſtice of the peace, aſſiſted by a party of the guards could quell them. This inſolence was, in a great meaſure, owing to the diſcredit which the magiſtrates of Weſtminſter had incurred with the lower ranks of people. Moſt of the acting juſtices, being men of very ſmall fortunes, ſought to encreaſe them by making a trade of their duty; which being no ſecret to the commonalty, rendered them very obnoxious.

Sir John Norris, after an effectual expedition, arrived ſafe from Liſbon at Portſmouth in April. The mediation of his fleet had perfectly re-eſtabliſhed a good correſpondence between the crowns of Spain and Portugal; and his Portugueſe majeſty, at taking leave of Sir John, expreſſed himſelf in terms the moſt grateful towards his Britannic majeſty, and the Engliſh nation. But in proportion as the nation felt the benefit of the ſeaſonable relief ſent to the Portugueſe, ſhe become ſenſible of the neceſſity of breaking with Spain, if his Catholic majeſty did not ſhew more ſincerity in the cedulas he diſpatched to his governors in America.

The ſtate of Venice, at this time, having ſhewn great marks of honour and reſpect to the eldeſt ſon of the pretender, their reſident at London received orders from court to leave England in three days; which he accordingly did, in company with a meſſenger of ſtate. The inſult was thought to have been committed at the private inſtigation of the court of Spain.

The princeſs of Wales, who was advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, but not thought to be ſo near her time as ſhe really was, being with their majeſties and the reſt of the royal family at Hampton-court, but without any midwife attending her, ſhe was, on the thirty-firſt of July, ſeized with the pains of child-birth, which increaſed ſo violently that the prince, who was with her, was obliged to bring her to London, and was that night delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta. His majeſty, on being acquainted with this unlooked for event, ſent a meſſage, by the earl of Eſſex, to the prince, congratulating him upon the birth of the princeſs; but at the ſame time expreſſing his diſpleaſure at his royal highneſs's conduct, in carrying away the princeſs from Hampton-court under the immediate pains of child-birth, to the hazard and danger both of the princeſs and her child, without acquainting his majeſty or the queen with the circumſtances the princeſs was in, or giving them the leaſt notice of his departure, was looked upon by his majeſty to be ſuch a deliberate indignity offered to himſelf and the queen, that he reſented it to the higheſt degree. His royal highneſs endeavoured to clear himſelf, by repreſenting the neceſſity of leaving Hampton-court without delay, conſidering the condition the princeſs was in; this he did in two letters, one addreſſed to his majeſty, and the other to the queen, both wrote in a very dutiful ſtrain. He repeated his importunity for a reconciliation, in a very humble meſſage he ſent next day, by the marquis of Carnarvon, one of the lords of his bedchamber; to neither of which he received any anſwer.

The king then ſent a meſſage by the earl of Dunmore to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him that it was his majeſty's pleaſure the baptiſm of the young princeſs ſhould be performed on the twenty-ninth, and that he would ſend his lord-chamberlain to ſtand as godfather in his place; that the queen's lady of the bedchamber would ſtand for her majeſty as godmother; and deſired the princeſs to appoint one of the ladies of her bedchamber to repreſent the dutcheſs dowager of Saxe-Gotha, as the other godmother; the ceremony to be performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. This meſſage encouraged the prince to repeat again his application for a reconciliation with more earneſtneſs than ever, both to the king and queen; but on the tenth of September following, he received, by the duke of Grafton, a very ſevere meſſage from the king, reproaching him with his paſt conduct, and concluding with the following expreſſions:

"The whole of your conduct, for a conſiderable time, has been ſo entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reaſon to be highly offended with you: and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from thoſe by whoſe inſtigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and the queen, and until you return to your duty, you ſhall not reſide in my palace, which I will not ſuffer to be made the reſort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the diviſion which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common intereſt of the whole.

"In this ſituation, I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifeſt a juſt ſenſe of your duty and ſubmiſſion, that may induce me to pardon what, at preſent, I moſt juſtly reſent. In the mean time, it is my pleaſure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs. I ſhall, for the preſent, leave to the princeſs the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to conſider of her education."

The prince of Wales paid due obedience to this meſſage, and retired to Kew. He made ſeveral new efforts to regain his majeſty's favour, but they all proved ineffectual. He ordered lord Baltimore, one of his domeſtics, to apply to lord Grantham, chamberlain to the queen, to know whether her majeſty would receive a letter from him, in mitigation of his conduct; but her majeſty declined that. The princeſs then wrote an humble letter to the king, which was delivered by the earl of Pembroke. This his majeſty anſwered in terms full of affection and civility to the princeſs; but it appeared plainly, that his diſpleaſure towards the prince was rather increaſed than abated. The guards were now taken off from their attendance on the prince and princeſs; and thoſe who paid their court to them were not ſuffered to come into his majeſty's preſence.

The letters which paſſed between the royal family were printed by authority, and made various impreſſions on the minds of the people. All the prince's ſervants ſoon after joined the oppoſition to miniſtry.

The Spaniards ſtill continued to commit depredations upon the properties of Engliſh ſubjects in the Weſt-Indies and America. Three very rich ſhips had been lately taken by their guarda-coſtas. This freſh inſult upon the property of the nation obliged the merchants to addreſs his majeſty perſonally, which was done as follows:

"That the fair and lawful trade of your majeſty's ſubjects to the Britiſh plantations in America, hath been greatly interrupted for many years paſt, not only by their ſhips having been frequently ſtopped and ſearched, but alſo forcibly and arbitrarily ſeized on the high ſeas, by Spaniſh ſhips fitted out to cruize, under the plauſible pretence of guarding their own coaſts: that the commanders thereof, with their crews, have been inhumanly treated, and their ſhips carried into ſome of the Spaniſh ports, and there condemned, with their cargoes, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns."

"That, notwithſtanding the many inſtances made by your majeſty's miniſters at the court of Madrid, againſt this injurious treatment, the late and repeated inſults of the Spaniards upon the perſons and properties of your majeſty's ſubjects, lay your petitioners under the neceſſity of applying again to your majeſty for relief.

"That by theſe violent and unjuſt proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade to your majeſty's plantations in America is rendered very precarious; and if any nation is ſuffered thus to inſult the perſons of your majeſty's ſubjects, and plunder them of their property, your petitioners apprehend it will be attended with ſuch an obſtruction of that valuable branch of commerce, as will be very fatal to the intereſt of Great-Britain.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your majeſty, that your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to procure ſpeedy and ample ſatisfaction to your ſubjects for the loſſes they have ſuſtained; and that no Britiſh veſſel be detained or ſeized on the high ſeas by any nation, on any pretext whatſoever; and that the trade to America may be rendered ſure for the future, by ſuch means as your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, ſhall think fit."

To this petition his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer; and his ſecretary of ſtate ſent freſh orders to Mr. Keene to repeat his inſtances, at the court of Madrid, for their relief. A committee of the privy-council ſat at Whitehall, and heard the proofs of the loſſes which the merchants had ſuffered by the Spaniards.

This year died, greatly lamented, queen Caroline, in the fiftieth year of her age. She had been, for ſome time, indiſpoſed, and had taken medicines for the gout in her ſtomach, but her diſorder proved to be a concealed rupture. The virtues which adorned this princeſs were various and numerous; her conjugal affection was exemplary: the king always found in her a wiſe and a faithful counſellor; and when ſhe was intruſted, as ſhe frequently was, with the reins of government, the public was happy under her adminiſtration. Her natural ſagacity and talents were improved by reading and converſing with the moſt eminent philoſophers and authors of the age; and ſhe had made ſo great a progreſs in literature, that ſhe became an umpire in one of the moſt abſtruſe points of metaphyſical reaſoning, the doctrine of free-will and fatality, as diſputed between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke. The ingenious were always ſure of a patronage in this amiable princeſs; and the bench of biſhops, through her means, was filled with prelates eminent for their learning.

The king was prodigiouſly afflicted, for a length of time, at his irreparable loſs; and the public likewiſe ſhewed every mark of concern they could teſtify upon this melancholy occaſion.

A war broke out this year between the Turks and the Ruſſians, and between the Turks and the Imperialiſts. The Ruſſian army was commanded by count Munich, who carried on the campaign with great ſucceſs. He beſieged and took Oczakow, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the Turkiſh dominions, garriſoned by twenty thouſand of their beſt troops. This ſucceſs, which was, in a great meaſure, owing to the valour of general Keith, coſt the Ruſſians very dear, and diſabled Munich from carrying his conqueſts farther. At the ſame time, general Laſci, at the head of another Muſcovite army, marched towards Precop, with a deſign to carry the war into Crim Tartary, which he effected.

Though theſe operations were carried on in concert with the Imperialiſts, the latter were far from being ſo ſucceſsful. The duke of Lorrain had nominally the command of their army; but count Seckendorff, an old man and a proteſtant, was the acting general. The emperor had given him this command, in compliment to the diet of the empire, by whom he was aſſiſted in the war. The ſcheme of operations was, that Seckendorff ſhould advance, with the main body of the army, and attack Widin, upon the Danube; but finding that place too advantageouſly ſituated to be reduced, without a ſquadron of ſhips, he ſuddenly attacked Niſſa, one of the ſtrongeſt towns upon the Turkiſh frontier, which ſurrendered. The reſt of the campaign on that ſide was unfortunate for the Imperialiſts. The exceſſive heats killed great numbers of their men, and Seckendorff, through the management of the Roman catholic party and the jeſuits, had not the proper ſupplies of either men or money. Being obliged to divide his army, he formed with one part of it the blockade of Widin, which he was forced to abandon with loſs. The baron de Raunach, another imperial general, having penetrated, at the head of ſix thouſand men, into Croatia, was entirely routed; and the prince of Saxhilburghauſen, who had formed the ſiege of Bagnalac, was defeated by a ſuperior body of Turks, who deſtroyed the beſt part of his army, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand men. Theſe repeated loſſes threw the court of Vienna into conſternation: Seckendorff was ordered home to account for his conduct, and the command was given to velt-marſhal Philippi. Notwithſtanding thoſe and a great many other important advantages gained by the Turks on the ſide of Boſnia and Servia, their governor ſeemed very deſirous of a peace; and ſome conferences on that head had been held at Niemeren; but as the Ruſſians inſiſted upon keeping poſſeſſion of Aſoph and Oczakow, they proved fruitleſs; and all parties went into winter quarters.

A.D. 1739. His majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the twenty-fourth of January. His ſpeech upon that occaſion was remarkably ſhort, and exhorted the houſe to unanimity and diſpatch. They, on the other hand, returned him very loyal addreſſes of condoleance upon her majeſty's death. The firſt buſineſs of great importance they went upon, was the ſtate of affairs between Great Britain and Spain. His majeſty had referred the examination of the complaints of the Britiſh merchants to a committee of the privy-council, where they attempted to make good their allegations. Having no one to oppoſe them, the public unanimouſly took their part, and every day brought freſh accounts of depredations committed upon Britiſh ſubjects, not only in the American, but in the European ſeas. The court of Spain did not indeed directly juſtify all thoſe captures, and to give its proceedings an air of moderation, the crews three Engliſh ſhips which had, upon frivolous pretexts, been taken in the Mediterranean, and impriſoned in Spain, were ordered to be releaſed; and in ſome flagrant caſes in the Weſt Indies, the ſhips that had been taken, were releaſed, upon the owners giving ſecurity for the value, if they ſhould be adjudged to be lawful prizes.

On the third of March a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons from divers merchants, planters, and others, trading to, and intereſted in the Britiſh plantations in America. After recapitulating all that had paſſed in conſequence of former applications of the ſame kind, the petitioners ſet forth, "That the Spaniards had paid ſo little regard to his majeſty's moſt gracious endeavours (to obtain juſtice to his ſubjects) that they had continued their depredations, almoſt ever ſince the treaty of Seville, and more particularly laſt year, had carried them to a greater height than ever; they having arbitrarily ſeized ſeveral ſhips with their effects, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, on the high ſeas, in the deſtined courſe of their voyages to and from the Britiſh colonies, amounting to a very conſiderable value; and that the captains or maſters of the ſaid ſhips were, according to the laſt advices of the petitioners, and are, as the petitioners believe, at this time, confined by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, and the crews are now in ſlavery in Old Spain, where they are moſt inhumanly treated; and that cruel nation make it their practice to attack and board all Britiſh merchant ſhips they meet with in the American ſeas, under pretence of ſearching for goods which they deem contraband, or not according to their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, contrary to the law of nations, and in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. And that by theſe unjuſt and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade and navigation to and from America, is rendered very unſafe and precarious, inſomuch that the inſurance from Jamaica has greatly riſen on theſe accounts only: and that without ſome ſpeedy and effectual remedy, the American trade and navigation will be, together with the revenue of the crown ariſing therefrom, greatly diminiſhed, if not entirely loſt: and farther repreſenting to the houſe, that although his Catholic majeſty has ſtipulated by the treaty of Seville, and by the declaration of 1732, relative thereto, to cauſe reparation to be forthwith made to the unhappy ſufferers, yet there is no inſtance of its having been done; ſo far from it, that whilſt the Britiſh ſubjects have been amuſed with vain and fruitleſs hopes of ſatisfaction, the Spaniards have committed farther inſults and depredations upon them, and ſtill continue the ſame unjuſt practices; and that the cedulas or orders given by the court of Spain to their governors in America, are only calculated, as the petitioners, by experience, have reaſon to apprehend, to evade giving ſatisfaction to the Britiſh ſubjects; for there has never been one of thoſe cedulas complied with, nor any governor recalled or puniſhed for his diſobedience, as the petitioners ever heard: and that for any nation to aſſume the power of detaining or rummaging the Britiſh ſhips, upon their lawful voyages on the American ſeas, is, in effect, the petitioners conceive, claiming and exerciſing the ſole ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas: and that if the Spaniards be ſuffered to act in this injurious manner, to inſult the perſons of his majeſty's ſubjects, or to plunder them of their property, the petitioners apprehend the ſame will be attended not only with a great obſtruction to this valuable branch of our commerce and navigation, but alſo with conſequences very fatal to Great Britain itſelf: and therefore, as the meaſures hitherto purſued have proved ineffectual, praying the houſe to take the premiſes into their mature conſideration, and provide ſuch timely and adequate remedy for putting an end to all inſults and depredations on the Britiſh ſubjects, as to the houſe ſhall ſeem meet, as well as procure ſuch relief for the unhappy ſufferers, as the nature of their loſs, and the juſtice of their cauſe, require, and that they may be heard by themſelves and counſel thereupon."

This petition was referred to a committee of the whole houſe, as was another petition to the ſame effect, preſented on behalf of the maſter, wardens, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of the ſociety of merchant adventurers within the city of Briſtol. On the ſame day, a petition upon a particular caſe was laid before the houſe, and made great noiſe: it was from the owner of the ſhip Ann Galley, which was taken in a time of profound peace, bound from Guinea to Jamaica. This capture, which the owner ſaid was in value ten thouſand five hundred pounds, was ſo flagitious, that the Spaniſh miniſtry frequently ordered reparation to be made to the petitioners, and they actually received upwards of five hundred pounds from the Spaniſh cheſt at St. Jago, by way of compenſation. But that not being near the value of their damages, though the Spaniſh miniſtry had admitted the capture to be illegal, and had even ordered full ſatisfaction to be made to the owners, they therefore brought their petition for relief. Another petition of the ſame kind was preſented at the ſame time, and all of them were referred to the ſame committee.

It was then moved "to addreſs his majeſty for copies of the ſeveral petitions, repreſentations, and memorials, and all other papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations upon the Britiſh ſubjects, which had been preſented to his majeſty, or had been delivered to either of the ſecretaries of ſtate ſince the firſt of September laſt; with copies of ſuch repreſentations or memorials as had been made either to the king of Spain or his miniſters; and of the letters written to his majeſty's miniſter at Madrid; and of the anſwers that have been given or received to ſuch memorials, repreſentations, and letters."

The ſubſtance of this motion was not oppoſed by the miniſter; but he thought that complying entirely with it might diſcover particulars, of which a bad uſe might be made: he therefore inſiſted upon not addreſſing for the anſwers that had been given or received to ſuch memorials, repreſentations, and letters. This brought on a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameneſs of the Engliſh miniſtry, were equally exaggerated. The chief ſpeakers on both ſides exerted themſelves upon this occaſion; but the miniſter adhered to his point, that as affairs were then ſituated, it would be imprudent to plunge the nation into a war, without trying whether it was poſſible to bring Spain to terms, of which there was then great probability. All that the oppoſition urged, with any appearance of truth, was admitted of by the miniſter, who was more frank on this head than ſome of his friends; for they were apt to throw out reflections againſt the ſmuggling trade, which the ſubjects of Great-Britain carried on in the Weſt-Indies, contrary to treaties. The oppoſition immediately turned this into a reflection upon the whole body of the Britiſh merchants in America, and were always ready to give the moſt ſhocking inſtances of the cruelties of the Spaniards againſt the Engliſh; and that they were of ſuch a nature, as, in fact, admitted of no farther treaty. Some of them went even ſo far as to ſay, that the motion was ſo fair and conſtitutional, that it was not ſafe for the miniſter to oppoſe it.

Sir Robert Walpole owned, with great candour, that the laſt anſwer which had come from the Spaniſh miniſtry, was ſo far from being ſatisfactory, that if the houſe ſhould ſee it, and if (as it unavoidably muſt) it ſhould come to the knowledge of the public, very bad conſequences muſt follow. The parliament and nation, unacquainted with the reaſons which his majeſty and his miniſtry might have for avoiding a precipitate war, would preſs it; and his majeſty muſt either comply, contrary to the true intereſts of his people, or he muſt diſagreeably exerciſe that part of his prerogative, which veſts him with the power of making war or peace. He intreated the gentlemen to conſider, that even though the preſent motion was carried without any amendment, it was in his majeſty's breaſt to comply, or not to comply with it; and if the houſe ſhould addreſs for a paper or papers, which his majeſty and his miniſtry were conſcious ought not to be made public, they muſt lay his majeſty under the hardſhip of refuſing it. He acquainted them, that the Britiſh miniſtry, notwithſtanding the harſhneſs of the laſt anſwer from Spain, had ſent to that court ſome propoſitions which might ſoften them, and which, in all probability, would ſoon be anſwered. If they were not anſwered to the ſatiſfaction of his majeſty, he himſelf would move, that every paper relating to Spain, even their laſt anſwer, ſhould be laid before the houſe; but that, till then, it would be highly improper to comply with the motion. He next made a recapitulation of the late treaties and tranſactions between England and Spain; and he endeavoured to prove, that the ſtiffneſs of the Spaniards was owing to the perplexed ſtate of affairs in Europe ſince the treaty of Seville, which did not admit of the meeting of the commiſſaries for adjuſting the pretenſions on both ſides, ſo as to make a final report of their commiſſion. He obſerved, that the ſentiments of certain gentlemen againſt the Spaniards, ſince that time, were greatly altered; and that the claims which the Engliſh had upon them were far from being looked upon, either at home or abroad, to be ſo clear as they were then repreſented, which appears by their being referred to a congreſs. He next attempted to ſhew, that the Spaniards had hitherto done as much to ſatisfy the Engliſh ſufferers as could be well expected. The diſtance between Madrid and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, from whence the proofs muſt be brought, was very great. The Spaniſh governors were extremely inſolent, and, in ſome meaſure, arbitrary, and independent upon the miniſtry; ſo that it was no wonder if that court ſometimes found difficulty in bringing them to reaſon. He even gave inſtances of ſome Engliſh ſhips that had been abſolutely releaſed by the Spaniards; of others, that had been releaſed, upon giving ſecurity to ſtand trial whether they had been engaged in an illicit trade or not; and he mentioned others, that the court of Madrid ſeemed very well diſpoſed towards ſatisfying their claims; and, to conclude, he was for amending the queſtion that had been moved for.

Sir William Wyndham, and the other heads of the oppoſition, were ſenſible of the advantages they had in an argument which had ſo highly enflamed the paſſions of the nation. They perceived the miniſter aimed at fixing the retroſpect of the Spaniſh depredations no farther back than the treaty of Seville; but they obſerved, that the cauſes of complaints had exiſted for theſe twenty years; and that little or no redreſs having yet been obtained, the houſe ought, for the honour and intereſt of the nation, to be informed of the reaſons, which they could not be without complying with the motion in its full extent: that the public and ſufferers had a right to all the ſatisfaction which the houſe could give them; and if they could give them none upon the Spaniards, they ought at leaſt to know who were the authors of their calamities at home, by a timid, diſgraceful conduct, in ſo long delaying to repreſs force with force.

The miniſter's ſpeech had a great effect upon the houſe, and he carried the queſtion by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-four againſt ninety-nine.

Mr. Pulteney then made a motion in the houſe of commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the more effectually ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in America. In order to introduce this motion, he moved, that the ſixth and eighth ſections of an act paſſed in the ſixth of queen Anne, intituled, An act for the better ſecuring the trade of the kingdom by cruizers and convoys, ſhould be read; and likewiſe the ſecond ſection of an act made in the ſame ſeſſion, intituled, An act for the encouragement of the trade to America. It was upon theſe two bills that the ſubſtance of this act moved for was founded, and both of them were thought neceſſary at the time they paſſed. The intention of the act now propoſed, was to give the property of all prizes taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and ſeamen preſent in the action. Head-money of five pounds for every Spaniard taken at ſea, was likewiſe granted to the ſailors; and the property of all places taken from the Spaniards, was to be veſted, by his majeſty's patent, in the captors.

Little oppoſition was made to this bill when it was firſt propoſed; but when a motion was made for a ſecond reading, it was ſtrongly oppoſed by Sir Robert Walpole. He obſerved, that with regard to the firſt article, if hoſtilities were immediately to commence againſt Spain, and a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war was to take the whole Plate fleet or flotilla of the Spaniards, with all their regiſter ſhips, every ſhilling of it muſt become the property of the Engliſh ſeamen, though it was publicly known that not one fifth part of that treaſure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe. As to the granting head-money for every Spaniard taken at open ſea, he approved of very much, as ſoon as war ſhould be declared. The third article he thought of a very dangerous nature; and that, if it paſſed into an act, it muſt effectually preclude the concluding any ſafe and honourable peace; becauſe, in all negotiations of peace, ſome places on both ſides are commonly given up to facilitate it, which could not be done if his majeſty, by letters patent, ſhould part with the property to private owners.

He then urged with great energy, that, ſhould the act in queſtion immediately take place, without being greatly amended, it muſt be attended with the abſolute ruin of the Britiſh commerce all over Europe. It muſt give an alarm to the French for their property, which is greater than that of the Spaniards themſelves on board their American fleets; and that the French court, in ſuch a caſe, would not heſitate to take part with Spain, and join her with all her naval force to convoy the Spaniſh plate fleet to Europe; beſides, moſt of the French, the Dutch, and the Daniſh property at ſea, were inſured in England or Holland in time of peace, and therefore the loſs, in fact, muſt fall upon the Britiſh and Dutch inſurers, as they could have no pretext to indemnify the French and other nations for the loſſes they would ſuſtain; ſo that the bill, if paſſed into a law, might ruin the Dutch as well as the Britiſh inſurers. He deſired the houſe to conſider, in ſuch an event, what muſt be the caſe of the Britiſh merchants then reſiding in Spain, their perſons, their ſhips, and their properties, all which the Spaniards would certainly ſequeſter. "What muſt the Dutch," ſaid he, "think of ſuch a bill? or what power in Europe can be our hearty friend, ſhould it, at this time, paſs into a law?"

In anſwer to thoſe who inſinuated, that he was afraid of a war becauſe peace was his only ſafety, he ſaid, "It was but a mean excuſe for a miniſter when any wrong ſtep is made in government, that he is not accountable for the events of meaſures that never were adviſed by him, and in which he was over-ruled by his ſuperiors. I have always diſdained thoſe mean ſubterfuges; and with what face can I appear again in this houſe, if full and ample ſatisfaction is not made us, or, at leaſt, if we do not do our utmoſt to obtain it; either by fair and peaceable means, or by exerting all our ſtrength in caſe a war becomes neceſſary. If my country ſhould call me to account, I would willingly take upon me the blame of every ſtep that has been made by the government, ſince I had the honour to enter into the adminiſtration. As to the common notion of a miniſter being afraid to enter upon a war, I do not underſtand upon what it can be grounded. For my part, I never could ſee any cauſe, either from reaſon or my own experience, to imagine a miniſter is not as ſafe in time of war as in time of peace. Nay, Sir, if we are to judge by reaſon alone, it is the intereſt of a miniſter, conſcious of any miſmanagement, that there ſhould be a war; becauſe by a war, the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor is he accountable for the bad ſucceſs of a war, as he is for that of an adminiſtration."

The miniſtry were now endeavouring to get a deciſive anſwer from the court of Spain, but not being able to obtain one, the examinations and enquiries about depredations went on with more fury than ever in both houſes of parliament. Mr. Pulteney at laſt brought into the houſe of commons, which he moved for in a ſpeech, the following ſet of reſolutions.

"That it is the natural and undoubted right of the Britiſh ſubjects to ſail with their ſhips on any part of the ſeas of America, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions; and that ſeizing and confiſcating ſuch ſhips as are not ſailing and trafficking in the ports and havens, which have fortifications, caſtles, magazines, or warehouſes, or other places poſſeſſed by the king of Spain, is contrary to equity and juſtice, and a manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. That it is the indiſputable right of the ſubjects of Great Britain to carry in their ſhips all ſorts of goods, merchandize, or effects, from one part of the Britiſh dominions to any other part of the Britiſh dominions; and that no goods or merchandize being ſo carried, are, by the laws of nations, or any treaty between the two crowns, to be deemed or taken as contraband goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of finding contraband goods, is highly injurious to the trade of this kingdom, a violation of the law of nations, and an infraction of the treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns. That the ſubjects of Great Britain did hold and poſſeſs lands in the province of Jucantan in America, anticedent to, and at the time of the treaty of 1670; which treaty confirmed the right to each contracting party of ſuch lands or places as either did at that time hold and poſſeſs; and that the ſubjects of Great Britain then had, and have at all times ſince, claimed a right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and enjoyed the ſame, without interruption, till of late years; which right ſeems further particularly ſecured to us by the manner in which the firſt article of the treaty of 1670, with thoſe remarkable words, "Without prejudice to any liberty or power which the ſubjects of Great Britain enjoyed either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence." That the attacking a fleet of Britiſh ſhips gathering ſalt in the iſland of Tortugas, then under convoy of one of his majeſty's ſhips of war, by two men of war belonging to the king of Spain, was a notorious infraction of the convention ſigned at Madrid December 14, 1715, and an high inſult on the honour due to the flag of Great Britain. That for many years laſt paſt, the liberty of navigation in the American ſeas hath been unjuſtly diſturbed by the Spaniards, under pretence of ſearching for, and finding, illicit trade; the Britiſh ſhips unlawfully ſeized, upon the open ſeas, plundered and confiſcated; the ſailors robbed, inhumanly tortured, impriſoned and made ſlaves; to the grievous loſs of the merchants, the obſtruction of the commerce, and the diſhonour of the nation. That, notwithſtanding the repeated application of parliament, the treaty of Seville, and the aſſurances ſo frequently given to merchants of procuring reparation for their loſſes and ill uſuage; and notwithſtanding the expectation of the nation of receiving juſt and ample ſatisfaction for the cruelties exerciſed on its ſubjects, and the inſults offered to itſelf, nothing has in ſo many years been obtained from the court of Spain effectually to ſatisfy the loſſes, repair the injuries, or retrieve the honour of the nation; though the ſaid treaty of Seville, ſo advantageous to Spain, hath been punctually executed on the part of Great Britain."

Sir Robert Walpole told the houſe that he was very ready to agree to the firſt part of the reſolution, upon the natural and undoubted right which the ſubjects had to ſail with their ſhips in any part of the ſeas of America, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions. He obſerved, that conſidering the ſtate of the negotiation between Spain and England at that time, it would be much more eligible to make the reſolutions the houſe agreed to, not quite ſo peremptory and ſo particular. He therefore propoſed that the reſt of the reſolutions ſhould run as follows:

"That the freedom of navigation and commerce, which the ſubjects of Great Britain have an undoubted right to by the law of nations, and which is not in the leaſt reſtrained by any of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, has been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundleſs and unjuſt. That before and ſince the execution of the treaty of Seville, that the declaration made by the crown of Spain purſuant thereto, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of the commerce of Great Britain, many unjuſt ſeizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the Spaniards, which have been attended with many inſtances of unheard of cruelty and barbarity. That the frequent application made to the court of Spain, for procuring juſtice and ſatisfaction to his majeſty's injured ſubjects, for bringing the offenders to condign puniſhment, and for preventing the like abuſes for the future, have proved vain and ineffectual; and the ſeveral orders or cedulas, granted by the king of Spain for reſtitution and reparation of the great loſſes ſuſtained, by the unlawful and unwarrantable ſeizures and captures made by the Spaniards, have been diſobeyed by the Spaniſh governors, or totally evaded and eluded. And that theſe violences and depredations have been carried on to the great loſs and damage of the ſubjects of Great Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns."

Theſe amendments occaſioned great debates, but the miniſter and his friends maintained, that the reſolutions moved by him, contained all that could be reaſonably expected from Spain at that time; and with regard either to poſſeſſion or navigation, it could not be effected or weakened by the houſe agreeing to the amendment; which the houſe, after a long debate, complied with, upon a diviſion of two hundred and twenty-four, againſt one hundred and ſixty-three, and an addreſs to be preſented by the whole houſe was accordingly voted.

During this period the lords were no leſs anxious than the commons, in their enquiries into theſe important affairs. The earl of Cholmondley had prepared a ſet of reſolutions, which had a much greater tendency to obtain ſatisfaction to the nation, than thoſe debated in the houſe of commons. Lord Carteret, in a very fine ſpeech, ſhewed, that after the concluſion of the American treaty in 1670, none of the articles in 1667 are applicable to the American navigation by the Engliſh and Spaniards. He made a deduction as far back as the peace of Munſter, to ſhew that the baſis of all European commerce in America conſiſted in each nation reſerving to itſelf an excluſive right to trade with its own colonies and plantations there; and that therefore, no ſhip which was not actually in the ports and harbours of Spain, could be ſuppoſed either ſearchable or ſeizable by the Spaniards. He proved, beyond a doubt, that all the modes of viſiting and ſearching mentioned and preſcribed by the treaty of 1667, was applicable to the European navagation alone, and not to the American; "because," ſaid he, "that very treaty takes it for granted, that no trade between the Spaniards and the Engliſh can be carried on there, and conſequently there can be no object of ſearch, unleſs the ſhips of one power ſhall be found actually trading within the ports and harbours of the other." As to the claim the Spaniards made of ſtopping ſhips within a certain ſpace from the ſhore, he demonſtrated to be unjuſt and groundleſs; becauſe, in a coaſt ſo extenſive, ſo uncertain, and ſo little known as that of America, it was often impoſſible for Britiſh ſubjects to navigate their ſhips, ſo as to prevent their being ſometimes forced by ſqualls and currents, and ſometimes to know in what part of the world they were, to prevent their making land, and often coming within the diſtance which the Spaniards pretended gave them a right to ſeize them. His lordſhip enforced his arguments with ſo much clearneſs, that they agreed to preſent the following addreſs:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious conſideration, the many unjuſt violences and depredations committed by the Spaniards, upon the perſons, ſhips and effects of your majeſty's ſubjects in America, have come to the following reſolutions, which we beg, in the humbleſt manner, to lay before your majeſty for your royal conſideration, viz.

I. "Reſolved that the ſubjects of Great Britain have a clear and undoubted right to navigate in the American ſeas, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions; and for carrying on ſuch trade and commerce, as they are juſtly entitled to in America; and alſo to carry all ſorts of goods, merchandizes, and effects from one part of his majeſty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods being ſo carried, are, by any treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of their carrying prohibited or contraband goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns.

II. "Reſolved, that it appears to this houſe, as well before as ſince the treaty of Seville, on the part of Great Britain, divers ſhips and veſſels with their cargoes belonging to the Britiſh ſubjects, have been violently ſeized and confiſcated by the Spaniards, upon pretences altogether unjuſt and groundleſs; and that many of the ſailors on board ſuch ſhips have been injuriouſly and barbarouſly impriſoned and ill treated; and that thereby the liberty of navigation and commerce belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, hath been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great loſs and damage of our merchants, and in direct violation of the ſaid treaties.

III. "Reſolved, that it appears to this houſe, that frequent applications have been made on the part of his majeſty to the court of Spain, in a manner the moſt agreeable to treaties, and to the peace and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for redreſſing the notorious abuſes and grievances before mentioned, and preventing the like for the future, and for obtaining adequate ſatisfaction to his injured ſubjects, which in the event have proved entirely fruitleſs and of no effect.

"We think it our duty, on this important occaſion, humbly to repreſent to your majeſty, that we are moſt ſenſibly affected with the many and grievous injuries and loſſes, ſuſtained by your majeſty's trading ſubjects, by means of theſe unwarrantable depredations and ſeizures; and to give your majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere aſſurances, that in caſe your friendly and powerful inſtances for procuring reſtitution and reparation to your injured ſubjects, and for the future ſecurity of their trade and navigation, ſhall fail of having their due effect and influence in the court of Spain, and ſhall not be able to obtain that great ſatisfaction and ſecurity which your majeſty may in juſtice expect; we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch meaſures, as ſhall become neceſſary for the ſupport of your majeſty's honour; the preſervation of our navigation and commerce, and the common good of theſe kingdoms."

His majeſty returned the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"I am ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by my trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards. You may be aſſured of my care to procure ſatisfaction and reparation for the loſſes they have already ſuffered, and ſecurity for the freedom of navigation for the future; and to maintain to my people the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they are entitled by treaty and the law of nations.

"I doubt not but I ſhall have your concurrence for the ſupport of ſuch meaſures, as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe."

This important queſtion between Spain and England, ſo entirely employed the attention of the public, that very little regard was paid to other affairs, which happened in the courſe of this ſeſſion, though ſome of them were of importance. Two millions were granted to his majeſty, for the ſervice of the current year, and for paying to the governor and company of the bank of England one million for redeeming an annuity of forty thouſand pounds payable to them. Another act of great importance that paſſed this ſeſſion was, for building a bridge croſs the river Thames, from the Woolſtaple, Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in Surry. Some farther regulations were likewiſe made with regard to the drinking ſpirituous liquors; and thoſe already made having been found ineffectual, and productive of many perjuries, a power had been granted to retail ſpirituous liquors with licences. But this had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the diſorder complained of; and an act paſſed this ſeſſion, by which a penalty was laid on all occupiers of houſes in which ſpirituous liquors were illegally ſold.

On the fourteenth of June, the king came to the houſe, and put put an end to the ſeſſion in a ſpeech, wherein he earneſtly recommended unanimity among the members; and deſired them to tranſmit, by their example, peace throughout their different counties.

Great pains had been taken to conceal from the people the ſtate of our connections with Spain; but the continual depredations committed upon our trading veſſels in different parts of America, alarmed the whole nation, and a war ſeemed inevitable. Mr. Keene, our ambaſſador at Madrid, delivered a remonſtrance to the Spaniſh miniſtry, complaining of the conduct of their naval officers, and demanding reſtitution of ſuch goods as had been ſeized from the Britiſh ſubjects. Great augmentations were made to our land forces, by raiſing ten new regiments, and filling up ſuch as had been reduced. Nor was the navy neglected; for many ſhips that had been laid up were put in commiſſion, and there was an exceeding hot preſs for ſailors in all the ſea-port towns in the kingdom. Orders were ſent to admiral Brown, then ſtationed at Jamaica, to make repriſals on the Spaniards, and every thing ſeemed to wear a promiſing appearance, and the nation in general was ſatisfied.

The ſources from whence the Spaniards derive their wealth, became an object of national concern to Great Britain; and therefore it was propoſed that two ſquadrons ſhould be fitted out, one under the command of captain Cornwall, and another under captain Anſon. That under captain Cornwall was to ſail round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, in order to attack ſuch of the Spaniſh ſettlements as lay near the coaſt; but if he found that impracticable, he was to ſail to the Manilla, one of the Phillippine iſlands. Captain Anſon was to ſail to Java-head, a promontory in the Eaſt-Indies, where he was to take in freſh water, with ſuch other neceſſaries as his ſquadron ſhould want, and then to proceed on his voyage to meet captain Cornwall at Manilla. This ſcheme was ſo agreeable to all ranks of people in the nation, that harmony began to take place of diſcord, and all ſeemed united to contribute towards diſtreſſing the common enemy.

But ſtill it was neceſſary that a much more reſpectable ſquadron than either of thoſe already mentioned ſhould be fitted out; and accordingly nine ſhips of the line, with ſeveral ſmaller ones, were ordered to ſail for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Vernon, an officer of conſummate knowledge, undaunted courage, and great prudence. He was ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of his country; he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons againſt ſome ſchemes of the miniſtry; but no ſooner did he conſider the nation in danger, than he forgot every thing like diſcontent, and chearfully took upon him the command of the ſquadron.

Every preparation for war, by both powers, then only wanted the form of a declaration, and that took place on the nineteenth of October. This meaſure was in its own nature abſolutely neceſſary; for both the honour and intereſt of the nation were at ſtake. Our merchants had been plundered of their moſt valuable goods, and ſo puſillanimous were our miniſtry, that the Britiſh flag ſeemed falling into diſgrace. Complaints, indeed, had been often made to the miniſtry, but the perſons injured were either refuſed redreſs, or diſmiſſed with ambiguous promiſes. But the declaration of war gave new hopes to the people, and although they knew it had not been done till abſolutely neceſſary, yet they began to have ſome confidence in the miniſtry.

Soon after the declaration of war, admiral Haddock took a rich Spaniſh ſhip; but the Spaniſh admiral, who commanded the ſquadron, returning from the South Seas, having received notice, or rather ſuſpecting that ſome of our ſhips of war would attempt to intercept him off Cadiz, he ſailed north round Ireland, and from thence coaſting by the Land's-end of England, arrived ſafe in Spain, to the great mortification of the Engliſh ſailors, who expected to acquire an immenſe booty.

It was the opinion of moſt people in general, that the French would take part with the Spaniards, and ſuch was the conduct of the ſtates-general, that no confidence could be placed even in their moſt ſolemn proteſtations. Mr. Walpole, our ambaſſador at the Hague, endeavoured to perſuade them to take part with us, as their natural ally, but he received only evaſive anſwers; from which it ſeemed evident that they intended to remain neuter till their own territories ſhould be attacked. With reſpect to the Spaniards, they were filled with conſternation when they found what preparations we were making againſt them, for the timid behaviour of our miniſtry had induced them to look upon the people of England as diveſted of that courage for which they had been ſo long diſtinguiſhed.

On the continent, the emperor of Germany, Charles VI. in conſequence of ſome loſſes, found himſelf under the neceſſity of concluding a treaty of peace with the Turks, upon terms neither honourable nor advantageous. The empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe forces acted in concert with thoſe of the emperor, was obliged to follow his example, and recall her army without having obtained any ſingular advantages.

On the fifteenth of November the Britiſh parliament met, and the king in his ſpeech informed them, that contrary to his own inclination, but conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown, and the intereſt of his ſubjects, he had declared war againſt Spain, not doubting but the commons would chearfully contribute ſuch ſums as were wanting to maintain the army and the navy. Both houſes were ſo well pleaſed with his majeſty's ſpeech, that moſt loyal addreſſes were preſented to him, and the commons declared that nothing ſhould be wanting to defray every neceſſary expence. And that a complete triumph might be obtained over the miniſtry, Sir William Wyndham moved, that an addreſs might be preſented to his majeſty, praying that no treaty of peace ſhould be entered into with Spain, till the Britiſh ſovereignty was acknowledged in America.

The miniſtry were ſo well convinced of the reaſonableneſs and popularity of the motion, that they made no oppoſition to it; and his majeſty, in anſwer to the commons, told them, that they might depend upon his ſteady perſeverance in rejecting all terms of a diſhonourable nature. Some very popular acts paſſed at this time, though not without oppoſition from the miniſtry, who ſeemed to have nothing ſo much at heart as that of croſſing every meaſure that ſeemed productive of public good. Great encouragement was given to foreign ſeamen to enter into our merchants ſervice; and ſome thouſands of the perſecuted proteſtants in Germany, were invited by our government to ſettle in America.

Lord Polworth, now earl of Marchmount, propoſed, that in compaſſion to the people already burthened with very heavy taxes, no unneceſſary officers ſhould be retained in the army; and although nothing could be more juſt or equitable, yet the miniſtry oppoſed it for this reaſon, that it threatened to deprive them of the privilege of rewarding their favourites.

A. D. 1740. The commons ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſupport of the army and navy to be laid before them, but ſcarce had they taken them into conſideration, when Sir Robert Walpole, as chancellor of the exchequer, preſented to the houſe a meſſage from his majeſty, intimating that he had ſome things under conſideration of the utmoſt importance, that would be attended with greater expence than he imagined, and therefore prayed that ſuch ſums as were neceſſary ſhould be granted. This was referred to the committee of ſupply, and the whole was granted with very little oppoſition.

The next thing that engaged the attention of the houſe, was a bill brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for taking an exact number of all ſeamen in the merchants ſervice, together with ſuch as plied on the river. But however neceſſary ſuch a ſtep might be, in order to know the internal ſtrength of the nation, yet the popular party treated it as a meaſure that would, in the end, enſlave the people, and therefore the bill was rejected by a very great majority. The whole conduct of the antiminiſterial party, on this occaſion, ſhewed that they acted from motives of oppoſition, becauſe the bill had not originated from themſelves.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them that he intended to marry his daughter, the princeſs Mary, to the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; and prayed that they would enable him to give her a portion ſuitable to her rank. The commons unanimouſly agreed to give the princeſs forty thouſand pounds; and, at the ſame time, agreed, that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, for having communicated to them his royal intention.

The beginning of this year was remarkable for one of the ſevereſt froſts that had been known. It began on Chriſtmas-day 1739, and continued, without intermiſſion, upwards of ſeven weeks. The Thames was frozen over in ſuch a manner, that a public fair was held on it, and booths erected for the reception of all thoſe whoſe curioſity led them thither. The hardſhips of the poor were extremely great; but, to the everlaſting honour of the Engliſh, let it be recorded, that they did every thing in their power to alleviate the diſtreſſes of their ſuffering fellow-ſubjects. From the king, down to the humble tradeſman, each ſeemed anxious to be moſt forward in acts of benevolence; ſo that a national calamity revived decaying charity.

His majeſty, on the twenty-fifth of April, went to the houſe of peers, and, in a ſpeech from the throne, thanked the commons for their readineſs in granting the ſupplies; and recommended unanimity, as the only ſure means of making them formidable to their enemies. He added, that the juſtice of his cauſe in taking up arms, gave him reaſon to hope for the divine bleſſing; after which the parliament was prorogued to the third of June.

The king ſet out for Hanover in the beginning of May; and during his abſence, the princeſs Mary was married, by proxy, to the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. John, duke of Argyle, being offended with ſome of the meaſures of government, reſigned all his places, and retired to live in a private manner. But it is now neceſſary that we ſhould look back to the ſtate of the war.

Admiral Vernon having ſailed from Portſmouth, came to an anchor at Port-Royal in Jamaica; and ſent an account of his buſineſs to Mr. Trelawney, the governor, deſiring him to grant him all the aſſiſtance he could; and, at the ſame time, promiſing, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to diſcharge his duty according to the nature of his inſtructions. At Port-Royal the admiral was joined by commodore Brown, with one ſhip only; and having procured intelligence that the Spaniſh fleet intended ſailing towards Porto Bello, he reſolved, if poſſible, to be there before them. The fleet under admiral Vernon, with which he propoſed taking Porto Bello, conſiſted of ſix ſhips only, having on board two thouſand four hundred and ninety-five ſeamen, and two hundred land forces.

Porto Bello is ſituated on the iſthmus of Darien, where a ſmall track of land divides North and South America from each other. It conſiſts of ſeveral ſtrong forts, and is the place to which all the riches of Mexico and Peru are annually brought. The Spaniards had been at great expence in making additions to the fortifications, and they even imagined that it was impregnable. One battery of guns, level with the ſurface of the water, ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to every ſhip that approached; but abilities, courage, and perſeverance, overcome the greateſt difficulties.

On the twenty-firſt of October 1739, the ſquadron came up to the fort; but the wind being eaſterly, little could be done beſides attacking the Iron Caſtle, near the mouth of the harbour.

The attack was begun by commodore Brown, in the Hampton-Court, of ſeventy guns; and in the ſpace of twenty-five minutes, four hundred ſhot were fired. Such an inceſſant fire, which was ſeconded by captain Mayne, in the Worceſter, obliged many of the Spaniards to retire from different parts of the fort: upon which the admiral made the ſignal for the boats to come up, in order to land the marines, which was done with the loſs of three men only. As the courage of ſeamen and ſoldiers never ſhines with more luſtre than when oppoſed by the enemy, and expoſed to the greateſt dangers; ſo no ſooner had they landed, than they ſcaled the walls by one man's ſtanding on the ſhoulders of another. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the Spaniards, that both officers and men fled from the lower forts into the uppermoſt part of the citadel, where they hung out a white flag, as a ſignal that they would capitulate. The marines and ſeamen, who had firſt landed, were ſo impatient to obtain the victory, that ſtriking down the Spaniſh colours, they hoiſted thoſe of Britain; while ſuch of the Spaniſh ſoldiers as beheld their courage, ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion. Two Spaniſh men of war lying in the harbour ſurrendered at the ſame time; ſo that, in the ſpace of one day, this great fort was taken.

News of this important event was brought to England by captain Rentone on the thirteenth of March 1740, while the parliament was ſitting; and ſo much elevated were the people in general, that medals of all ſorts were ſtruck, and great rejoicings made throughout the kingdom.

Having forced the governor of Panama to deliver up ſuch of the Engliſh as had been illegally confined, the admiral ſet ſail for Jamaica, where he came to an anchor in the harbour of Port-Royal, though not without great damage to his ſhip, which had been attacked by a violent ſtorm.

While admiral Vernon was ſupporting the honour and intereſt of his country in the Weſt-Indies, admiral Haddock, after cruiſing ſome time in the Mediterranean, blocked up the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of Cadiz. But here admiral Haddock was led into a ſnare; for another Spaniſh fleet, under the command of admiral Pintado, made a feint, as if they intended ſailing towards Minorca; and Haddock leaving his ſtation to oppoſe them, the Spaniſh fleet got out of the harbour of Cadiz, and joined another ſquadron then lying in the harbour of Ferrol.

The French, who had hitherto concealed their intentions, began to pull off the maſk; for they fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron, under the command of the marquis D'Antin, which ſailed to Martinico, with poſitive orders to act offenſively againſt the Engliſh. Indeed our valuable ſettlements in America had long been an object of envy to our haughty neighbours; and therefore it was reſolved that, in concert with Spain, we ſhould be deprived of all the benefits of trade in that part of the world.

No ſooner was the news made public, that the French had fitted out a ſquadron, than our miniſtry, who had no ſuſpicion of any ſuch intentions, were perplexed in their minds; while the nation was filled with diſcontent from the one end to the other.

The miniſtry, in order to quiet the diſcontents of the people, ordered a large ſquadron of ſhips of the line to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of Sir John Norris, who hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, a ſhip carrying one hundred and ten guns. The late duke of Cumberland went as a volunteer along with the admiral, and great hopes were formed by the people concerning the ſucceſs of this armament, but all in vain; for after cruiſing ſome time, and meeting with ſtorms, Sir John came to an anchor at Spithead, without having done any thing beſides amuſing the people, who had ſo generouſly ſubmitted to very heavy taxes towards ſupporting the war. This was the moſt unpopular meaſure that could have been taken; and the miniſtry, in order to regain their loſt credit, reſolved to fit out a ſquadron under captain Anſon; for the ſcheme projected the former year, of ſending him and captain Cornwall to the South-ſeas, had been partly laid aſide.

Mr. Anſon, now made commodore, was ordered to ſail, with the following ſhips under his command, namely, the Centurion, of ſixty guns; the Severn and Glouceſter, of fifty guns each; the Pearl, of forty; and the Wager, of twenty-eight; with the Trial ſloop, carrying eight guns; and two victualling veſſels. This ſcheme was well projected; and although it did not, in every thing, anſwer the hopes that had been formed of it, yet, in the end, the commodore received immortal honour, and riches were brought into the nation. His orders were to ſail to the South-ſeas, and diſtreſs the Spaniards in their remote ſettlements, ſo as to prevent them from oppoſing admiral Vernon, who ſtill remained as commander in chief in the Weſt-Indies.

On the twenty-firſt of October, this ſmall ſquadron arrived at Madeira, where they took freſh proviſions, and then paſſed Cape Horn, though not without conſiderable loſs; for many of the ſeamen died, while others were confined to their hammocks in a moſt ſickly condition.

In the mean time, admiral Torres, who commanded the Spaniſh fleet in the bay of Ferrol, ſailed for America, with two thouſand land forces on board; which ſtruck ſuch a panic into the Engliſh miniſtry, that they ſaw no appearance of keeping their ground, unleſs a fleet was ſent to reinforce the ſquadron under admiral Vernon. That brave commander, upon his return to Port-Royal, having refitted his ſhips, and taken in freſh proviſions, ſailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded, and did conſiderable damage to the place; but not having ſufficient force, and many of the men being ſickly, he was obliged to return to Porto Bello, where having again refitted, he attacked fort Chagre, and obliged the garriſon to capitulate. In the letters ſent to the miniſtry by admiral Vernon, he complained that neceſſary reinforcements had not been ſent him in proper time, ſo that no beneficial conſequences could ariſe from his victories; and however ſecret theſe letters were kept, yet the contents of them tranſpired, and the nation was again filled with diſcontent.

This induced, or rather forced, the miniſtry to ſend over to the admiral ſix regiments of marines, with two of foot, the whole under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great courage and reſolution. Sir Chaloner Ogle was ordered to ſail from Spithead with twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, having on board twelve thouſand ſeamen, furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to diſtreſs the enemy. But notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, carried on at a great expence, yet the fleet did not ſail till October; ſo that the Spaniards had time to put their forts in a proper ſtate of defence.

This year Charles VI. emperor of Germany, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his daughter Maria Thereſa, who had ſome years before married the grand duke of Tuſcany, of the houſe of Lorrain. The king of Pruſſia died much about the ſame time, and his death was ſucceeded by that of the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, empreſs of Ruſſia. The death of ſo many ſovereigns could not fail of being attended with ſuch conſequences as muſt always happen on ſimilar occaſions, namely, that of lighting up the flames of civil war. The young king of Pruſſia laid claim to the province of Sileſia, belonging to the houſe of Auſtria; and a revolution took place in Ruſſia, by which Elizabeth, the late empreſs, was placed on the throne, amidſt the united acclamations of the people.

In September, his majeſty arrived from Hanover; and on the eighteenth of November following, he aſſembled the parliament. In his ſpeech he took notice, that the Spaniards, ſenſible that they were not able to oppoſe the Britiſh forces, had called in the aſſiſtance of ſome other powers, as appeared from ſome very extraordinary ſteps that had lately been taken, by which he meant the fleet fitted out by the French. He added, that if, contrary to the faith of treaties, and inconſiſtent with the laws of nations, any power whatever ſhould take part with the Spaniards, the honour of his crown and the ſafety of the people would require every neceſſary aſſiſtance from the commons. He took notice of the death of the emperor, and how far it was likely to affect the peace of Europe: and concluded with recommending unanimity among the members.

As ſoon as his majeſty had left the houſe, and the commons were returned to their own houſe, John, duke of Argyle, moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to congratulate him upon his ſafe return, and to aſſure him that the peers would not only ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, but that they would exert thoſe inherent privileges enjoyed by them as the higheſt tribunal in the nation, by promoting the honour, intereſt, and happineſs of his majeſty and the kingdom. His grace, in his ſpeech, in order to enforce the motion, arraigned the conduct of the miniſtry, in not attending to the intereſt of the nation; and, in expreſs terms, accuſed them with having given private orders, that none of our ſhips ſhould attack any of the Spaniſh forts. He charged them with neglecting to give orders for the fleet to ſail; and intimated, it would have ſtill remained at Spithead, had not his majeſty returned to England.

The nervous eloquence of the duke attracted the attention of all ſuch peers as were not attached to the miniſtry, and great debates enſued. The earl of Holderneſs obſerved, that the duke's motion was couched under vague, uncertain terms; and therefore moved, that in the addreſs his majeſty ſhould be thanked for his gracious care of his people; and that his faithful lords would ſupport him with their lives and fortunes in the execution of every treaty that he had entered into with any of the German princes. This debate was carried on with great ſtrength of argument, and in language that would have done honour to a Roman ſenate, by lord-chancellor Hardwicke, lord Harvey, lord Cholmondeley, and the earl of Holderneſs, for the miniſtry; and againſt them, by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Cheſterfield, lord Carteret, and lord Talbot. At laſt the queſtion being put, it was carried in favour of the court addreſs; ſo that the miniſtry once more triumphed over thoſe who wiſhed well to the nation.

In the houſe of commons, after a long debate, an addreſs was drawn up in very general terms; and, indeed, too general, when it is conſidered in what ſtate the nation then was. That the commons might know in what condition the navy was, they moved for an addreſs to be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that all letters, or other papers ſent from admiral Vernon, ſhould be laid before them: and although it was the intereſt of the miniſter to have concealed theſe from the public, yet, by an unaccountable inadvertency, he ſuffered the motion to paſs, and the addreſs was preſented. When the letters came to be read, they were found to contain heavy complaints againſt the miniſtry, for not ſending him proper reinforcements; and that the ſhips under his command were in ſo ſhattered a condition, that they were not fit for action.

A. D. 1741. The country party, though inferior in number, were, in both houſes, the moſt reſpectable characters, and moſt juſtly celebrated for their eloquence, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs. During the month of January this year, the minority in both houſes had frequent conſultations together, and at laſt it was reſolved to impeach the miniſter. Mr. Sandys was to manage this buſineſs in the lower houſe; and accordingly, on Friday the thirteenth of February, he ſtood up in his place, ſpoke long and ſenſibly of the many errors committed by Sir Robert, and traced his conduct as far back as the year 1720. He accuſed him with having adviſed his majeſty to do ſome things inconſiſtent with his dignity; and boldly charged him with concealing from the people the real ſtate of the nation. He took notice, that the people expected no redreſs of their grievances at home, nor ſucceſs to their arms abroad, unleſs the miniſter was for ever removed from his majeſty's councils, as well as all thoſe connected with him. He therefore moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting that the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt lord-commiſſioner of the treaſury, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, be removed from his majeſty's councils and preſence for ever.

Mr. Pitt ſpoke long and forcibly in favour of the motion; and he was ſupported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Sir John Hynde Cotton, lord Limerick, and Mr. Gibſon, gentlemen of the greateſt abilities and integrity. Theſe celebrated ſtateſmen charged the miniſter with the moſt bare-faced acts of corruption, in order to ſupport his own intereſt; and that he had, in the moſt unneceſſary manner, raiſed a ſtanding army, which was ſupported at a vaſt expence, while the navy, the real ſtrength and ſecurity of the nation, had been neglected. They concluded by aſſerting, that he had impoſed on his majeſty with reſpect to the ſtate of Europe in general; and that he had concealed from him the complaints of his people.

Such was the nature of the charge exhibited againſt the miniſter, and it muſt be acknowledged, that it was not ill founded. He had long acted on a ſyſtem of policy inconſiſtent with the intereſt of a free people; and corruption was, by his influence, carried to an enormous height.

Mr. Pelham, brother to the late duke of Newcaſtle, attempted to vindicate the whole conduct of the miniſter, and to refute the charges brought againſt him. He took notice, that all the treaties entered into by advice of the miniſter, were in conſequence of ſome defects in former ones; and that the ſtate of the nation required that his majeſty ſhould form the moſt powerful connection with the princes on the continent. He added, that the corruption with which the miniſter was charged, could not be proved; and that the whole of the charge was the effect of envy, becauſe his majeſty had diſtinguiſhed him with particular marks of his confidence and favour. In a word, Mr. Pelham did all he could to vindicate the miniſter, whoſe friend he had long been, and who continued firm to his intereſt, even to the laſt.

During the debate, which laſted till three o'clock in the morning, the miniſter ſaid not one word; but when the ſpeakers had gone through with their arguments, he ſtood up, and ſpoke in his own defence in the moſt maſterly and eloquent manner. Although conſcious that one half of the ſeats in the houſe had been given by him to ſuch needy wretches as ſubſiſted by the wages of corruption, yet ſo little was he afraid that they would expoſe his character, that he boldly charged the whole houſe to produce one inſtance of his having bribed one member, either directly or indirectly. He concluded by ſaying, that patriotiſm was a moſt venerable word, when underſtood in a proper manner; but it was then ſo hackneyed, that it had fallen into diſgrace. "The form, (ſaid he) is preſerved, but the ſubſtance is loſt. Patriots ſpring up like muſhrooms; I could make fifty of them within the compaſs of a night. Let a miniſter only refuſe an unreaſonable, or an inſolent demand, and up ſtarts a patriot: I never was afraid of making patriots, and I deſpiſe all that they can do. I believe that no miniſter ever had ſuch an attack made upon him as the preſent; but I know it has been long forming; and there are gentlemen here preſent who know that I could have prevented it, and by means not difficult to be known. I am convinced of my own integrity; and whatever may be the iſſue of the preſent motion, I ſhall rejoice in it. The whole of my life has been one continued act of duty to my country; and I here defy my moſt inveterate enemies to prove one ſingle charge which they have, with ſo much art and appearance of ſincerity, exhibited againſt me."

The miniſter having finiſhed his harangue, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative by a ſmall majority, in conſequence of above ſixty of thoſe who pretended to be of the popular party having gone out.

In the houſe of lords, the ſame motion was made by lord Carteret, who was ſeconded by the dukes of Argyle and Bedford, the earls of Halifax, Carliſle, Berkſhire, Abingdon, and Weſtmoreland, with the lords Bathurſt and Haverſham. On the other hand, the conduct of the miniſter was vindicated by the dukes of Devonſhire and Newcaſtle, the lord-chancellor Hardwicke, the earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyle, lord Harvey, the earl of Oxford, and the biſhop of Saliſbury. The queſtion at laſt being put, it was carried in the negative. But altho' the miniſter was ſo ſucceſsful, yet, from that time, his character began to ſink; for ſo many iniquitous practices had been laid open, that although ſome of them, through the force of prejudice, and the heat of paſſion, had been conſiderably exaggerated, yet the ſober, thinking members, were convinced that the greater part were too well founded to admit of a ſingle doubt.

The death of the emperor had led his daughter, the queen of Hungary, into a war with the elector of Bavaria, who had married the daughter of the emperor Joſeph, and, in conſequence of that alliance, laid claim to ſome of the Auſtrian dominions. The queen of Hungary demanded from Britain twelve thouſand men that had been promiſed her in conſequence of a former treaty; and his majeſty, in the beginning of April, went to the houſe, and informed the parliament of it. He took notice, that he was bound to ſupport his ally; and as the war would be attended with a very great expence, he doubted not but the commons would contribute chearfully to enable him to ſupport the dignity of his crown, and force his enemies to hearken to the voice of reaſon. Both houſes joined to addreſs the king in the moſt loyal manner; telling him, that they would enable him to fulfil his engagements with the queen of Hungary, and furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies for protecting his German dominions from any attacks that might be made upon them by any power whatever. After which, the king having advanced ſome of the commoners to the peerage, he diſſolved the parliament. and in May ſet out to viſit Hanover.

The parliamentary buſineſs for the ſeaſon being thus over, it is neceſſary that we ſhould attend to the ſtate of the navy, and the operations of the fleet. Sir Chaloner Ogle, after meeting with ſeveral ſtorms, came to an anchor at the iſland of St. Dominica, where lord Cathcart died, to the inexpreſſible grief of the army and navy. The command of the forces devolved upon general Wentworth; and the admiral having taken in freſh water, and other neceſſary proviſions, ſet ſail for Jamaica, in order to join admiral Vernon. In his way thither, he fell in with a part of the French fleet, that had been ſent to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and a ſmart engagement enſued; but as war was not then declared between France and England, both admirals thought proper to deſiſt: and on the ninth of January, Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived ſafe in the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica. This revived the drooping ſpirits of admiral Vernon; for the fleet now amounted to twenty-nine ſhips, with fifteen thouſand ſeamen, with an equal number of land-forces. Indeed the loſs of lord Catheart was ſincerely lamented; but as general Wentworth was conſidered as an officer of the moſt undaunted courage,

rage, great hopes were formed of the ſucceſs that would follow.

A council of war was immediately held at Spaniſh town in Jamaica, wherein it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould ſail towards Hiſpaniola, to obſerve the motions of the marquis d'Antin, who was ſuppoſed to act in concert with the Spaniards; but the marquis had ſailed for Europe in a moſt diſtreſſed condition. This diſappointment occaſioned another council of war to be held, wherein it was reſolved to ſail to Carthagena, and attack that fort both by ſea and land. Accordingly, after a dangerous voyage, the Engliſh forces were landed on a ſmall iſland near the mouth of the harbour, where they erected a battery; and ſoon made a breach in the principal fort; while the fleet co-operated with them, and general Wentworth reſolved to enter the breach that had been made. At firſt every thing ſeemed to ſecond their operations, for the Spaniards abandoned the forts, and the Engliſh land forces ſeemed to carry every thing before them. But unfortunately, a miſunderſtanding having ariſen between the admiral and the general, neither would act in a proper manner, while the men, who were obliged to lay during the nights in the fields, expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, died in great numbers; ſo that their ſtrength was weakened, and it was feared they would become an eaſy prey to the enemy.

General Wentworth, in order to recover his loſt credit as a military officer, reſolved to take the place by ſtorm; but above ſix hundred of his men were cut off, and all hopes of ſucceeding vaniſhed. To complete the misfortune, the greateſt part of the army lay ſick, and it was computed that no leſs than three thouſand four hundred and forty men died in the ſpace of two days, merely in conſequence of the miſunderſtanding that had taken place among the commanders.

A council of war was again called, wherein each officer upbraided the other with not having done their duty; but during their debates the public ſervice was neglected and the enemy left to triumph over our weakneſs. At laſt it was reſolved to ſail for Jamaica, which was effected without any obſtacle; but no ſooner was the news tranſmitted to England, than the people were filled with the utmoſt conſternation. All Europe waited with impatience for the event of this expedition, which had coſt Britain ſo much money; and the Spaniards had given up their territories in South America for loſt, but this revived their ſpirits and enabled them to go on with the war with more ſpirit than ever, and at the ſame time it encouraged the French to give them aſſiſtance.

Whether this unfortunate affair was owing to the conduct of the admiral or the general, is of little importance to the public; but certain it is, that admiral Vernon took ſuch care of the fleet that he was conſidered as a father rather than a commander.

Having refitted the fleet, which was in a moſt ſhattered condition, and taken every proper method for preſerving the health of the ſeamen, he reſolved to attack the town of St. Jago in the iſland of Cuba. He had great hopes of ſucceeding in this enterprize, and accordingly the forces were landed; but general Wentworth ſtill oppoſed the admiral, ſo that nothing of conſequence was done, nor any honour acquired to the nation. The public money was ſquandered away in an empty parade; the people were filled with hopes, and in the end, being diſappointed, diſcontent took place every where. It is true, ſome few of the enemy's ſhips had been deſtroyed, but that was not attended with any ſucceſs worth mentioning; and after a fruitleſs attempt to bring honour to the Britiſh crown and reputation to her arms, it was reſolved to ſail to Jamaica, where the fleet arrived, though not before many of the men had loſt their lives by ſuch diſorders as are peculiar to the climate in that part of the world.

The diſgrace that attended the Britiſh navy in the Weſt Indies had a conſiderable effect on the political ſtate of Europe, according to the views of the different courts. The young king of Pruſſia, whoſe political and military talents had been hitherto concealed, demanded of the queen of Hungary the province of Sileſia, in conſequence of ſome old claims which had been given up by his anceſtors; but in all diſputes between princes, power becomes predominant. The Pruſſian army was then the beſt diſciplined in Europe, the king at their head entering Sileſia, every thing gave way to him, while the queen of Hungary, who had taken poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, relied for ſupport on Great Britain. Indeed the Pruſſian monarch bought his conqueſts extremely dear; for count Neuperg, having raiſed an army, a moſt bloody battle enſued at Molwitz, near the river Neiſs. For ſome time it was doubtful in whoſe favour victory would declare herſelf, till at laſt, about ſix in the evening, the king of Pruſſia, by one of thoſe maſterly ſtrokes for which his character has been ſo juſtly celebrated, obliged the Auſtrians to retire, and the town of Neiſs ſurrendered to the conqueror.

This blow, though not deciſive, threatened the Auſtrian dominions with immediate ruin; but the queen of Hungary had ſtill great hopes from the late reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament. She alſo ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the ſtates-general; but the king of Pruſſia ſent a threatening letter to the Hague, wherein he informed the ſtates, that if they took any part in the preſent war, ſo as to oppoſe him, he would ſeize on ſuch parts of their territories as his anceſtors had formerly laid claim to. To enforce his orders, he commanded a body of ſix thouſand men to encamp on the frontiers of Holland, which ſo intimidated the Dutch, that they were obliged to apply to the earl of Hyndford, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to intercede in their favour. But all theſe means proved ineffectual; for the Pruſſian monarch, finding that the court of Vienna, in concert with ſome other European powers, had entered into a confederacy againſt him, he reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the places he had taken in Sileſia; and that he might be able to add the whole of that valuable province to his territories, he concluded a treaty offenſive and defenſive with France.

In the mean time the French, ever reſtleſs and ambitious, reſolved to humble the power of the houſe of Auſtria; and for that purpoſe made choice of the elector of Bavaria, who was intended to be made emperor, and the hereditary dominions of the queen of Hungary were to be ſettled on him and his family. Cardinal Fleury, who at that time was the chief miniſter at the court of Verſailles, was in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and a man of a moſt pacific diſpoſition; but notwithſtanding all his abilities, yet no ſooner had the French learned that the king of Pruſſia had declared in favour of the elector of Bavaria, than the whole people called out for war, and the cardinal was obliged to give way to the public clamour. The French king was ſo averſe to every meaſure that ſeemed to countenance the claims of the houſe of Auſtria, that he reſolved to place the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne, and ſecure to himſelf ſuch of the Auſtrian provinces in the Netherlands as lay neareſt to his own dominions. This was a deep laid ſcheme, and the news of it was ſent to the marſhal de Belliſle, then in Germany, that he might be ready for carrying on the intended project.

The bad ſucceſs attending the Engliſh arms in America, gave life to every oppoſition made againſt them by any of the European powers. The marſhal de Belliſle had his army ſtrongly reinforced; and the Spaniards, eager to ſtrengthen themſelves by any alliance whatever, ſent conſiderable ſums of money to Paris to defray the expences of the war in Germany.

In order to give ſome colour to theſe hoſtile preparations, the French king publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he aſſerted, that nothing but the ſafety of his people could have induced him to take ſuch a ſtep; but as the king of England had aſſembled an army in Germany, ſo he thought it his duty to do the ſame. In the mean time, the marſhal de Belleiſle, who acted both as general and ambaſſador, conducted matters with ſo much art, that the king of Pruſſia, with the elector of Saxony, were both brought into a general confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe dominions were to be parcelled out among them. This was a treaty of ſo unjuſt and infamous a nature, that no excuſe can be made for it, becauſe it entails infamy upon every one of the parties.

The elector of Bavaria, thus powerfully ſtrengthened, took the field, and declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, whoſe whole forces, except a few in garriſons, were engaged in oppoſing thoſe of the king of Pruſſia. At firſt, the elector of Bavaria ſpread conſternation wherever he came, even to the gates of Vienna; while a large body of French troops, under the command of the marſhal Maillebois, penetrated through Weſtphalia to the frontiers of Hanover. His Britannic majeſty was then in Hanover; and his whole German forces, amounting to no more than twenty-ſix thouſand men; and the king of Pruſſia being ready with an army to ſupport the French, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſigning a treaty; by which it was ſtipulated, that the Hanoverian forces ſhould not take any part in the war, but obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. The queen of Hungary was now driven from Germany, and moſt of her dominions ſeized by the enemy. Denied aſſiſtance from any prince in the empire, except the elector of Hanover, and he, at the moment his army intended to march to her aſſiſtance, was obliged to ſign a treaty of neutrality. In that diſtreſſed ſituation, the queen had recourſe to methods more proper, and more advantageous than the aſſiſtance of any foreign power whatever. She aſſembled the ſtates of Hungary, a brave, warlike people, who had been ſubject to her anceſtors above ſix hundred years; and coming into the ſtate-houſe at Preſburg, ſhe held her ſon, then about ſix months old, and at preſent emperor of Germany, in her arms, and addreſſed her ſubjects, in Latin, to the following import.

She told them, that her moſt unhappy circumſtances, as they then were, left her no reaſon to hope that ſhe could ever extricate herſelf out of ſuch difficulties, unleſs ſhe was aſſiſted in the moſt powerful manner. She added, that ſhe was abandoned by her friends, perſecuted by her enemies, and that even her own relations had conſpired againſt her. "I have "none to truſt to but you, my dear and loyal ſub"jects. Here is your king in my arms; to you I "commit both him and myſelf, not doubting but "you will ſupport me in oppoſing my enemies: "and if I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to loſe all in "Germany, I ſhall once more throw myſelf into the "arms of my Hungarian ſubjects." This ſpeech, delivered in the moſt tender and pathetic manner, had the deſired effect. Many ladies in the hall ſhed tears; but the brave deputies drawing their ſwords, called out, "Moriamur pro rege Maria-Thereſa:" "We will die for our king Maria-Thereſa;" for the Hungarians always ſpeak of their ſovereigns in the maſculine gender.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the zeal that her loyal ſubjects exerted on the preſent occaſion: there ſeemed to be a conteſt among them who ſhould be the firſt to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and in the compaſs of a few weeks, an army of thirty thouſand men, under the command of count Palſy, an old experienced general, was ſent to the relief of Vienna. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the favourite of the Auſtrian army, had raiſed ſome forces, in concert with his brother the grand duke of Tuſcany; and ſeveral other ſmall armies continued to protect ſome of the moſt important towns in Bohemia; and a variety of circumſtances ſeemed to concur towards extricating the queen of Hungary out of her numerous difficulties, and turning the intended miſchief upon her enemies.

Cardinal de Fleury, ever attentive to the intereſts of his country, and well acquainted with the internal power of Great-Britain, left nothing undone to perſuade the French king to adopt the moſt pacific meaſures; and finding his opinion over-ruled, he was ſo dilatory in ſending proviſions and ammunition to the army in Germany, that the marſhal de Belleiſle found himſelf reduced to great hardſhips. Nor was the elector of Bavaria in much better circumſtances. Inſtead of attacking Vienna, which would undoubtedly have ſurrendered, he ſpent his time in the moſt dilatory manner; while Khevenhuller, the braveſt of the Auſtrian generals, did not fail to take every advantage, in order to recover ſuch places as had been taken from his royal miſtreſs. But the elector of Saxony, who owed the crown of Poland to the late emperor, joined his whole army to that of the French and Bavarians; and marching to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, it was inveſted with ſuch fury, that the whole garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war; while the grand duke, who was marching to its relief, found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring more to the ſouthward.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, who commanded under his brother the grand duke, propoſed that the army ſhould be divided into three bodies, viz. one under the grand duke, a ſecond under prince Lobkowitz, and a third under Khevenhuller. Several advantages were obtained by theſe different armies, but the moſt important was that by Khevenhuller, who defeated the general Segur, who commanded for the elector of Bavaria; and afterwards being joined by the army under the grand duke, he attacked the city of Lintz, the capital of the Upper Auſtria, and the garriſon was obliged to capitulate.

The court of France, eager to purſue the meaſures already taken, proceeded with ſuch celerity, that the elector of Bavaria was crowned emperor, little oppoſition being made to his title. But this ſtep was trifling to what the French had in view: for as they had reſolved not to leave the queen of Hungary in poſſeſſion of one ſingle province, an ambaſſador was ſent to the Grand Signior, to inform him that he had now an opportunity of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and annexing to his European dominions the ancient kingdom of Hungary.

This was a meaſure the queen of Hungary had not foreſeen; and therefore, as ſoon as the news of it was communicated to her, ſhe was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. However, her natural fortitude, and a preſence of mind for which ſhe had been always diſtinguiſhed, ſupported her drooping ſpirits; and ſhe wrote a letter, with her own hand, to the Grand Signior, wherein ſhe mentioned the diſtreſſed ſituation to which ſhe was reduced; and begging that, conſiſtent with the character of an heroic prince, he would not avail himſelf of circumſtances that could not, in the end, produce any real advantage.

The pope gave the queen leave to claim one tenth of the revenues of all eccleſiaſtical benefices within her dominions: and the empreſs of Ruſſia intended to have aſſiſted her, but the French ſtirred up the Swedes to declare war againſt that princeſs. The Swedes accordingly entered the province of Livonia, and took ſome of the moſt important places; but the Ruſſians at laſt drove them from their territories. This was ſucceeded by a revolution in Peterſburgh, by which the empreſs was depoſed, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, elected empreſs in her room.

This revolution, however ſudden and unexpected, did not diſconcert any meaſures taken by the queen of Hungary, in order to ſecure her honour and intereſt. General Berner, who commanded for her in Auſtria, made an irruption into Bavaria, where he deſtroyed ſeveral of the French magazines, and obliged the garriſons of Iſchel and Hallſtadt to ſubmit, as priſoners of war. This maſterly ſtroke opened a paſſage for the Auſtrian army into the center of Bavaria; and, upon the whole, the campaign was finiſhed much to the advantage of the queen of Hungary. The French had tried every method to bring over the king of Sardinia to their intereſt, but in vain; for that prince was extremely jealous of the Spaniards or French getting footing in Italy. Genoa, indeed, declared againſt the queen of Hungary; and the kingdom of Naples being, in a manner, dependent on Spain, and Spain directed by French councils, it was no difficult matter to perſuade the court of Madrid to ſend a body of forces into Italy; and before admiral Haddock could come up with them, they were joined by the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon.

In the latter end of October, his majeſty returned to England; and on the firſt of December, the new parliament met at Weſtminſter. During the election for new members, the minority acquired conſiderable advantages, in conſequence of the neglect of the miniſter, who ſtill conſidered himſelf as ſure of a majority that would ſupport his meaſures, and ſcreen him from cenſure. This had induced him to neglect his common practices of corrupting electors; ſo that his ruin ſeemed not far diſtant.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech, told the members, that he had entered into the preſent war with Spain by their advice and concurrence; and that, with reſpect to the confederacy that had been formed againſt the queen of Hungary, it was too well known to the nation in general, for him to deſcend to particulars: that, conſiſtent with the advice of his parliament, he had done every thing in his power to ſupport that unfortunate princeſs, by ſtriving to diſſolve ſuch connections as had been formed againſt her; but as he had hitherto been unſucceſsful, he doubted not but his parliament would enable him to purſue ſuch meaſures as would bring the war to a happy concluſion.

The commons being returned to their own houſe, Mr. Herbert, afterwards earl of Powis, moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, which was ſeconded by ſome other members: but lord Noel Somerſet having propoſed, that it ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, that Britain ſhould not be involved in a war, in order to preſerve his majeſty's dominions in Germany, a long debate enſued, in which it appeared evident that the miniſter had loſt much of that ſuperiority which he had hitherto maintained over the houſe. At laſt a formal, though very bold addreſs, was agreed to; but no ſooner was it preſented, than the miniſter was blamed for not exerting himſelf with more ſpirit, which, in reality, he might have done; but he ſeemed to be altogether infatuated.

For ſome years, there had been a miſunderſtanding between the king and the prince of Wales, who, on many accounts, was beloved by the people: and the miniſter laying hold of this circumſtance, reſolved to make up the breach, and ſo reconcile himſelf to both. Dr. Secker, then biſhop of Oxford, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was employed, on this occaſion, as a mediator. But the prince deſired him to inform his majeſty, that however willing and deſirous he was to regain his long loſt favour, he would not countenance any meaſure of government till the miniſter was removed.

A. D. 1742. This was the laſt blow given to the power of the miniſter; for, on the third of February, his majeſty adjourned both houſes of parliament to the eighteenth; and, in the mean time, Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments. The prince of Wales was, ſoon after, reconciled to his royal father, and a guard appointed to attend him at Carlton-houſe; while ſome of the principal perſons in the oppoſition were advanced to the higheſt employments: but ſtill the influence of Sir Robert ſeemed to operate on the miniſtry; and his removal from his places was looked upon in no other light than as a ſham contrivance to amuſe the nation.

On the eighteenth of February, the parliament met, according to the time mentioned in their laſt adjournment; and petitions were preſented to them from the merchants of the moſt eminent trading towns in the nation, complaining that their goods had been taken by the enemy, becauſe the miniſtry had neglected to ſend out force ſufficient to protect them. This induced the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the nature of theſe grievances; and the people in general began to hope for redreſs, when they found that the miniſter, who had ſo long been the object of their reſentment, was removed from the council. But theſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed; for many of thoſe who had ſo violently oppoſed the miniſtry, no ſooner found themſelves inveſted with power, than they reſolved to gratify their avarice and ambition, by acting on the ſame principles with him. Diſputes aroſe among them, which were agitated with great heat on both ſides, while the intereſt of the nation was, in a manner, totally neglected. Some were for calling the late miniſter to an account for his conduct; but others oppoſed it, becauſe the profits that he had formerly enjoyed were now divided among themſelves. The nation in general cried out againſt him, and were ſupported in the houſe by ſuch diſcontented members as had not been advanced to places in conſequence of the late change; but he was powerfully ſupported by many of thoſe who had formerly been his moſt inveterate enemies.

Motions were made in the houſe of commons to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, and likewiſe the penſion-bill; but both theſe paſſed in the negative, although ſupported by a powerful party. This began to open the eyes of the people; for as theſe two points were the principal objects the patriots pretended to have in view, and as their number had been conſiderably increaſed at the laſt general election, it was not doubted but they would have carried both the motions: but they were miſtaken; for thoſe who had appeared moſt forward while Sir Robert was at the head of affairs, now did all in their power to oppoſe every meaſure that tended towards promoting the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation. In a word, the people loſt all confidence in their repreſentatives; they had changed men, but the ſame meaſures were purſued. Thoſe who had been the ſtrongeſt in the oppoſition, were brought over by penſions, or allured by titles; among whom was the famous Mr. Pulteney, who had ſo long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons. He was created earl of Bath, and gratified with a large part of the crown lands; but from that moment his popularity ſunk into contempt.

It is now time that we ſhould return to the continent, and conſider the operations of war, which the Britiſh nation had ſo liberally contributed towards ſupporting. The earl of Stair, a man equally acquainted with war and politics, had been appointed commander in chief of the army, in the room of John duke of Argyle, who had reſigned all his employments; and early in the ſpring that nobleman went over to the Hague, to try if he could bring the united provinces to declare in favour of the queen of Hungary. But although he was a man of the greateſt addreſs, and well acquainted with the paſſions of ſtateſmen, yet he found it impoſſible to bring over the Dutch to our meaſures. Accordingly he was recalled, and lord Carteret ſent in his room. The troops that had been raiſed in England for the ſervice of the queen of Hungary, embarked for Flanders the latter end of April, under the command of the earl of Stair. They were to be joined by twenty-five thouſand Hanoverians, and ſix thouſand Heſſians, who had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. But things took a different turn from what was expected, as will appear in the courſe of this work.

The king of Sardinia was convinced that he muſt ſtand or fall with the houſe of Auſtria; and therefore, as ſoon as he heard of the alteration that had taken place in the Britiſh miniſtry; he reſolved to join his forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary. The French were terribly alarmed at this reſolution of his Sardinian majeſty; and as they doubted not but their harbours would be viſited by the Britiſh fleets, they reſolved to put their navy on a proper footing. The Auſtrian arms, ſtill attended with more ſucceſs than could have been expected, penetrated into the center of Bavaria, and Munich, the capital city of that electorate, ſurrendered to them. The queen of Hungary, no ſtranger with reſpect to the moſt proper methods to be uſed in order to acquire the eſteem and ſecure the affections of her army, wrote a letter to general Khevenhuller, deſiring him to thank the ſoldiers in her name, and to preſent them with the pictures of herſelf and her ſon Joſeph. No ſooner were the pictures ſhewn to the army, than they ſeemed fired with enthuſiaſm in favour of their ſovereign; and their whole conduct, during the remainder of the war, was a convincing proof of their loyalty.

The critical ſtate of affairs in Bavaria induced the French to ſend a freſh reinforcement thither, in order to drive the Auſtrians from Munich; upon which the garriſon, being afraid that they would be taken priſoners, abandoned the place: but before the French could march thither, it was retaken by a large body of Auſtrians. General Khevenhuller finding that another body of French, under the command of duke Harcourt, were marching to oppoſe him, quitted the city of Munich; and, in order to ſecure a retreat, threw a bridge acroſs the Danube. Both armies came to an engagement near the banks of the Danube, where the Bavarians were defeated with conſiderable loſs: but prince Maurice of Saxony, afterwards known by the name of Marſhal Saxe, took the town of Egra; while Glatz, and ſome other towns in Sileſia, being greatly reduced for want of proviſions, and having loſt many of their men, were obliged to ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia, who ſeemed to carry every thing before him.

The army under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain amounted to upwards of forty thouſand men, beſides a large body of irregulars drawn from the moſt remote parts of the provinces. The Auſtrians had the greateſt confidence in prince Charles; and, in general, he was very ſucceſsful, for he prevented the king of Pruſſia from marching into Bohemia, at leaſt for ſome time. This gave freſh ſpirits to the Auſtrians; and prince Charles finding himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of coming to a battle with the king of Pruſſia, both armies met at a place called Czaſlaw, about thirty miles eaſt from Prague. A moſt bloody engagement enſued; for both armies were nearly equal in number, and both were compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever took the field. The king of Pruſſia, after his men had done every thing in their power, was going to give way; but the irregulars that followed the Auſtrian army broke into the Pruſſian camp for plunder, and their example being followed by the regulars, the king embraced that opportunity to rally, and prince Charles was defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men.

This victory might have enabled the king of Pruſſia to penetrate into the heart of Bohemia; but he began to diſcover that he could not put any confidence in the French, who had hitherto deceived him with promiſes of new reinforcements. This induced him to think of making peace with the queen of Hungary, and no time ſeemed ſo proper as when the memory of the late battle was recent in the minds of the Auſtrians. A packet, with diſpatches, had been ſent to the marſhal de Broglio, the French general, which was, by miſtake, delivered to his Pruſſian majeſty; and, upon peruſing the contents, he diſcovered that it was the intention of the French court to ſpare their army as much as poſſible, by throwing the burthen of the war upon him. In a letter to marſhal de Broglio, and in a conference with marſhal de Belleiſle, he upbraided them for not ſeconding him in his operations; but they ſtill continued to deceive him with falſe hopes. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the queen of Hungary, by which the latter gave up Sileſia, with the province of Glatz in Bohemia, upon condition of his withdrawing his forces, and obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. The elector of Saxony made peace with the queen of Hungary at the ſame time; ſo that the French were deprived of two of their allies, and the emperor was left expoſed to the whole power of the Auſtrian army.

Prince Charles, immediately after the battle of Czaſlaw, marched towards Budweis, where he was joined by prince Lobkowitz, and their united army amounted to ſixty thouſand men. Thus reinforced, prince Charles croſſed the Moldaw, and attacked a body of French under the command of M. de Aubigné, and put them to flight. He purſued and haraſſed them ſo much, that their loſs was equal to a defeat in a general engagement. The huſſars pillaged the French of their baggage; and ſuch of the ſoldiers as happened to ſtray from the main body, were murdered by the peaſants. In the mean time, the marſhal de Broglio came up with a body of forces to oppoſe prince Charles, who was on the point of cutting off the whole French army; but nothing could re-animate the drooping ſpirits of his army; and they were ſo much ſtruck with terror, that they never looked behind them till they came under the walls of Prague. Here they were joined by the army under the command of marſhal de Belleiſle, and both generals reſolved to concert the moſt proper methods for oppoſing prince Charles. As ſoon as prince Charles came within ſight of the French at Prague, he encamped his men, and next day he was joined by his brother, the grand duke.

The marſhal de Belleiſle was now ſo much diſtracted concerning what means he could uſe to preſerve his army, that he offered to give up Prague upon condition that his men were allowed to depart, unmoleſted, out of Bohemia; but all the anſwer they received was, they muſt ſurrender priſoners of war. This would have been a fatal ſtroke to France; and had it taken place, their whole ſcheme would have been defeated; ſo that there remained nothing to be done but to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and, in conſequence thereof, one of the moſt remarkable ſieges took place that we meet with in hiſtory.

On the twenty-eighth of July, the trenches were opened; and although the Auſtrian army was more formidable in appearance than that of the French, yet the latter were better acquainted with the arts of attack and defence, and their generals behaved with the moſt intrepid ſpirit and undaunted reſolution. They knew that the ſtrongeſt enemy they had to contend with was famine, for they doubted not but the Auſtrians would hinder the peaſants from ſending in proviſions. This happened juſt as they expected; for in a ſhort time, meat was ſold for three ſhillings and ſixpence a pound, and horſe fleſh was eaten by many of the gentry. Forage was ſo ſcarce, that fourteen thouſand horſes were either killed or turned looſe, while the French officers gave every thing they had to purchaſe proviſions for the ſoldiers.

On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, the marſhal de Belleiſle made a ſally, at the head of twelve thouſand men, drove the Auſtrians from their works, filled up ſome of the entrenchments, and took general Monty priſoner, beſides killing fifteen hundred men.

Nor was the bravery of the Auſtrians leſs conſpicuous; for prince Charles and the grand duke expoſed their perſons on every occaſion, in order to animate the ſoldiers. Cardinal Fleury, who had the utmoſt averſion to war, propoſed bringing about an accommodation, and deſired the king of Great-Britain to become a mediator; but his late majeſty knew that no confidence could be placed in any propoſal made by the cardinal, and therefore rejected his overtures with diſdain. Finding himſelf baffled in this undertaking, he wrote a letter to the Auſtrian generals, wherein he informed them, that he had oppoſed the war, but was over-ruled by the king and marſhal de Belleiſle: and this letter, which made a conſiderable noiſe, was publiſhed at Vienna.

It is not conſiſtent with the plan of this work to deſcend to every particular that happened during this memorable ſiege. There were in the city, beſides the French army, at leaſt one hundred thouſand inhabitants, whoſe diſtreſs was beyond deſcription, nor was there a poſſibility of relieving them. The marquis de Fenelon, then ambaſſador at the Hague, propoſed that the army under the command of the marſhal Maillebois ſhould be ſent to relieve Prague; for France had been, in a manner, exhauſted both of men and money. This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by the cardinal, who inſiſted, that if the brave army under the command of marſhal Maillebois ſhould be ſent into Bohemia, then France would be left expoſed both to England and Holland; but the marquis de Fenelon having undertaken to keep the ſtates-general from engaging in the war, the meaſure was adopted, although apparently attended with very dangerous conſequences. The emperor was averſe to this plan, becauſe his hereditary dominions were over-run by the Auſtrians; and he inſiſted, that if they were driven out of Bavaria, Prague would be relieved of courſe. Nor was Maillebois leſs averſe to this meaſure than the emperor; but the orders ſent to him being abſolute, he began his march from the Lower Rhine about the middle of Auguſt, at the head of a brave, well-diſciplined army. The duke de Harcourt was then in Bavaria, the imperialiſts were under the command of general Seckendorff, and the brave Khevenhuller watched their motions with an army of Auſtrians. But the principal object that engaged the attention of Europe was the fate of Prague.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, ever attentive to his duty as a brave officer, no ſooner heard that the marſhal Maillebois was marching againſt him, than he turned the ſiege of Prague into a blockade; and, committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz, ſet out to meet the French, in order to prevent their marching into Bohemia. In his march he was joined by the troops under Khevenhuller, but not before the imperialiſts had, by forced marches, given them the ſlip; and, in their way towards the French camp, marſhal Saxe, become a great favourite with the army, joined them, ſo that Maillebois found himſelf ſtrongly ſupported. This junction of the three armies was entirely owing to the good conduct of count Saxe; and from that time his knowledge in military affairs ſhone with ſuch a diſtinguiſhing luſtre, that no plan of operations was laid down without firſt conſulting him.

The French marſhals, Belleiſle and Broglio, reſolving to avail themſelves of the departure of prince Charles, made ſeveral ſallies upon the Auſtrians, who were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege; ſo that all the detached parties of each army found an opportunity of joining together in two very formidable bodies. Prince Charles finding himſelf reduced to the alternative of either venturing on a battle, the fate of which would decide the war, or leaving the kingdom of Bohemia expoſed to the French, reſolved to avail himſelf of the moſt trifling circumſtance.

The ſcarcity of proviſions had obliged the French army once more to divide itſelf into ſeparate bodies; and prince Charles, who was well acquainted with the country, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent their joining a ſecond time. This had the deſired effect; for the French being reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions, the main body under Maillebois marched towards Bavaria, where that general was diſgraced, and the command given to marſhal Broglio, who had diſguiſed himſelf as a peaſant, to eſcape the Auſtrians, and in that manner had travelled ſeveral days without being ſuſpected.

Belleiſle, who had been obliged to return to Prague, was ſo cloſely blocked up by the Auſtrians, that he reſolved, if poſſible, to make his eſcape from a place that he was not able to defend. This ſcheme he put in practice in ſuch a maſterly manner, as muſt convince every one that he was one of the moſt accompliſhed generals of that age. He ſent out ſome ſpies, who pretended to be deſerters, and they being taken to the Auſtrian general Lobkowitz, they informed him that the marſhal, during the next night, intended to make a general ſally from a particular quarter of the town. The Auſtrians, not doubting the truth of this ſtory, drew off their forces to that quarter; and, in the mean time, marſhal de Belleiſle made his eſcape from the place, and got at leaſt a day's march from Prague before prince Lobkowitz knew any thing of his departure. Three thouſand of the French were left in Prague, and Belleiſle continued marching ten days, over ice and ſnow, before the Auſtrians could come up with him. At laſt prince Lobkowitz getting intelligence what route they had taken, came in ſight of them; but not chuſing to venture on a general engagement with men reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, he reſolved to block up ſuch paſſes as lay before them, and ſo prevent them from joining with the main body of forces in Bavaria.

But notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Auſtrian general, yet the marſhal de Belleiſle roſe ſuperior to every difficulty. He made choice of a road ſo dangerous and unfrequented, that the enemy had no notion of his ever going that way; and although he was ſo much afflicted with the rheumatiſm, that he was obliged to be carried in a ſedan, yet he gave orders in the moſt cool and deliberate manner, without ever complaining of the hardſhips he ſuffered. At laſt, after a march, over ſnow and ice, of above one hundred and fifty miles, and ſurmounting incredible difficulties, he arrived ſafe at Egra, having loſt about a thouſand men through the inclemency of the weather, but none by any other accidents whatever. The troops left by him in Prague capitulated on the ſame day that he had completed his march, and were allowed to march to Egra; ſo that this diſtreſſed city was relieved, after a ſiege of five months and ſome days.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Germany during the year 1742. But we muſt now look to Italy, where the different contending powers were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to light up the flames of war, and bring the ſmaller principalities, as well as the moſt powerful ſtates, into an alliance with them. The queen of Hungary, ſenſible that the king of Sardinia, conſiſtent with his own intereſt, could not join with France or Spain, reſolved to bring him over to her meaſures; and accordingly diſpatched an ambaſſador, for that purpoſe, to the court of Turin. But the Sardinian monarch was too cunning to enter into any negotiation till he had made propoſals to the court of London, in order to procure ſuch a ſubſidy as would defray his expences. Indeed the Engliſh miniſtry were now convinced that they ought not to keep any meaſures of a pacific nature with France: the views of that court were now fully laid open, eſpecially when it is conſidered in what manner they aſſiſted the Spaniſh fleet when it was oppoſed in the Mediterranean by admiral Haddock, whoſe orders were of ſo ambiguous a nature, that he knew not in what manner to act.

Admiral Haddock was now ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, that he found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of returning to England for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health; and the command of the fleet devolved upon commodore Leſtock, who had lately arrived from the Weſt-Indies.

As ſoon as the admiral had ſet ſail for England, the commodore made a proper inquiry into the ſtate of the fleet; and finding that the whole number of ſhips amounted to twenty-eight, he weighed anchor, and arrived ſafe in the harbour of Port-Mahon, in the iſland of Minorca. There he took in freſh proviſions; and having refitted ſuch of the ſhips as were damaged, he ſailed from Mahon, and appeared before the harbour of Toulon. The French, who imagined that he had come there in a hoſtile manner, were filled with conſternation, but nothing of importance was done; and, in conſequence of the change that had taken place in the Engliſh miniſtry, admiral Matthews was ſent to the Mediterranean, to take upon him the command of the fleet; and Leſtock, who had, on former occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf, was raiſed to the degree of an admiral.

This ſtep, in joining theſe two admirals together, was conſidered as the moſt impolitic meaſure that could have been purſued; for there had formerly been many differences between them; and it was not doubted but they would do all in their power to croſs each other. In the mean time, admiral Matthews took care to put the fleet on the moſt reſpectable footing; and accordingly, ſoon after his arrival, he burnt ſome Spaniſh ſhips that had taken ſhelter in the bay of St. Tropez, on the coaſt of the Mediterranean. He alſo ſent commodore Martin to Naples, to demand that the king of the two Sicilies would immediately withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh army in Italy; and to ſign an agreement, that he would not give them any aſſiſtance whatever. The whole city of Naples was filled with the utmoſt conſternation at the peremptory manner in which the Engliſh admiral made his demands; but neceſſity obliged pride to give way; and the king of Sicily, conſiſtent with the duty he owed to his people, was obliged to withdraw his troops, by which the Spaniſh army was conſiderably weakened.

The Spaniards had attempted to ſend a large body of men into Italy; but although they were powerfully aſſiſted by the French, yet ſuch was the ſpirited conduct of the king of Sardinia, that he drove them back from Piedmont with very conſiderable loſs. The Auſtrians in Italy taking freſh courage from this circumſtance, returned to the dutchy of Modena, and laid all the towns under contribution. Thus every thing on the part of the queen of Hungary ſeemed to wear a moſt promiſing aſpect in Italy. The king of Sardinia was her ally; the king of Naples was prevented from doing her any injury: ſome of the ſmaller ſtates were overawed; while admiral Matthews was cruiſing in the Mediterranean, to prevent either the French or Spaniards from landing any forces.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent of Europe, the Britiſh affairs in America were in the moſt deplorable ſituation. The admiral and the commander of the land forces could never agree in any ſingle propoſal; and the time that ſhould have been devoted towards proſecuting the war, was ſpent in idle contention, the effect of paſſion and malevolence.

A reinforcement had been ſent over to admiral Vernon in the Weſt-Indies; and it was propoſed to ſail to Po to-Bello, and from thence to ſend a detachment, over the iſthmus of Darien, to Panama, the capital city of that province. Admiral Vernon was of opinion, that no time ſhould be loſt; and therefore, having anchored in the harbour of Porto-Bello, he diſpatched Mr. Lowther, an officer of the army, to bring him proper intelligence concerning the ſituation of Panama, and what force would be neceſſary to reduce it. Upon the return of Mr. Lowther, a council of war was held, wherein he gave it as his opinion, that they could not, with ſafety, attack the fort of Panama, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, and the great ſickneſs that prevailed in the army. In this he was ſeconded by the other officers of the land forces; and admiral Vernon, vexed to the utmoſt, found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning once more to Jamaica, to take in freſh proviſions, without having been able to do any thing for the ſervice of his country. So true is it, that nothing ſo much retards the progreſs of an army as differences among the commanders.

On the ſixteenth of November, the Britiſh parliament met at Weſtminſter; when the king informed them, that he had taken into his pay ſixteen thouſand Hanoverian and Heſſian forces, in order to ſtrengthen the army on the continent. He took notice of the ſtate of Europe, particularly Germany; and ſpoke in the higheſt terms concerning the magnanimous conduct of the queen of Hungary. He added, that an alliance with the queen of Hungary in the war would humble the power of France and Spain, and make Britain more reſpectable than ever. He obſerved, that although the expence of the war would be great, yet it was neceſſary; and therefore the proper eſtimates ſhould be laid before the commons, not doubting but they would contribute towards ſupporting him in the ſame chearful manner as they had hitherto done. This was what he hoped no perſon could have any reaſonable objection to; and he aſſured them, that the ſtricteſt œconomy ſhould be obſerved by himſelf.

His majeſty having left the houſe, and the commons were returned, great debates aroſe concerning the words of the addreſs that ſhould be preſented. This oppoſition was occaſioned by the conduct of the diſcontented members, who not being gratified according to their expectations, became as inveterate enemies to that miniſtry they had ſet up, as they had been to that which they pulled down. But all theſe attempts proved unſucceſsful; for both houſes preſented moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, wherein they approved entirely of every part of his conduct, and thanked him for his great care in watching ſo attentively over the affairs of Europe. They aſſured him, that nothing ſhould be wanting to ſupport the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and humble his enemies in every part of the world.

The committee of ways and means took into conſideration in what manner the proper ſupplies were to be raiſed; for on the laſt day of this year, (1742) the national debt amounted to forty-eight millions, nine hundred and fifteen thouſand forty-ſeven pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and nine-pence halfpenny.

A. D. 1743. The land-tax was raiſed to four ſhillings in the pound; ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were borrowed on exciſe-bills; eight hundred thouſand pounds were to be raiſed by a lottery; one million was taken from the ſinking fund, beſides the whole overplus of the exchequer. The whole ſum granted by parliament to defray the expences of this year, amounted to five millions, three hundred and fourteen thouſand one hundred pounds.

Motions were made to revive the place and penſion bills, and to enquire into the conduct of the earl of Orford during the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration. But although theſe motions were ſtrongly ſupported by Sir Watkyn-Williams Wynn and Mr. Lyttleton, yet they were thrown out by a great majority. Another motion was made, that his majeſty be enabled to take into Britiſh pay ſuch a body of Hanoverian and Heſſian dragoons as ſhould be conſiſtent with the ſtate of affairs on the continent. This was moſt violently oppoſed by the country-party; and it was urged, that by the act of ſettlement, Great-Britain was not to be concerned in any war relating to his majeſty's electoral dominions; nay, ſome of the members inſiſted, that to demand money to ſupport the Hanoverian forces, was a groſs impoſition on the Engliſh nation; for they knew that thoſe troops could not take part with the queen of Hungary, without bringing his majeſty under the ban of the empire. It was anſwered by the minority, that every thing done by his majeſty was in compliance with the advice of his parliament; but this was denied by thoſe in the oppoſition, who inſiſted, that what was promiſed was upon a ſuppoſition that the ſtates-general would have joined their forces with thoſe of Great-Britain, in order to oppoſe the French, and ſupport the queen of Hungary in the peaceable poſſeſſion of her hereditary territories.

Much was ſaid by thoſe at the head of affairs concerning the balance of power in Europe, which could not be maintained conſiſtent with the ſafety of Britain, unleſs we aſſiſted the houſe of Auſtria. At laſt the queſtion being put, it was carried in favour of the miniſtry by a great majority. In the houſe of lords, it met with ſtill greater oppoſition; for earl Stanhope moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying, that he would take into his royal conſideration the diſtreſs of the nation, in conſequence of the enormous load of taxes; and that he would be pleaſed to diſcharge all ſuch foreign troops as had been taken into Britiſh pay without the conſent of parliament. This motion was ſeconded by the earl of Sandwich, and ſupported by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, viſcount Lonſdale, and lord Harvey. The principal ſpeakers in defence of the miniſtry were, the lord-chancellor Hardwick, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, lord Bathurſt and lord Carteret; for ſentiments changed with the admiſſion into places.

The next buſineſs upon which the parliament entered, was to take into conſideration the ſtate of the licences for the ſale of wines and ſpirituous liquors, and to impoſe other duties upon them than what had been done hitherto. It appeared evident, that the late reſtriction upon the ſale of ſpirituous liquors had not been of any ſervice in promoting the health or morals of the people; and therefore, that the ſale of thoſe pernicious articles might become more common, it was propoſed to lower the taxes. The whole bench of biſhops voted againſt this meaſure; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in particular, ſpoke long and learnedly on the ſubject. Lord Harvey, who had been deprived of the privy-ſeal, vented all his ſpleen againſt the miniſtry, by comparing their conduct, in lowering the duties on ſpirituous liquors, to a tyrant who lets looſe a wild beaſt upon a parcel of innocent children. Many eloquent harangues were delivered in the houſe of lords on this memorable occaſion, particularly by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Cheſterfield, Sandwich, and Ayleſford, and the lords Talbot and Lonſdale.

On the other hand, the bill was ſupported by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Bath, Cholmondeley, and Ilay, with the lords Bathurſt and Carteret. During this argument, many brilliant ſallies of wit were thrown out on both ſides, particularly by the earl of Ilay, who levelled his ſatire at the biſhops; and by the earl of Cheſterfield, who ripped up all the ſores of the miniſtry. At laſt, the queſtion being put, it was, as uſual, carried in favour of the miniſtry, by a very great majority.

The minority in both houſes finding the power of the miniſtry too ſtrong for them to overthrow, reſolved to give them all the trouble they could, by plying them in parliament with one motion after another. Accordingly they moved, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would order the proper officer to lay before the houſe copies of all papers and memorials, with the anſwers to them, that had paſſed between the courts of Vienna and London: but this motion, with ſeveral others, was carried in favour of the miniſtry, while thoſe in the oppoſition were provoked to the higheſt degree.

On the twenty-third of April, his majeſty went to the houſe; and having given his aſſent to the bills, delivered a ſpeech, wherein he told them, that he had ordered his army, in conjunction with that of the queen of Hungary, to croſs the Rhine, and watch the motions of the French: that he had given orders to continue a ſtrong fleet in the Mediterranean, to prevent the Spaniards from ſending forces to Italy; and another in the Weſt-Indies: that he would not neglect any proper meaſures that could tend towards reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe, and procuring ſuch an honourable peace as would promote the intereſt both of his people and his allies. Laſtly, he thanked the commons for the chearful manner in which they had granted the ſupplies; told them, that the money ſhould be expended according to their direction; and doubted not but they would be ready to ſupport him on any future occaſion; and then the lord-chancellor prorogued both houſes.

During the beginning of this year, nothing was to be ſeen throughout the greateſt part of Europe, but preparations for opening the campaign. In Germany, the emperor Charles VII. was at the head of one party, ſtrongly ſupported by the French; and, in oppoſition to him, was the queen of Hungary, aſſiſted by Great-Britain. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to prevail with the ſtates-general to join in ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria; and theſe endeavours being ſeconded by the prince of Orange, who was extremely fond of war, the Dutch raiſed, or rather increaſed, their army to forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, to be ready to march when ordered. This ſpirited reſolution in the ſtates, who had ſo long remained neuter, ſurpriſed all Europe; but, upon enquiry, it was found, that they had been inſtigated by Mr. Van Haren, a young gentleman, and one of the deputies. He wrote elegant allegorical pieces, wherein he compared Holland to ancient Greece, when that famous republic was oppreſſed by the Perſians and Macedonians; and theſe pieces being univerſally read, the people were rouſed from a ſtate of inſenſibility.

The king of Pruſſia was cultivating the arts of peace in his dominions. The new empreſs of Ruſſia refuſed to join the French; and the king of Sweden was too far advanced in years to engage in any enterprizes of a public nature. Such was the ſtate of Europe, when cardinal Fleury paid the debt of nature, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was a man of great political abilities, and ſeemed to poſſeſs the untainted ſimplicity of the primitive ages. He had lived in an obſcure manner till he was upwards of ſixty years old, and then he was appointed biſhop of Freijus, a ſmall living, and ſituated in a very unhealthy part of the kingdom. At laſt ſuperior merit brought him into office, and the pope honoured him with a cardinal's hat. As a miniſter, the principal object he had in view was to promote the internal happineſs of the French people, to preſerve peace in Europe, and to make his ſovereign great without oppreſſing his ſubjects. In him the French king loſt an able miniſter, a faithful ſervant, and an honeſt man: and although he might have enriched his family at the expence of the public, yet he deſpiſed ſuch meanneſs, and died extremely poor. Lewis XV. king of France, with his ſon, the late dauphin, viſited the cardinal in his laſt moments; and his dying advice to them was, to deſiſt from any farther connections in the war.

His Britannic majeſty, ever faithful in fulfilling ſuch conventions as he entered into with his allies, reſolved to viſit the continent; and therefore, ſoon after the prorogation of the parliament, he ſet out for Hanover, where he arrived on the ſixth of May, having firſt taken care of the internal peace of the nation, by appointing a regency to act, with plenary powers during his abſence.

The campaign had been opened this year ſooner than uſual. The queen of Hungary ſeemed to be in a proſperous ſtate; for the French army had ſuffered conſiderably during the preceding winter, owing to the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the ſoldiers crowding themſelves too near German ſtoves, filled with burning wood, the mortality among them became general, and vaſt numbers of them periſhed every day.

The emperor took the field with what forces he could raiſe, and ſeemed determined to act in the moſt vigorous manner; but prince Charles of Lorraine, having gathered together an army of Auſtrians, attacked the imperialiſts, and gave them a total overthrow. Beſides priſoners, five thouſand were left dead on the ſpot, and the whole baggage and artillery of the emperor fell into the hands of the Auſtrians. This victory opened a way for the Auſtrians to penetrate into Bavaria, and the towns in general ſurrendered on their approach. The diſcomfited emperor was obliged to take ſhelter in Augſburg, one of the imperial cities; but Mentzel, an Hungarian general, at the head of a ſtrong body of Pandours, drove him from it, ſo that he was obliged to ſeek ſhelter in Frankfort.

The Britiſh forces, under the command of the earl of Stair, began their march from the Lower Germany in the month of February, and on the nineteenth of May were joined by the Hanoverian, near the town of Aix-la-Chapelle. From thence the earl of Stair continued his march to the neighbourhood of Franckfort, where the emperor then was, and to whom he ſent a meſſenger to inform him, that his reaſon for marching into that part of Germany was to reſtore the peace of the empire, and that no diſturbance ſhould be given to him. The reſt of the allies marched at the ſame time to join the earl of Stair, the whole amounting to about thirty-ſeven thouſand men, encamped on the banks of the river Maine near Franckfort.

The French army, who expected that ſuch meaſures would be taken, reſolved to loſe no time, and therefore, on the fourteenth of May, the marſhal Noailles croſſed the Rhine and reduced the allied army to great hardſhips for proviſions. They even endeavoured to ſeize the town of Aſchaffenburgh, where there was a bridge over the Maine, but the vigilance of the earl of Stair prevented them from putting their intended project in execution. His Britannic majeſty, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allied army on the nineteenth of June, and was received amidſt the joyful acclamations of the ſoldiers. The ſame afternoon he reviewed the army, and found them in exceeding good order, after which he took up his reſidence in the palace of Aſchaffenburg.

But although the preſence of his Britannic majeſty raiſed the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, yet the allied army was ſtill in great diſtreſs; for the French had ſent out parties to ſeize all the boats on the Maine, and which was ſtill worſe, the allies were in danger of being ſurrounded in their camp and made priſoners of war. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, news was brought to the king of England, that prince Charles of Lorraine had made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Bavaria, and that a body of Heſſians and Hanoverians were marching to join the allied army. This intelligence induced his Britannic majeſty to decamp in the night of the twenty-ſixth of June, in order to meet the auxiliary forces; for he was afraid, that had they continued their march much farther, they would have been ſurrounded and made priſoners by the French.

As ſoon as the French marſhal learned that the allied army had left their camp, he looked upon their deſtruction as inevitable, and therefore ordered thirty ſquadrons of dragoons to croſs the river and take poſt at the village of Dettingen, through which he knew they muſt paſs. At the ſame time the marſhal Noailles ordered four regiments of foot to march acroſs two temporary bridges, and conceal themſelves in a hollow way near the village of Dettingen, and the duke de Grammont, to whom the command of theſe forces was given, had orders not to attempt any thing, till ſuch time as the allies ſhould be hemmed in between the riſing grounds, that there would be no poſſibility of their eſcaping. All the paſſes on the Maine had been ſecured by the French marſhal, ſo that his Britannic majeſty found himſelf reduced to the alternative of either fighting on the moſt unequal terms, or to ſurrender a priſoner of war, with his whole army. But all the precautions taken by the French general were rendered abortive by the precipitate conduct of the duke de Grammont, who, impatient of waiting any longer, advanced to a riſing ground, and attacked the allies before the one half of them had paſſed the defile. Here the French were led into the ſame ſnare they had laid for their enemies; for their cannon, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, not being able to give the detached party any aſſiſtance, great numbers of the French were killed.

The marſhal de Noailles having ſeen from the oppoſite banks of the river, the conduct of the duke de Grammont, marched to his aſſiſtance, but too late; for the allied army behaved with ſo much intrepidity, that the French were defeated with great ſlaughter, and that army which in the morning ſeemed devoted to deſtruction, was in poſſeſſion of the field before evening. Indeed the conduct of his Britannic majeſty, during the whole of the engagement, was conſiſtent with the character of a great hero. He rode through the ranks, encouraging the men to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and they obeyed in the moſt chearful manner. No troops ever behaved with greater bravery than the Engliſh, and ſome of their principal officers were killed, particularly general Clayton, who was ſhot dead by a random ſhot from a French cannon. General Monroy, a brave Hanoverian officer ſhared the ſame fate; and the gallant duke of Cumberland, whoſe behaviour during the battle procured him the eſteem of all preſent, was wounded in the leg, as were ſeveral other officers of the higheſt diſtinction.

It is certain, that whatever advantages were obtained on this occaſion, they fell to the ſhare of the Engliſh; but for all that, the French pretended they had obtained a complete victory. Few advantages, however, reſulted from it other than opening a paſſage for the Britiſh forces; and accordingly his majeſty continued his march to Hannau, where he was joined by the twelve thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians, under the command of prince George of Heſſe-Caſſel.

The earl of Stair ſent a meſſenger to the marſhal de Noailles, recommending to his care ſuch of the wounded ſoldiers and officers as had been left on the field of battle; and to the honour of the French let it be mentioned, that they treated them with the utmoſt tenderneſs.

The French army, removing from their camp near Frankfort, marched to a town called Offenbach, on the ſouth ſide of the Maine, exactly oppoſite to Hannau, where his Britannic majeſty, with the allied army, then lay encamped, and both continued for ſome time looking at each other.

In Bavaria prince Charles of Lorraine defeated the marſhal de Broglio, and obliged him to retreat in the moſt precipitate manner. The emperor was reduced to ſuch poverty, that he actually wanted proviſions for his family, and muſt have diſcharged his domeſtics had not the marſhal de Noailles lent him forty thouſand crowns.

On the twelfth of July the marſhal de Noailles received information that prince Charles of Lorraine was marching, at the head of a powerful army, to attack him, upon which he ſet fire to his magazines, and in four days arrived with the French army at Worms, near the Rhine. In the mean time prince Charles arrived at Hannau, where he was received in the moſt friendly manner by his Britannic majeſty, and the plan of operations for the different armies, was agreed upon. The emperor, unable to ſupport his dignity, wearied out with the fatigues of war, and feeling for the miſery he had brought on his ſubjects, by being made a dupe to French councils, reſolved to conclude a ſeparate peace with the queen of Hungary; but the Auſtrian miniſter would hearken to no terms of accommodation. Many of the German princes began to conſider the queen of Hungary as too inflexible, and, at the ſame time, they pitied the unfortunate emperor, who longed earneſtly for peace. The two laſt places of importance in his dominions, viz. Egra and Ingolſtadt, were taken by the enemy, and in the laſt mentioned were found the records and archives of the electorate of Bavaria, the family jewels, pictures, plate, curioſities, and moſt of the valuable things belonging to the Bavarian nobility,

nobility. This was a fatal ſtroke to the emperor; and, to increaſe his misfortune, his kinſman and faithful counſellor, the archbiſhop of Mentz, was dead, and his ſucceſſor was a friend to the Auſtrians. A proteſt was ſent from the Auſtrian miniſtry againſt the election of the emperor, declaring it null and void; and the elector of Mentz, as high-chancellor of the empire, ordered it to be regiſtered. This occaſioned many diſputes among the German princes, each party eſpouſing the cauſe that ſuited their intereſts or inclinations; but the moſt ſenſible complained of the conduct of the Auſtrians, in not hearkening to terms of accommodation.

Among thoſe who eſpouſed the cauſe of the emperor, was the king of Pruſſia, who declared, that he could not behold with indifference the head of the empire treated in ſo indignant a manner. That prince finding that nothing could perſuade the Auſtrian miniſtry to hearken to reaſon, went to Frankfort, where he had an interview with the emperor, which occaſioned much ſpeculation, eſpecially as the Pruſſian monarch was convinced that no confidence could be put in the French; and the emperor's connections were ſuch, that he could not, without great difficulty, diſengage himſelf from them.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when his Britannic majeſty, at the head of the allied army, croſſed the Rhine near Mentz, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in the city of Worms; while marſhal de Noailles retreated to Alſace, where he pitched his camp in the moſt ſafe and commodious manner. About the latter end of September, the allies marched from Worms to Spires, where they were joined by twenty thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, who had marched from Holland.

The army was now conſiderably increaſed; and having taken every neceſſary precaution, they entered into winter quarters about the latter end of October; but the huſſars and pandours, with other irregulars belonging to the Auſtrian army, penetrated into the dutchy of Lorrain, and ravaged it in the moſt cruel manner. Prince Charles of Lorrain, after an unſucceſsful attempt to croſs the Rhine, returned to the frontiers of Bavaria, where he diſtributed his troops into quarters of cantonment.

The earl of Stair, either diſpleaſed that his advice, in ſome things, had been rejected, or becauſe the king ſhewed more reſpect to the foreign generals, deſired leave to reſign his command, and the king returned to Hanover.

In Italy, the king of Sardinia raiſed an army of forty thouſand men, in order to oppoſe the Spaniards, who had taken poſſeſſion of Savoy: but he was too inactive; for he rather remained on the defenſive, than offered to attempt any thing of importance. Count de Gages, who commanded another army of Spaniards in Italy, tranſmitted accounts to Madrid, that he had loſt, out of forty thouſand men, above ten thouſand by ſickneſs: but the king of Spain, who was under the influence of his queen, ſent peremptory orders to the count to engage; and accordingly he croſſed the Panaro, and encamped in a place belonging to the pope, reſolving to act ſome time on the defenſive. He ſent ſeveral preſſing letters to the king of Naples, to ſend him a freſh reinforcement: but however willing that prince was to aſſiſt the Spaniards, yet he knew, that if he had ſent them any part of his army, the Engliſh fleet would have battered down his capital.

In the month of September, prince Lobkowitz was ſent to take the command of the Auſtrian army in Italy, and immediately reſolved to take the field. Accordingly he marched againſt count Gages, who not having force ſufficient to oppoſe him, retreated to Fano, a ſmall town near the gulph of Venice, where he reſolved to wait for the Auſtrians. He cauſed all the paſſes and avenues leading to the town to be fortified; but prince Lobkowitz, knowing that the place would naturally be given up on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and not doubting but, before the expiration of the ſeaſon, the Spaniſh army would be obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, he did not offer to purſue them, but put his men into quarters.

The prince de Conti was ſent, at the head of twelve thouſand men, to reinforce the army in Savoy, under the command of Don Philip; and to theſe were added four thouſand foot, drawn from the Spaniſh regiments in Catalonia. The deſign of ſending theſe troops into Savoy, was to attempt to force a paſſage through the Alps, which had been attempted before by the marquis de las Minas, though without ſucceſs, and three thouſand of the Spaniſh ſoldiers were cut off. The united army of the French and Spaniards now amounted to fifty-ſix thouſand men. As it was difficult to procure proviſions for ſuch a numerous body of men in the mountains of Savoy, where the poor peaſants have ſcarce as much as will ſupport themſelves, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to march to Chateau-Dauphine; but, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of going into the ſame winter quarters they had occupied before: ſo that nothing of importance was done againſt his Sardinian majeſty during the whole of that campaign.

In the Mediterranean, things remained in the ſame ſituation as the preceding year. Admiral Matthews had taken care to prevent the Spaniſh and French fleets from joining; but as the French reſolved not to act any longer in an underhand manner, it was agreed, that the fleet blocked up in Toulon ſhould be reinforced by ſome ſhips juſt finiſhed in that harbour; while another ſquadron was to be fitted out at Breſt, to intercept any reinforcements that might happen to be ſent from England to the Mediterranean. But ſome ſhips belonging to the Spaniards being taken by Matthews, he found out the ſcheme laid to overpower him; and ſent notice of it to the miniſtry, earneſtly begging that they would ſend him more ſhips and men, the fleet being in a very miſerable ſituation.

Sir Chaloner Ogle ſucceeded to the united command of the army and navy, in the room of general Wentworth and admiral Vernon, who had both been recalled home; but the Spaniſh admiral, de Torres, was ſtill in the harbour of the Havannah, with a large fleet; ſo that it could not be expected that any thing of importance would be done.

Captain Knowles was ſent, with a ſmall ſquadron, to attack one of the Spaniſh ſettlements called Porto Cavallo; but the governor, either ſuſpecting, or having ſome intelligence of the attempt that was to be made, cauſed the fortifications to be repaired; and Knowles, not being able to reduce the place, was obliged to ſail for the iſland of Curacoa, belonging to the Dutch. A ſecond attempt was made on the ſame place; but although twelve hundred men were landed, under the command of major Lucas, yet ſcarce had they begun the attack, when they fell into confuſion, and were obliged to return to their ſhips.

On the continent of America, things were in no better a ſituation than in the Weſt-Indies: for although general Oglethorpe undertook a long, fatiguing march, to prevent the Spaniards from penetrating into any of our provinces, yet he was obliged to return to Georgia, without having been able to do any thing of importance.

Having thus deſcribed the ſtate of affairs abroad, we muſt now look back to England, where ſeveral things of importance happened that claim our immediate attention. In Scotland, a regiment of highlanders had been raiſed, under pretence that they were to act as militia in preſerving the peace of the country: but being ordered up to London, they were reviewed on Finchley-cymmon by general Wade, and then told that they muſt embark at Graveſend. This they complained of, as inconſiſtent with the terms upon which they had been embodied; and thererefore a large party mutinied, and ſet out, in order to return to their own country; but they were overtaken by a regiment of dragoons, and brought priſoners to the Tower, where three of them were ſhot, and the remainder ſent to the Weſt-Indies; while ſuch as had continued obedient embarked for Flanders, and behaved, in ſeveral engagements, with great bravery. The princeſs Louiſa of England being married, by proxy, to the prince-royal of Denmark, ſet out for that kingdom on the nineteenth of October, accompanied by the counteſs of Albemarle and baron Salenthall, a Daniſh nobleman. On the twenty-ninth, ſhe arrived at Hanover, and, on the eighteenth of November, was met at Altena by the prince, where they were publicly married, and then continued their journey to Copenhagen, the capital, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

His majeſty being returned from Hanover, the parliament met on the firſt of December; and the king, in his ſpeech, told them, that the ſituation of affairs on the continent had obliged him to head the army in perſon, where he had been joined by a large reinforcement from his good friends the Dutch: that, in order to reſtore peace to Europe, he had concluded a treaty with the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, the particulars of which ſhould be laid before them. He added, that it would appear to them, that he had nothing ſo much at heart as the reſtoring the public tranquillity: and concluded by telling the commons, that although the expence was great, yet it was neceſſary; and therefore he doubted not but they would contribute, in the moſt chearful manner, to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and promote the happineſs of the people.

Great debates aroſe in the houſe of lords concerning the nature of the addreſs that ſhould be preſented to his majeſty: for the earl of Sandwich moved, that the Hanoverians ſhould no longer be continued in the pay of Great-Britain, becauſe they were of no real ſervice to the nation.

The motion, however, was over-ruled by a great majority, and twenty-five peers proteſted againſt it. It was much the ſame in the houſe of commons: for although ſeveral members moved for the diſcontinuation of Hanoverians in the Britiſh ſervice, yet the miniſtry carried all before them. That ſyſtem of bribery that had been firſt planned by Sir Robert Walpole, and brought to a ſtate of perfection during twenty years that he was at the head of public affairs, had made the majority of both houſes a ſtanding council to the crown; and thus the public money was ſpent in debauching the morals of the people.

This year John duke of Argyle died, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. He was one of the moſt ſteady patriots that ever adorned any nation whatever. No ſcheme propoſed by the miniſter was ever embraced or ſupported by him, if it appeared to be inconſiſtent with the rights of the people. He had ſerved the crown in ſome of the higheſt departments of the ſtate; but neither promiſes nor threatenings could ever make him ſwerve from that duty he owed to his country. He lived an honeſt man, and died lamented by every lover of virtue.

A. D. 1744. The firſt thing that the parliament took into conſideration, was the raiſing the proper ſupplies for carrying on the war; and ſo great was the power of the miniſtry, that ten millions were granted, a ſum that increaſed the national debt to an enormous height, and burthened the people with taxes almoſt intolerable to be borne. Many worthy members of both houſes oppoſed ſuch ſcandalous meaſures, by which ruin was threatened to the whole nation. But their attention was led off by an event that called upon both parties to unite in the ſame common cauſe.

Charles Stuart, the eldeſt ſon of the pretender, had left Rome; and travelling through Italy in the moſt private manner, arrived in France, where he had a conference with the French king, who had invited him to Paris, in hopes of ſending him over to Britain; not doubting but the diſcontents in that kingdom would enable him to procure a powerful party, and by theſe means lead the Britiſh forces out of Flanders. Accordingly, a body of troops was raiſed in France to aſſiſt him, and count Saxe was appointed the commander in chief.

Count Saxe had been ſome time in England, and had taken notice that there were but few places fortified in a regular manner; and therefore, upon his return, having made a proper repreſentation of theſe things, an army of fifteen thouſand men was ordered to march to the coaſt near Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, where the young pretender was to ſee them embarked on board the proper tranſports. It is neceſſary to take notice, that although hoſtilities had, in ſome meaſure, been commenced between us and the French, yet war had not been declared; and therefore our miniſtry ſent an expreſs to Mr. Thompſon, then at Paris, to remonſtrate to the French miniſtry on their conduct; but he only received evaſive anſwers. A fleet of men of war had been fitted out at Breſt, as a convoy to the tranſports; and the command being given to M. Roquefeuille, that admiral ſailed up the Britiſh channel, but was diſcovered by ſome Engliſh cruiſers, who took ſhelter in the harbour of Plymouth, and ſent an expreſs to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was ſent to take upon him the command of the fleet; and being joined by ſome other ſhips of the line, he found himſelf ſuperior to the enemy.

The deſign of the French was to have landed their forces in Kent, and thereby ſtrike ſuch a terror into the people in London, that they would be obliged to abandon their houſes; but the Engliſh miniſtry took every precaution to fruſtrate their deſigns. Several regiments were ordered to march towards the coaſt oppoſite France; proper care was taken of the forts, and the governors and commanders of garriſons were ordered to repair to their reſpective ſtations. The militia were raiſed; the laws in force againſt the papiſts and non-jurors were ordered to be put in execution; and the earl of Stair was again appointed commander in chief of the army.

In the mean time, the French went on with their preparations for the embarkation of their forces; and ſeven thouſand went on board at Dunkirk, while M. Roquefeuille attempted to get up the channel; but ſtopping near the Iſle of Wight, he was informed that the Engliſh ſquadron had deſerted their ſtation. He ſent Mr. De Barreil, his ſecond in command, with two ſhips of the line, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk; while he ſet ſail with the reſt of the fleet, and came to an anchor at a place called Dungenneſs, eighteen miles ſouth-weſt of Dover.

Sir John Norris, who had received information concerning the French fleet, ſet ſail from the Downs, and would have come up with them, had not the wind ſhifted about, ſo that he was obliged to caſt anchor within two leagues of the enemy. This induced the French admiral to call a council of war, and the reſult of it was, that they were to ſail home to their own coaſt, becauſe they had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the Engliſh. Accordingly they weighed anchor; and a hard gale ſpringing up, they arrived off Cape Barfleur in a very ſhattered condition. The tranſports in particular were ſo much diſtreſſed for want of neceſſary proviſions, that many of the men were ſo extremely ſick, that they were obliged to be landed; and this mighty armament, which had made ſo much noiſe, ended in nothing. The Engliſh remained maſters of the ſeas; and Sir John Norris returned with his ſquadron to the Downs, from whence he detached ſeveral ſhips to annoy the enemy. The pretender, who, a few weeks before, ſuppoſed that he would be able to make himſelf maſter of England by conqueſt, was obliged to return to Rome; for the court of France, whoſe tool he was, looked upon him in a very cold and indifferent manner.

The ſuſpicion of danger, in conſequence of a foreign invaſion, induced the parliament to ſet aſide the habeas corpus act; and, in conſequence thereof, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were taken into cuſtody;

but no proof of their guilt appearing, the court of King's-bench admitted them to bail, and they were ſoon after diſcharged. On the eighteenth of March, ſix thouſand Dutch forces arrived at Graveſend, in conſequence of a former treaty; and the French king finding all his ſchemes rendered abortive, declared war againſt Great-Britain on the twentieth day of March. On the thirty-firſt day of the ſame month, his Britannic majeſty publiſhed a counter-declaration of war, to the great joy of the nation; for the people in general had long beheld, with indignation, the inſults daily offered to the Britiſh flag; while the moſt ſolemn treaties had been diſregarded, and public faith, the baſis of peace, trampled on.

War was, at the ſame time, declared againſt the queen of Hungary, by the French; ſo that nothing was to be ſeen but preparations for taking the field as early as poſſible. On the third of April, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, informed them, that, with reſpect to the event of the war, and the ſupport of his faithful and loyal ſubjects, he depended on the divine providence. He told them, that he had not drawn the ſword till forced to it; and that, as he had but one intereſt with his people, ſo he depended upon them for ſupport. Affectionate and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes to his majeſty; and a bill was brought in, to make it high-treaſon in any Britiſh ſubject to correſpond with the pretender. This bill having paſſed in the houſe of commons, was carried to the upper houſe, where the lord-chancellor Hardwicke moved, that an amendment ſhould be made, by extending the act to the natural lives of the pretender's two ſons. Debates aroſe upon the merits of the amendment; for it was argued, that however imprudent it might be in Britiſh ſubjects to correſpond with ſuch as had the moſt diſtant claim to the crown, yet it was inconſiſtent with humanity to make it criminal, particularly high-treaſon, the greateſt offence that can be committed in the eye of the law. It paſſed, however, by a ſmall majority, though not till eighteen lords had entered a proteſt againſt it: and when it was ſent down to the commons, great oppoſition was made to the amendment by thoſe who had framed the bill; but the court party carried it, and ſoon after it received the royal aſſent. The parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth of May, when his majeſty told them, that the vaſt preparations then making by the French was a proof of their ambitious views, and therefore the ſafety of the nation depended on oppoſing them in the moſt vigorous manner: and he thanked the commons for their generoſity in furniſhing the ſupplies.

The fleet under the command of admiral Matthews had been ſtrongly reinforced; for he had no leſs than forty veſſels, twenty-eight of which were of the line. On board were fifteen thouſand ſeamen, with eight hundred men drawn from the garriſons in Minorca. The French and Spaniſh fleets had been, for a conſiderable time, blocked up in the harbour of Toulon; but the queen of Spain, who could ſet no bounds to her ambition, ſtirred up the French to give abſolute orders for their admirals to engage. Accordingly an expreſs was diſpatched to Toulon; and on the ninth of February this year, the combined fleet came out of the harbour; and admiral Matthews, who had watched all their motions, made the neceſſary preparations to attack them. Leſtock commanded the left wing, or rear; Rowley the right, or van; and Matthews the center. But the wind dying away, they were obliged to come to an anchor. Next day, towards the evening, both fleets came very near to each other; but neither the French or Spaniſh admirals ſeemed willing to engage, becauſe of the ſuperior force of the Engliſh. However, the admiral reſolved to loſe no time, and therefore gave orders for a general attack; but Leſtock kept back his ſhips, and ſuffered four of the Spaniſh ones to paſs him. The captains Hawke, Cornwall, Oſborne, and Forbes, behaved with the moſt unparalleled bravery; but ſome of the other captains acted in ſuch a manner, as to be a diſhonour to their country. Captain Cornwall commanded the Marlborough; and, after reducing the Real, the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, to a perfect wreck, had both his legs ſhot off, and at laſt was killed by one of the enemy's chain-ſhot. The command having devolved upon the firſt lieutenant, the ſhip continued to fight till near five in the evening, when ſhe was towed out of the fleet, as unfit for action. The Royal Philip, another Spaniſh ſhip, was ſo much diſabled, that admiral Matthews ordered one of the fire-ſhips to burn her. Theſe fire-ſhips are filled with gun-powder, and other combuſtibles, with grappling-irons on the fronts and ſides, which fix them to the enemy's ſhips; and then the ſailors getting into boats, ſet fire to them, when all blow up together. It is the conſtant practice to ſend one of the large ſhips to protect the fire-ſhip from being blown up by the enemy; and Matthews took that precaution, but the captain did not obey his orders. In the mean time, the brave captain Mackay, who commanded the fire-ſhip, though unſupported by any veſſel whatever, continued to advance; and Leſtock having ſuffered the Spaniards to advance, Mackay ſaw his deſtruction inevitable, and therefore reſolved to loſe his life in the deſtruction of the Royal Philip. In conſequence of that deſperate reſolution, he got up along-ſide of the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, and lighting a match, ſet fire to the combuſtibles, and was blown up, without doing any other damage to the enemy than covering their decks with the wreck. The Namur, in which admiral Matthews was, ſuffered much in this engagement; and had ſhe not been aſſiſted by the brave captain Hawke, in the Berwick, ſhe muſt have been deſtroyed. Hawke took one of the Spaniſh ſhips of the line; but ſhe was the next day retaken by the French, who finding that ſhe was not fit for ſervice, burnt her. Towards the evening, the French admiral, M. de Court, attacked that part of the fleet under the command of Rowley; and although Leſtock was witneſs to this, yet he did not ſo much as offer him the leaſt aſſiſtance. Night coming on, the firing ceaſed; but next morning, Matthews ſeeing the enemy to the leeward, continued in purſuit of them till dark. In the morning, the enemy's ſhips were diſcovered from the top-maſt-head, and Leſtock was ſent in purſuit of them; but before he could come up with them, Matthews gave the ſignal for him to deſiſt, and ſteered for the iſland of Minorca. The Spaniſh fleet, under the command of Don Navarro, got into the harbour of Carthagena, and that of the French into Alicant.

As ſoon as Matthews arrived in Minorca, he deprived Leſtock of his command, and ſent him a priſoner to England. The public were much divided in their opinions concerning the conduct of the two commanders; but certain it is, they were men that, from motives of private reſentment, ſacrificed the public intereſt; ſo that, notwithſtanding the vaſt expence the nation had been at in fitting out the fleet, and after many brave men had been killed, no advantages were reaped from an engagement which, if rightly conducted, would have been the deſtruction of the Spaniſh and French navies. Matthews having reſigned his command of the fleet to admiral Rowley; and coming to England, was put under an arreſt by order of the government. A committee of the houſe of commons was appointed to enquire into his conduct, and that of admiral Leſtock; but they not being properly acquainted with the import of ſea-terms, nor the form of naval engagements, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would iſſue his warrant to a court-martial to try the delinquents. As is cuſtomary in ſuch caſes, many of the evidences were abroad; ſo that the court-martial did not deliver their judgment till the latter end of the year 1746, when Leſtock was, to the ſurprize of every one, acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of ever ſerving his majeſty, and all his commiſſions were taken from him. People in general blaimed the court martial, nor is it fully known to this day, which of the commanders were moſt deſerving of cenſure. Both were men of courage and abilities, but ſome private reſentment operated ſo ſtrongly upon their minds, that no good could be expected from any thing undertaken by them in concert.

The mediterranean being thus in a manner left open, the Spaniards had an opportunity of ſending forces and proviſions to Italy, while Don Philip was ſupplied in the ſame manner by the French. The Sardinian army, which had hitherto only guarded the paſſes of the Alps, had ſent a ſtrong detachment to Nice, and that place being conſidered as of the utmoſt importance, Don Philip and the French general reſolved to attack it. This was one of the boldeſt reſolutions that could have been formed, becauſe in that mountainous country a ſingle battalion can ſtop a whole army; and what was ſtill more, the king of Sardinia had formed a ſtrong camp near Villa Franca, which ſeemed almoſt impregnable.

About the latter end of March Don Philip and the prince of Conti, having collected their forces together, croſſed the Var, a river that runs from the Alps, and having taken the city of Nice, they advanced to attack the camp of the king of Sardinia in the midſt of rocks and mountains almoſt inacceſſible. A detachment from the forces on board the Engliſh fleet were ſent to aſſiſt the king of Sardinia; but the French and Spaniards, animated by the example of the two young princes who commanded them, made themſelves maſters of the firſt lines that ſerved as an advanced guard to the batteries of Villa Franca. Every thing gave way to the ardour of the French and Spaniſh troops, and although they loſt above ſix thouſand men, yet they proceeded from one rock to another, and made priſoner the marquis de Suze, natural brother to the king of Sardinia, and above three thouſand men under his command. Another moſt furious attack was made on Montalban, a ſtrong fort belonging to the king of Sardinia, and taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance; while the remainder of the Piedmonteſe army embarked on board the Engliſh fleet, and were landed at a town called Oneglia, ſeven miles ſouth-weſt of Genoa.

A paſſage being thus opened into Italy, the Spaniards advanced to Oneglia, from whence the Piedmonteſe troops, under the command of general Sinzan, retreated and encamped at a place called Gareſſio, ſituated among rocks almoſt inacceſſible. But notwithſtanding all the advantages obtained by the French and Spaniards, yet they were in great want of proviſions in a country not capable of cultivation; and the artillery was obliged to be drawn by the ſoldiers. This induced the prince of Conti to propoſe to Don Philip, that, in order to preſerve the army, they muſt endeavour to return to the borders of France; and accordingly, on the ninth of June, all the detached parties being called in, they croſſed the Var, and ſoon after reached the Upper Dauphine, where they ſeparated in order to prepare for entering Italy by Demont, and ſome other paſſes that were then guarded by his Sardinian majeſty, who had taken every proper precaution, and although not an active general, yet diſplayed a large ſhare of military ſkill in oppoſing the enemy.

On the eighteenth of July, early in the morning, the French and Spaniſh armies, having ſtruck their tents, began to put in practice their intended ſcheme of forcing a paſſage into Italy, in a more advantageous manner than what had been attempted before. The undertaking was one of the moſt hazardous that could have been imagined, the Sardinian troops had every advantage on their ſide; but the French and Spaniards ſurmounted all difficulties, and took the paſs of Monte Cavallo, although defended by a detachment of twelve hundred men. The French grenadiers leaped into the intrenchments, and by the favour of a fog, which prevented the enemy from diſcovering them, took one redoubt after another, though not without the loſs of near four thouſand men. The king of Sardinia, driven from his ſtrong holds, reſolved to collect all his forces together, and provide for the ſafety of his capital city of Turin. The French and Spaniſh armies, fluſhed with ſucceſs, continued their march through defiles almoſt inacceſſible, and the whole plain country of Piedmont being now laid open to them, they exacted heavy contributions from the people, and enforced the payment of them under the ſevereſt penalties.

Don Philip and the prince of Conti reſolved to attack Coni, a ſtrong fort about ten leagues ſouth of Turin, and garriſoned by twelve hundred men, under the command of baron Leutrum, who had taken every neceſſary meaſure to put it in a proper ſtate of defence, ſo as to preſerve it to the laſt extremity. The king of Sardinia having been joined by the forces under general Pallavicini, found himſelf at the head of thirty-ſix thouſand men, and conſcious that if Coni fell into the hands of the enemy, they would ſoon be maſters of Turin, his capital city, reſolved to put the whole upon the hazard of a battle, a ſtep much more conſiſtent with ſound policy, than to remain inactive. Accordingly, he marched to attack them in the intrenchments they had thrown up before the walls of Coni, but found it impracticable to bring them to a general engagement. The ſeaſon of the year, however, ſeconded his operations; for the French and Spaniſh armies had ſuffered ſo much, that they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and march back to Dauphine, leaving their ſick and wounded behind them to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe, and the whole country in poſſeſſion of his Sardinian majeſty.

In the more interior parts of Italy, the prince Lobkowitz carried on the war againſt the Spaniſh forces; and the king of Naples, having pulled off the maſk, declared that he would aſſiſt his father the king of Spain; becauſe, as he alledged, he had been treated in a very illegal manner by the courts of London and Vienna. He inſinuated farther, that the queen of Hungary had attempted to raiſe an inſurrection in his dominions, and that prince Lobkowitz was to aſſiſt in driving him out of his hereditary dominions. The army under count Gages had marched towards the Neapolitan territories, while the Auſtrians marched towards Rome; and it was reſolved by the king of Naples, that both ſhould come to a general engagement; and accordingly they came in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Velletri, about twenty-ſeven miles eaſt of Rome, where they threw up entrenchments. For ſome time they remained inactive; but prince Lobkowitz, having received intelligence that one wing of the Spaniſh army was quite uncovered, reſolved to ſurprize it and ſeize on their head quarters in the town of Velletri, where their ammunition was kept.

This project was executed in ſuch a manner as muſt for ever reflect honour upon the prince; for about midnight count Brown, having been ſent at the head of ſix thouſand Auſtrians, forced the advanced guards, and, entering the town, put all thoſe whoſe oppoſed him to the ſword, while ſuch as ſubmitted were made priſoners of war. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena, narrowly eſcaped being taken; but count Brown being afraid that his retreat would be cut off, marched out of the town, ſo that no beneficial conſequences flowed from an enterprize ſo hazardous in its own nature, and ſo well conducted. As moſt of the Auſtrian ſoldiers had been taken from cold countries, ſo the climate of Italy did not agree with their conſtitution. The heat at autumn deſtroyed them in great numbers, and prince Lobkowitz, who imagined himſelf on the eve of victory, found his army daily decreaſing. Count de Gages, who from the whole of his conduct, ſeems to have been a very experienced general, reſolved to avail himſelf of the diſtreſſed condition of the

Auſtrian army; and therefore, as ſoon as he heard that they had marched from Velletri, he reſolved to haraſs them as much as poſſible. Accordingly he ſtruck his tents; and coming up with the Auſtrians under the walls of Rome, where part of them had croſſed the Tiber, and broke down the bridges, a ſmart engagement enſued, in which the Auſtrians were the greateſt ſufferers: at the ſame time, great numbers of their ſoldiers deſerted, ſo that the prince's army was reduced to a handful of men; but notwithſtanding, he made good his retreat, amidſt a thouſand difficulties. At Gabbio, in the territory of Bologna, he received information that the French and Spaniſh troops had been driven out of Italy, which gave freſh ſpirits to the forces under his command; and he put them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Imola, about one hundred and eighty miles north-weſt of Rome; while the count de Gages, unable to purſue him any farther, retired to Viterbo, on the eaſt of Rome, and the winter was ſpent in making preparations for another campaign. Such was the ſtate of affairs, with reſpect to military operations, in Italy, during this year; and therefore we muſt now turn our thoughts to another part of Europe.

In Germany, the emperor ſaw himſelf ſtripped of every thing, and reduced to the neceſſity of living on a penſion from France; but even that diſtreſs became of ſervice to him. Other princes beheld with indignation the inflexible ſpirit of the houſe of Auſtria, that would not hearken to any terms; and therefore the kings of Sweden and Pruſſia, with the elector Palatine, entered into a confederacy with France, in order to ſupport the emperor, and trouble the queen of Hungary. A declaration of their intentions was publiſhed, with this view, that the people of England, ſeeing ſuch a confederacy formed againſt the queen of Hungary, might be induced to withdraw from her any farther aſſiſtance. The king of Pruſſia ſent an order to his ambaſſador at London to remonſtrate to our court on the impropriety of diſtreſſing the head of the empire, and granting too much power to the houſe of Auſtria. This memorial was publiſhed in all our news-papers, and it convinced our miniſtry that the king of Pruſſia was well acquainted with the ſtate of parties in England.

The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, reſolved to avail himſelf of the convention that had been formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and therefore he entered into an agreement with the queen of Hungary, to furniſh her with thirty thouſand men. In return, the queen was to give him a part of Sileſia, to which he laid claim by an ancient title; for all the German princes have claims, or at leaſt pretend to have, to each other's territories. But money was another motive with the king of Poland: he expected a ſubſidy from Britain; for moſt of the German princes are ſo poor, and live in ſuch an extravagant manner, that they let out their troops to ſuch as bid moſt for them.

The French king, determined to proſecute the war to the utmoſt, aſſembled an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men in the Netherlands, under the command of marſhal de Noailles and count Saxe. Lewis XV. having heard that his army was aſſembled, ſet out from Paris, in order to be preſent during the campaign; for, from a variety of concurring circumſtances, he doubted not of being ſucceſsful.

On the fourth of May, the French king reviewed his army at Liſle; and made ſeveral regulations relating to military diſcipline, which, for ſome time, had been too much neglected. The confederate army, compoſed of Britiſh, Dutch, Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Auſtrians, amounting to about ſeventy-ſix thouſand, encamped in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels, under the command of three different generals. Marſhal Wade commanded the Engliſh and Hanoverians; the duke of Aremberg had the command of the Hungarians; and the Dutch under count Maurice of Naſſau. Theſe three generals were greatly eſteemed by their reſpective ſovereigns. Wade had been brought up under the great duke of Marlborough; Aremberg had ſerved in many campaigns with prince Eugene; and count Maurice was deſcended from thoſe heroes who had eſtabliſhed the liberty of the united provinces. The only thing that tended towards retarding the progreſs of the allies, was the conduct of the Dutch: for although they had taken the field, yet they were very unwilling to engage; and therefore ſent count de Waſſenaer to Lewis, to expoſtulate with him on the terrors they were under, becauſe of his army being ſo near the frontiers of their provinces. But the French king told the Dutch miniſter, that he had long borne with the inſults of his enemies; but as his indulgence had only emboldened them in their deſigns againſt him, he was determined not to hearken to any terms, but to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

The city of Courtray ſurrendered at the approach of the French; and Menin, one of the Dutch frontier towns, in which was a garriſon of fifteen hundred men, was taken, after a ſiege of four days, and both ſoldiers and officers made priſoners of war. Thirty thouſand French, under the command of count Clermont, attacked Ypres, in which was a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by the prince of Heſſe Philipſthal. The ſiege of this city began on the firſt of June, and continued till the fourteenth, when moſt of the outworks being taken, the governor was forced to capitulate. This important event opened a way for the French to penetrate into the center of the Auſtrian Netherlands, where the garriſons ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as attacked.

The allies could not ſtop the progreſs of the French; and their generals beheld their towns taken, one after another, without being able to give them any aſſiſtance. The French king made his public entry into Dunkirk in the moſt pompous manner, imagining that every thing would give way to his arms; but news was brought him, that prince Charles of Lorrain had croſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French army, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men; and had entered Alſace, after taking poſſeſſion of the important paſs of Lauterburg.

The conduct of prince Charles in croſſing the Rhine did him great honour, and aſtoniſhed all Europe, for it was looked upon as next to impoſſible; but the activity of the prince, and the perſeverance of his troops, ſurmounted every difficulty. Marſhal Coigni, who commanded the French army on the Rhine, ſaw with aſtoniſhment the Auſtrians in poſſeſſion of Alſace, and the whole province of Lorrain laid open to prince Charles. He ſaw no other means left but that of cutting his way through the enemy, which he attempted, and a bloody battle enſued; but the French were defeated, and obliged to return to their former ſtation; while flying parties infeſted the neighbourhood of Lorrain; and king Staniſlaus, with his whole court, was obliged to retire from his capital city of Nancy. When news of this was brought to the French king, he did not heſitate one moment concerning the proper ſteps to be taken; but leaving an army of forty thouſand men, under the command of marſhal Saxe, to protect his new conqueſts in Flanders, he ſet out to join his army on the Rhine, accompanied by the marſhal de Noailles, at the head of above fifty thouſand men. Upon his arrival at Metz, in Lorrain, he received information that an event of the utmoſt importance had taken place, and drawn the attention of prince Charles to another part. The king of Pruſſia marched through Saxony into Bohemia, at the head of eighty-four thouſand men, and a large train of artillery. On the frontiers of Bohemia, he was joined by twenty thouſand men from Sileſia; and on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Peterſwald, where he publiſhed a manifeſto, in order to juſtify his conduct in having taken up arms againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

Having cauſed ſeveral copies of this memorial to be diſperſed, he continued his march to Prague, which he inveſted: and having taken one fortification after another, the commander, general Ogilvy, ſurrendered, and fifteen thouſand men were made priſoners of war. Having placed a garriſon of ſix thouſand men in Prague, he left that city, and reduced ſeveral other places in Bohemia. But conqueſts are more eaſily obtained than preſerved.

News of the ſtate of affairs in Bohemia having been tranſmitted to Vienna, orders were ſent to prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, which he did a ſecond time in ſight of the French army, although they were much ſuperior to him in number. The king of France had been ſeized with a violent fever at Metz, and his life was, for ſome time, deſpaired of; but by proper care, and a good conſtitution, he recovered, to the great joy of his ſubjects, whoſe fears were conſiſtent with that reſpect always ſhewn by the French to their ſovereigns.

The king of Pruſſia no ſooner heard that prince Charles had croſſed the Rhine, than he complained bitterly of the French generals for not oppoſing him, but he only received evaſive anſwers. In the mean time, prince Charles having been reinforced by twenty thouſand Saxons, and a conſiderable number of Auſtrians under the command of general Bathiani, reſolved to attack the Pruſſian monarch, well knowing that he was too far diſtant from his own territories to procure new reinforcements. Indeed, the king was ſenſible that it was not in his power to ſtand his ground in Bohemia; and therefore, having abandoned all the paſſes leading to Prague, he entered that city, to which he was cloſely purſued by the Auſtrians. On the nineteenth of November, he marched from Prague, leaving behind him his whole train of artillery; and ſo much did the Auſtrians haraſs his fatigued troops, and ſuch was the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, that many died: and when he arrived in Sileſia, the greateſt part of the army were naked. Having diſtributed them into winter quarters, he returned to Berlin, mortified with his diſappointment, and filled with indignation againſt the French ſtate.

The affairs of Germany now began to aſſume a new form. Count Seckendorff had driven the Auſtrians out of Bavaria; and, on the twenty-ſecond day of October, the emperor entered his capital city of Munich. The French marſhals, Belleiſle, Noailles, and Coigni, were at the head of eighty thouſand men; and on the firſt of September, they inveſted the city of Friburg, a place of great ſtrength, and ſtill greater importance, as it opened a paſſage into the circle of Suabia. The French king, being perfectly reſtored to health, took into his ſervice the famous count Lowendahl, and ſet out for his army at Friburg, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, amidſt the acclamations of the ſoldiers, who rejoiced to ſee their ſovereign once more reſtored to them. The trenches were immediately opened, and the garriſon made a vigorous defence; but the ſuperior power and knowledge of the French overcame every obſtacle; and the place was ſurrendered on the twenty-eight day of November, all the ſoldiers having been made priſoners of war.

This was a moſt valuable acquiſition to the French, though it was dearly purchaſed, for they loſt upwards of eighteen thouſand men. In the arſenal they found three hundred pieces of cannon, ſeventy-two field-pieces, and two hundred mortars, with a ſuitable proportion of all other ſorts of artillery and ammunition.

Thus ended the campaign in Germany; and the French troops were put into quarters of cantonment along the banks of the Rhine, while their king returned to Paris, where he was received with ſuch demonſtrations of joy as had more the appearance of adoration paid to a divine being, than the homage due to an earthly ſovereign.

In Flanders, the allies finding that the greateſt part of the French army had been obliged to march to the Higher Germany, reſolved to take the advantage of their abſence: and accordingly, having croſſed the Scheld, a river that runs through great part of the Netherlands, attempted to force marſhal Saxe to come to an engagement; but that general, ever cautious where he ſaw the leaſt appearance of danger, kept himſelf behind his trenches, waiting for a more favourable opportunity.

The allied army finding they could not bring marſhal Saxe to an engagement, filed off towards Liſle, the capital of French Flanders, which they might have taken, but they neglected ſo valuable an opportunity, for which the conduct of the generals was ſeverely cenſured in England. The truth is, the generals were divided in their opinions: Wade was too indolent to conduct any enterprize that required courage: the duke de Aremberg was afraid of giving umbrage to the French king, becauſe great part of his eſtate lay in France: and the Dutch generals were as inactive as if they had not had any connection in the war.

The naval power of England in the Mediterranean had not performed any thing, during this year, of real ſervice to the nation; and therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould turn our thoughts to commodore Anſon, whom we have already mentioned as being ſent on an expedition into the South-ſeas. In the month of January 1741, the commodore arrived in the bay of St. Indian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, where he called a council of war, in order to conſult on the moſt proper methods to be uſed in diſtreſſing the enemy in that quarter of the world.

From St. Indian he ſailed to the ſtreights of La Maire, where he loſt ſight of the Severn and the Pearl, two of his ſhips; nor did he ever ſee them again during the remainder of his voyage; for they were ſo much ſhattered, that they were obliged to return to the Brazils to refit, and from thence they ſailed for Europe. This induced the commodore to ſail to the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where ſuch of the men as had been long afflicted with the ſcurvy, recovered in a moſt ſurpriſing manner, that ſmall place being eſteemed one of the moſt healthy in the univerſe. The Wager, a ſhip of twenty guns, belonging to Anſon's ſquadron, having been driven on the iſland of Socoro, the crew mutinied, and confined the captain; after which they converted the long-boat into a ſchooner, in which they ſet ſail for the Brazils, where they arrived in the month of January 1742. The captain, with ſuch of the men as had continued firm in his intereſt, had the good fortune to get on board a veſſel that carried them to Chiloi, and from thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they remained till there was a cartel for the exchange of priſoners, when they were ſent home to England.

Commodore Anſon was now reduced to a moſt ſhocking condition, in a part of the world where he could not procure any aſſiſtance; and his ſmall fleet conſiſted of no more than three ſhips, namely, the Centurion, the Glouceſter, and the Anna, which laſt was loaded with proviſions. But that fortitude and preſence of mind that ſeemed to be the particular characteriſtic of Mr. Anſon, never forſook him, even in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. He reſolved to attack the city of Paita, where the Spaniards had a large ſum of money, which they intended to ſend to Europe; and accordingly he ordered his lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to land in the night, with only fifty-eight men; all which was accompliſhed without their being perceived by the enemy. Such was the conſternation among the inhabitants, who imagined that a great army was landed among them, that, with the governor, they abandoned the place in the utmoſt confuſion; while the Engliſh ſailors ſeized on all the treaſure, which they conveyed to their ſhips; and then the commodore ſent ſome more of his hands on ſhore, who ſet fire to the town, and reduced it to an heap of aſhes.

This was a moſt fatal ſtroke to the Spaniards, whoſe loſs amounted to above fifteen hundred thou-

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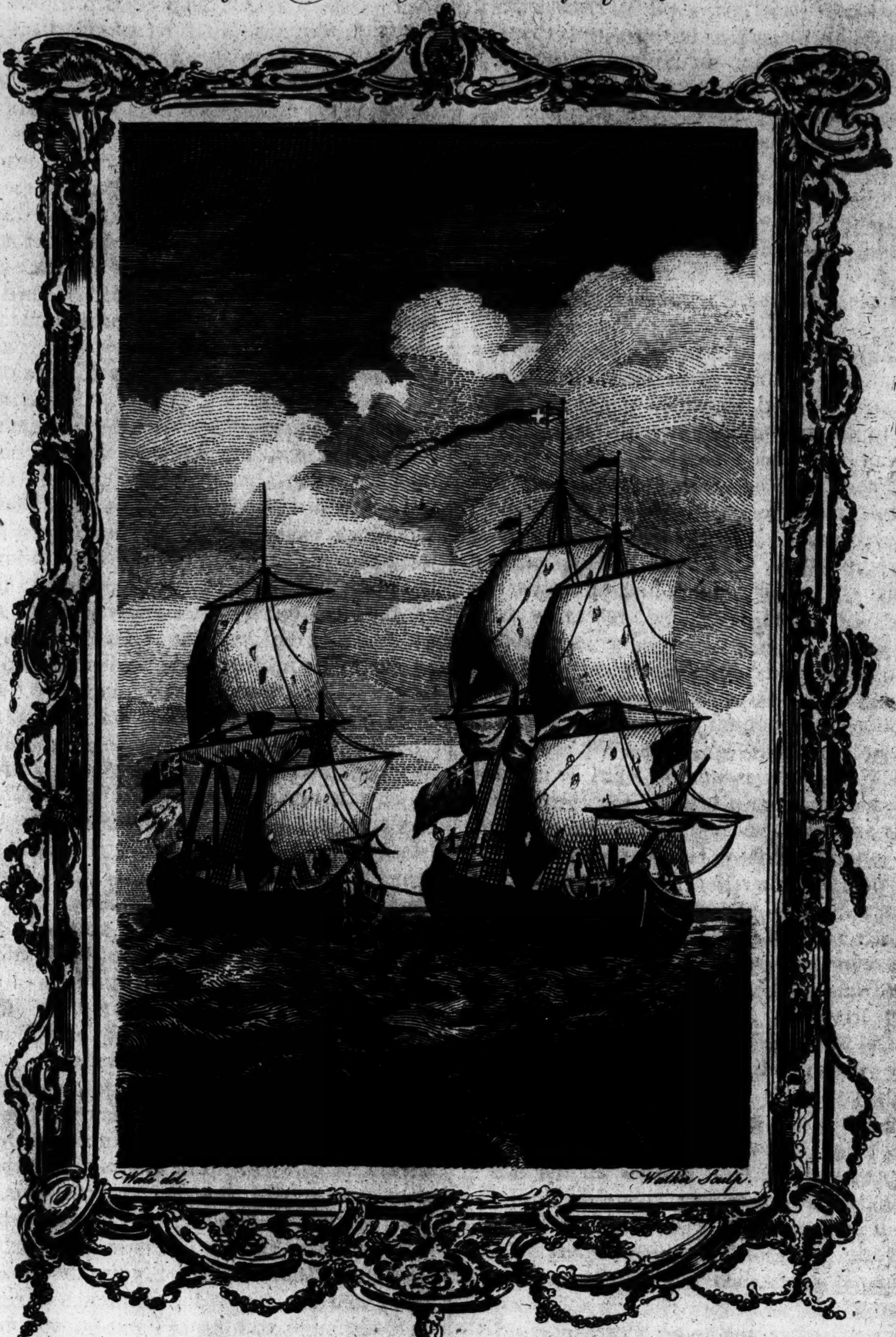
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Walker Sculp.

*The* **MANILLA GALEON** *taken by* **ADMIRAL ANSON** ſand dollars: and the commodore having weighed anchor, ſet ſail for the coaſts of Mexico and California. His deſign was to intercept the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at ſea, and deſtined for the harbour of Acapulco; but it was the nineteenth of February before Mr. Anſon could get into the bay of Mexico. When he arrived there, he had the mortification to learn, that the Manilla ſhip had got into the harbour of Acapulco on the ninth day of January, and that ſhe was to have failed ſoon after; but no ſooner had the Spaniſh governor learned that an Engliſh ſquadron was in thoſe ſeas, than he gave orders to countermand the ſailing of the ſhip; ſo that the commodore ſaw no other method left to ſave his ſhips, than to croſs the vaſt Pacific ocean, for the river of Canton in China. The Centurion and Glouceſter were all the ſhips he had now left; for although he had taken ſeveral prizes, yet not having hands to navigate them in a proper manner, they were obliged to be ſunk; while the Glouceſter, ſoon after, having ſprung a leak, was obliged to be ſet on fire; ſo that there remained none but the Centurion.

The hardſhips which the crew of the Centurion ſuffered are almoſt beyond conception; for ſo many of the men were afflicted with the ſcurvy, that there was ſcarce a ſufficient number left to do the neceſſary duty. At laſt they made for the iſland of Tinian, in the vaſt Pacific ocean, where moſt of the crew recovered, but the whole number amounted to no more than ſeventy-one. Having taken in all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions, he once more put to ſea, and arrived in the river of Canton in China on the twelfth day of November, after having ſuffered every thing that human nature could ſuſtain. The governor of Canton ſent an order to him, demanding the cuſtomary fees paid by all ſhips coming into that river: but he maintained the honour of the Britiſh flag, and inſiſted that he would never comply with any ſuch terms. The governor was amazed when he heard in what a cool and deliberate manner the commodore delivered his anſwer; and ſending for him on ſhore, they had a long conference together, the reſult of which was, that aſſiſtance was granted him to refit his ſhip, and take in proper proviſions.

On the fifteenth of April 1743, he left China, with a fixed reſolution of ſailing in queſt of one or more of the Manilla ſhips; and towards the latter end of May, arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, in the iſland of Samal Mare, where the Manilla ſhips always paſs in their voyage to Europe. There he lay by for ſome time; but on the twentieth of June, one of thoſe rich veſſels made her appearance, which added freſh ſpirits to the crew of the Centurion. The Spaniſh captain reſolved not to give up his prize, and accordingly a warm engagement enſued; but the ſuperior ſkill and undaunted courage of the Engliſh overcame every oppoſition: and although ſixty-ſeven of the Spaniards were killed, yet commodore Anſon loſt only two men.

With this rich prize the commodore returned to Canton, where he refitted his ſhip; and being willing to taſte the ſweets of his native country, from which he had been ſo long ſecluded, he ſet ſail for Europe, and on the eleventh of March 1744, arrived ſafe at the Cape of Good Hope. From thence he ſailed for England, and arrived in ſafety at Spithead on the ninth of June, where the treaſure was landed, and conducted to London by thoſe brave ſeamen who had taken it.

The Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean being in great diſtreſs for want of neceſſary ſtores, ſeveral veſſels were ſent, containing what was neceſſary, under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, who had with him eleven ſhips of the line. The weather obliging him to put into Liſbon, a fleet of French men of war from Breſt, cruiſed near the mouth of the Tagus, in order to intercept him. News of this having been tranſmitted to England, Sir John Balchen, with the admirals Stevens and Martin, were ſent to relieve Sir Charles, and, if poſſible, deſtroy the French fleet. A Dutch fleet of twenty men of war, under the command of admiral Baccherеſt, joined our ſquadron at Spithead; and having ſet ſail on the ſeventh of Auguſt, they caſt anchor near the mouth of the Tagus on the ninth of September. The French admiral retired as ſoon as he heard of their approach; upon which the ſea was left open to Sir Charles, who proceeded on his voyage without interruption.

So far the Britiſh fleet was proſperous; but, upon their return home, in the night of the third of October, they were overtaken by a moſt dreadful ſtorm; and the Victory, carrying one hundred and ten guns, and eſteemed the beſt firſt-rate ſhip in Europe, was daſhed to pieces on a rock near the iſland of Alderney. Sir John Balchen, with all his officers, and every one of the crew, amounting to near twelve hundred men, beſides above fifty young gentlemen of the beſt families in the nation, who had gone volunteers, periſhed, without any perſon's being able to give them the leaſt aſſiſtance. Some other events took place during this year which muſt not be omitted. A ſmall ſquadron was ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, to protect our ſettlements in that part of the world; and many of the French ſhips were taken; ſo that money flowed in abundance among the ſailors.

Another ſquadron, under the command of commodore Warren, was ſtationed to protect the leeward iſlands; and, in conſequence thereof, the French ſhips, deſtined with proviſions for the iſland of Martinico, were taken, and the inhabitants reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. A moſt dreadful hurricane happened on the twentieth day of October, in the iſland of Jamaica, by which ſix ſhips of war, beſides near a hundred of the merchantmen, were totally deſtroyed. In general, the Britiſh cruizers were extremely fortunate; and although ſome of them were taken, yet, at the concluſion of the year, the balance in our favour againſt Spain was one million nine hundred thouſand pounds; and againſt France, ſeven hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds.

This year died Sarah, the celebrated dutcheſs of Marlborough; a woman who, from a very obſcure original, raiſed herſelf, by intriguing with the political parties, to the higheſt ſtation that a ſubject could arrive at. She poſſeſſed great abilities, with an unbounded ambition; but ſo artful in the uſe of money, that ſhe left behind her a moſt princely eſtate.

The marſhal de Belleiſle and his brother having, on the ſecond of December, in their journey to the Imperial court, ſtopped at a village called Elbingrode, belonging to Hanover, of which they were ignorant, a party of the allied army took them both priſoners, and conveyed them to Stadt, from whence they were ſent over to England. They were treated with that reſpect due to their rank; and being on their parole of honour, were ſuffered to reſide at Windſor, and enjoy all ſorts of public diverſions.

On the twenty-eighth of November, the parliament met; and the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that although nothing of importance, in favour of the allies, had happened, yet he was determined, in conſequence of the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. He told them, that nothing could ſo much contribute towards promoting the public tranquillity, as unanimity among the members: and concluded by recommending to them the obligations they were under to raiſe the proper ſupplies. Both lords and commons voted, that loyal addreſſes ſhould be preſented to his majeſty; and, in general, the public buſineſs went on without interruption.

A conſiderable change took place in the miniſtry; for the patriots were ſo clamorous againſt lord Carteret, now become earl Granville, in conſequence of his mother's death, that he reſigned all his places; and the duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury; the ſeals were given to the earl of Harrington, as ſecretary of ſtate; the privy-ſeal to lord Gower: the earl of Cheſterfield was ſent over to the

Hague, to prevail with the ſtates-general to act more heartily in ſupport of the common cauſe; and, upon his return, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Dorſet was made preſident of the council, the duke of Devonſhire ſteward of the houſhold, Mr. Doddington treaſurer of the navy, Sir John Phillips was made firſt lord of trade, and Mr. Lyttleton was brought into the treaſury.

A. D. 1745. Theſe noblemen and gentlemen were ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the queen of Hungary, and therefore it was reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour; but ſtill there was a general wanting to conduct the army. Some of the oldeſt in command refuſed to take the office upon them, for this reaſon, that the miniſtry would not fail to wreak their vengeance upon them in conſequence of the leaſt miſcarriage: ſo that the duke of Cumberland, youngeſt ſon of his majeſty, was appointed commander in chief of the Britiſh forces. This choice of a prince brought up in the army, and who had, on many occaſions, given diſtinguiſhing proofs of his courage, gave great ſatisfaction to the people in general; and therefore he ſet out for Flanders. Many excellent bills having paſſed both houſes, the king prorogued the parliament on the ſecond of May, and next day embarked at Graveſend, in order to viſit Hanover.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the French were daily gaining ground; and, notwithſtanding ſome conſiderable loſſes, yet they ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to them. The queen of Hungary was much reduced, in conſequence of having ſpent great ſums in ſupporting her army; ſo that the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the event of the war. But many of the plans formed by the contending parties were near being diſconcerted, in conſequence of the death of Charles VII. emperor of Germany, and elector of Bavaria. That monarch, who had been advanced to the imperial dignity by the intrigues of the French, enjoyed little more than the name of emperor; and it may juſtly be ſaid of him, that he died of a broken heart. He had ſeen himſelf neglected, and even deſpiſed, by thoſe who, conſiſtent with the faith of treaties, were bound to ſtand by him. His hereditary dominions were wreſted from him; his enemies triumphed over him in every quarter: he ſaw his family on the brink of ruin; and, unable to ſuſtain the weight of his ſufferings, he ſunk under the load, and died, leaving to ſucceeding monarchs a ſtriking leſſon, never to let ambition blind their underſtanding, to truſt in thoſe in whom no confidence ought to be placed. When he was buried, the globe was carried before him, as if he had been the ſovereign of the whole world, although he had ſcarce a houſe wherein he could reſt in ſafety. Such is the vanity of men's actions and views in general, who love the ſhadow more than the ſubſtance, and even rejoice in their own folly.

The death of the emperor, who had, in a great meaſure, been the cauſe of the war, induced people in general to hope that peace would be reſtored to Europe; but the Engliſh miniſtry refuſed all propoſals of accommodation, thinking that they would have it in their power to diſtreſs the French, by carrying on the war in the moſt vigorous manner. The French, in order to play off their old game of interfering with the election of an emperor, caſt their eyes on the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but that prince was perſuaded againſt embarking in ſuch a dangerous ſcheme, by his miniſter, count Bruhl, who repreſented to him, that the Poles would never ſubmit to an emperor of Germany, leſt he ſhould deprive them of their privileges: and as the intereſt of the grand duke was very great, ſo, by an act of ſo imprudent a nature, he might even loſe his hereditary dominions. All theſe arguments were enforced from the example of the late emperor; and therefore the king of Poland, inſtead of aſpiring to the imperial crown, did every thing he could to place it on the head of the grand duke.

The next object that France had in view, was to raiſe the king of Pruſſia to the empire; but he was ſo well convinced of their perfidy, that he treated all their propoſals of that nature with the moſt ſovereign contempt. On the other hand, the queen of Hungary, who had ſtill ſome hopes of recovering Sileſia, would hearken to no terms of accommodation; and in that ſhe was ſtrongly encouraged by the Engliſh miniſtry, who made her the moſt liberal promiſes, that nothing ſhould be wanting to enable her to regain ſuch of her territories as had been ſeized by the French, and, at the ſame time, to raiſe her huſband, the grand duke, to the imperial throne.

Lewis XV. finding all his propoſals rejected, and not ſeeing the moſt diſtant appearance of putting an end to the war, reſolved to puſh it on, with the utmoſt vigour, in Flanders; and accordingly ſent marſhal Saxe to take upon him the command of the army, conſiſting of about ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, aſſiſted with a large train of artillery.

To animate the troops, the French king ſet out, accompanied by his ſon the dauphin, then about ſixteen years of age, and arrived in Flanders before the two armies could come to a general engagement. The duke of Cumberland, juſt entering into the twenty-fourth year of his age, arrived at the Hague on the ſeventh of April; and having concerted proper meaſures with the ſtates-general, ſet out for Bruſſels, where he found prince Waldeck, general of the Dutch forces, and the count Konigſegg, the commander in chief of the Auſtrians. The duke had made the art of war his ſtudy from his moſt early youth; he was not afraid of the greateſt dangers; and although he knew that the French were ſuperior to him in numbers, yet ſuch was his opinion of the undaunted courage of the Engliſh, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe the French, who were commanded by ſome of the moſt experienced generals of that age. Some of them had ſerved above forty years in the army; they had reduced the art of war to a ſcience; and even the ſubaltern officers were able to conduct any engagement whatever.

Marſhal Saxe, one of the greateſt generals that ever commanded an army, was not ignorant of the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland; but, at the ſame time, knowing that the troops under him were men of the moſt invincible courage, reſolved to obtain by ſtratagem what he could not in a regular engagement. Accordingly, for ſome days, he marched from one place to another, concealing his real intentions; but, on the twenty-fourth day of April, he ſat down before Tournay, a ſtrong city on the river Schelde, defended by a garriſon of eight thouſand Dutch troops, under the command of baron Dorth. Tournay had been fortified by the great Vauban, and was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt of all the frontier towns belonging to the Dutch; ſo that the duke of Cumberland imagined, if he could raiſe the ſiege, it would be of the utmoſt ſervice to the common cauſe. Accordingly, he marched from Bruſſels, and on the twenty-ninth of April, came within muſket-ſhot of the French army, juſt as marſhal Saxe had expected; for the whole was a ſcheme laid by the French to draw the allies into a ſnare.

The French army was ſtrongly encamped; and between them and the allies was the village of Fontenoy, about three miles ſouth-eaſt of Tournay. On the twenty-eighth of April, the French king rode from the city of Douay, and took up his head-quarters at the bridge of Calonne, near the village of St. Antoin, where there was a ſtrong battery of cannon. The bridge of Calonne was guarded by ſeveral battalions, both of regulars and militia; ſo that every precaution was taken by the French, while the allies depended too much on perſonal courage.

That part of the allied army compoſed of Engliſh forces was employed to drive the French from their advanced poſts, which they did with great courage; but this only ſerved to make the enemy more formidable, by being more united. As the allies were now in poſſeſſion of the ground from which they had driven the French, they drew up on it, and a council of war being called, it was reſolved upon by the majority to engage the next morning. This opinion, however, was diſliked by the oldeſt generals, who thought it much better to act on the defenſive; but the opinion of the young ones was embraced.

As this was one of the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagements that we meet with in hiſtory, ſo it is neceſſary that an account ſhould be given of it in the moſt particular manner.

The Engliſh and Hanoverians compoſed the right wing, and were drawn up in four lines, having the village of Vezon in their front. The Dutch, with part of the Auſtrians, compoſed the left wing, conſiſting of three columns, and they advanced into the plain of Fontenoy. Prince Waldeck, with ſome of the beſt Dutch troops, propoſed to attack Fontenoy; and the duke of Cumberland, in order to ſecond the prince, ordered general Ingoldſby to attack a fort near the village of Vezon, on which was a ſtrong battery of cannon. Sir John (ſince earl) Ligonier, commanded the right wing of the infantry, and Sir James Campbell was ordered to cover him, by extending the cavalry as far as poſſible along the plain of Fontenoy.

The courage of the Britiſh forces on this memorable day is incredible; for at the firſt charge they drove the French beyond their lines, and would have penetrated into the center of their firſt line, had not marſhal Saxe opened a concealed battery which ſwept off whole ranks at a time. The intrepidity of the Britiſh foot ſtruck the French with amazement; and there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but they would have been maſters of the field had not ſome circumſtances conſpired to deprive them of that glory.

General Ingoldſby was ſo dilatory in attacking the fort at Vezon, that marſhal Saxe had time to ſtrengthen it both with troops and cannon. But the moſt fatal circumſtance was the Dutch troops under prince Waldeck, for although he led them thrice on to the attack of Fontenoy, yet they as often fled, by which the Auſtrians were left expoſed to the fire of the enemy. Had Ingoldſby taken the fort at Vezon, the French king and his ſon, the dauphin, would have been made priſoners of war. But ſtill the courage of the Engliſh was the moſt ſurprizing that can be imagined. The broken lines were filled up from the rear, and although once put into ſome diſorder, yet when rallied by the duke, they advanced a ſecond time with more ardour than ever. In this manner both armies continued on the firſt day of May, from five in the morning till about three in the afternoon; but the Engliſh, who received no aſſiſtance from the left wing, were ſo galled by the enemy, who, in conſequence of the cowardice of the Dutch, took them in front and flank. Their numbers were now greatly reduced, and the French were raiſing a new battery, when orders were given for the allies to retreat. This they performed in ſuch excellent order, that ſome of the French cavalry, who attempted to purſue them, had a whole regiment deſtroyed. Next day the allies marched to Aeth; but ſuch of the brave ſoldiers and officers as had been wounded, were obliged to be left to the care of the enemy, who treated them in the moſt tender manner.

Such was the memorable battle of Fontenoy, which was of no other ſervice to the nation, but that of making an oſtentatious diſplay of courage of the Engliſh and Hanoverians, who both fought in the moſt amazing manner; while the Dutch, to their everlaſting diſgrace, procured the loſs of the battle. The allies loſt in this action two brave generals, namely, Sir James Campbell, and major-general Ponſonby, three colonels, a great number of ſubaltern officers, with about eight thouſand men. The loſs of the French cannot be well aſcertained: but it muſt be conſiderable, becauſe ſeven of their generals were killed, and four others died ſoon afterwards of their wounds.

Baron Dorth, the Dutch commander in Tournay, held out that important fortreſs againſt the whole French army till the twenty-firſt day of June, when he was obliged to capitulate, and obtained the moſt honourable terms. A detachment of four thouſand Engliſh and Hanoverians were ſent to reinforce the garriſon in the city of Ghent, but one thouſand of them were cut off. At the ſame time the French took the cities of Aeth, Dendermond, Oudenarde, and Newport, with the important town of Oſtend; after which Lewis XV. the French king, returned in triumph to Paris.

It was impoſſible for the duke of Cumberland to do any thing more than act on the defenſive; and to crown our misfortunes, an unnatural rebellion broke out at home, which obliged the duke of Cumberland to return to England, leaving the victorious marſhal Saxe in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands.

In Germany the French had ſent an army to the aſſiſtance of the young elector of Bavaria; but the Auſtrians had been ſo ſtrongly reinforced that the elector was obliged to leave his capital city of Munich, and take ſhelter in Augſburgh, while all that his army could do was to act on the defenſive, till ſuch time as reinforcements came to their aſſiſtance.

Count Traun, with an army of thirty thouſand Auſtrians, marched from Bohemia towards Frankfort, in order to drive out the French, under the command of the prince of Conti; alledging, as a reaſon, that there could not be a free election of an emperor, till all foreign troops were driven out of the empire. Count Bathiani joined count Traun, and the whole Auſtrian army, amounting to near ſeventy thouſand men, took the field, and the grand duke having taken upon himſelf the chief command, marched againſt the prince of Conti, and obliged him to repaſs the Rhine with very great loſs.

The French being thus driven out of Frankfort, ſeven ambaſſadors, from ſo many electors, aſſembled in the Imperial college, to make choice of an emperor; but thoſe of Brandenburg and the Palatinate were not preſent. The election fell on the grand duke of Tuſcany, huſband to the queen of Hungary; and on the twenty-fourth of September the emperor was crowned with the uſual ceremonies. This important event, ſo much for the benefit of the princes in Germany, was, in a great meaſure, brought about by the unwearied aſſiduity of his Britannic majeſty, who left nothing undone to bring over the electors to the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, and prevailed upon the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, to withdraw his troops from the French ſervice, and enter them into Britiſh pay.

The king of Pruſſia, who had ſuffered ſo much the preceding year, would have liſtened to terms of accommodation, eſpecially as he found that he had been deceived by the French; but the houſe of Auſtria rejected every offer. The Auſtrians had taken ſome towns in Sileſia; but no ſooner had the king of Pruſſia learned that his propoſal had been rejected, than his indignation was fired, and all his military ſkill rekindled in his breaſt. In a ſudden he attacked the Auſtrians, and drove them from one poſt to another with great ſlaughter, beſides making many priſoners. At Glatz ſix thouſand Pruſſians, under general Lehwald, attacked twelve thouſand Auſtrians commanded by general Helfrick, and totally defeated them. At Ratiber, three thouſand Auſtrians were made priſoners of war; every thing gave way to the victorious Pruſſians to the ſurprize of all Europe. People in general imagined that he had been too much diſpirited by his loſſes to have undertaken things of ſuch importance; but there are particular reaſons that call forth great minds to action.

But all theſe advantages obtained by the Pruſſian monarch, were trifles to what he performed afterwards. His real character had been hitherto concealed, and his taking Sileſia was aſcribed by the Auſtrians rather to a fortuitous concurrence of events, than either to real courage or military ſkill.

In May, prince Charles of Lorrain being joined by the forces under the command of the prince of Saxe-Weiſſenfells, marched from Bohemia, and encamped on thoſe mountains which ſeparate that kingdom from Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia had taken all the precaution that the greateſt general could uſe, in order to augment his army, and ſecure his garriſons; and about the middle of June, he found himſelf at the head of eighty-four thouſand men, all diſciplined in the beſt manner, and accuſtomed to the greateſt hardſhips that can be imagined. With theſe men he reſolved to attack prince Charles, who had advanced to Friedburg; and for that purpoſe ordered Du Moulin, his general, to march, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, to make as if he intended to march towards Breſlaw, which was done that prince Charles might be led into a ſnare. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the Auſtrians being taken off their guard, and lulled into ſecurity, the Pruſſians attacked them with ſuch fury, that although prince Charles and the prince of Saxe-Weiſſenfells did all that lay in their power to procure a victory, yet the military abilities of the king of Pruſſia bore down every oppoſition, and the Auſtrians were totally defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men killed, and near ſeven thouſand taken priſoners.

His Britannic majeſty was then at Hanover; and being afraid that the king of Pruſſia would too much diſtreſs the houſe of Auſtria, entered into a treaty with him, which was concluded at Hanover in the month of Auguſt. By this treaty Great-Britain engaged to ſupport the king of Pruſſia in his conqueſt of Sileſia; but the courts of Vienna and Dreſden having proteſted againſt it, the king of Pruſſia marched into Luſatia, and having taken poſſeſſion of Gorlitz, forced prince Charles of Lorrain to take ſhelter in Bohemia.

The prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, one of the Pruſſian generals, entered Saxony at the ſame time, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Leipſic; while the king of Poland, afraid of being made a priſoner in his capital city, left Dreſden, and took refuge in Prague. Prince Lobkowitz, with a body of Saxons, attempted to force the Pruſſian lines, but he was defeated with great loſs, and Dreſden, the capital of Saxony, was obliged to ſubmit to the victorious king of Pruſſia. The king of Poland ſeeing the Pruſſians in poſſeſſion of his capital, was obliged to make peace on the beſt terms he could, and the queen of Hungary conſented to give up all future claim to Sileſia.

In Italy, during this year, the war had been very unfavourable to the queen of Hungary, and her ally, the king of Sardinia. In the month of April, count Gages croſſed the Appenine mountains, in order to join the army under the command of Don Philip, in Lombardy; and although he was oppoſed by ſeveral parties of Auſtrians, yet he proceeded as far as Lucca, and placed a Spaniſh garriſon in that city.

From Lucca count Gages continued his march to the eaſtern part of the Genoeſe territories: and on the fourteenth day of June, Don Philip, who had received freſh reinforcements from Catalonia, met him near the city of Genoa. Upon the junction of the two armies, the republic of Genoa declared in favour of France and Spain againſt the houſe of Auſtria and the king of Sardinia; and the Auſtrian general Schuylemberg found himſelf under the neceſſity of marching towards Milan, the capital city of Lombardy.

Count Gages reduced the fort of Serravalle, while Don Philip opened a paſſage to Alexandria, and obliged the Auſtrian general to retire beyond the river Tanaro. Pavia, Tortona, and ſome other places, ſubmitted to count Gages; and Don Philip took the rich city of Milan, with Parma and Placentia; while the king of Sardinia was obliged to ſeek ſhelter at Valenza, on the other ſide of the Po, a rapid river that oftentimes overflows its banks, and lays the neighbouring country under water. The city of Alexandria ſubmitted to the Spaniards, after a ſiege of twelve days: and ſoon after, prince Lichtenſtein was ſent to command the Auſtrian forces in Italy, but nothing of any importance was done by him; for the united forces of the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, carried all before them; and the Auſtrian dominions in Italy, as well as the greateſt part of the king of Sardinia's territories, were taken.

With reſpect to the naval affairs of England during this year, they began, in ſome meaſure, to wear a more promiſing aſpect than before. Admiral Rowley had been ſent into the Mediterranean, to command in the room of Matthews; and he, during the ſummer, bombarded Genoa, and ſeveral other places; while the Engliſh privateers took ſeveral capital prizes; all which contributed towards inſpiring the ſeamen with freſh courage. But the moſt important naval tranſaction was the reduction of Cape Breton, in North-America, a place of great importance, which the French had been at great expence in fortifying, and which they looked upon as one of their moſt valuable colonies. The ſcheme had been projected by the people of Boſton in New-England; and Sir Peter Warren, who had been ſtationed near the leeward iſlands, was ordered to ſail for North-America, to aſſiſt ſuch forces as were then in New-England in the intended expedition. Accordingly, on the ſixth of April this year, Sir Peter ſet ſail, and ſoon after landed at Cauſo, having under his command ten ſhips of the line; and having taken on board ſix thouſand men from New-England, he came to an anchor at Gabaron, about four miles ſouth of Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. The ground between the fort and the place where they landed was the moſt dangerous to paſs over that could be imagined; but the forces ſent from New-England ſurmounted all difficulties, and, by the moſt unwearied diligence and perſeverance, formed two camps, in order to carry on the attack. One of theſe camps was on the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide of the town; and the fort had a battery of thirty-five pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry into the harbour. The walls and ramparts mounted ſixty-four great guns, beſides ſixteen large mortars; and the garriſon, beſides the inhabitants, contained twelve hundred regular troops, under the command of M. Chambon. At the weſt gate of the town, was a ſtrong draw-bridge, ſecured by a battery of ſixteen guns, and near it was another battery of thirty-four guns. The New-England forces were only raw, undiſciplined troops; few of them had ever ſeen a military engagement: but notwithſtanding the almoſt unſurmountable difficulties that ſeemed to oppoſe them, yet they diſplayed ſuch courage as would have done honour to the beſt regulated forces in the world. They only waited for orders; and no ſooner had they received them, than they attacked the grand battery with ſuch fury, that the enemy was forced to abandon it, and that, in a great meaſure, contributed towards procuring them the victory. In the mean time, the Engliſh fleet blocked up the harbour, ſo that neither men nor proviſions could be brought to the beſieged; while ſeveral French ſhips, laden with ſtores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and were condemned as legal prizes.

The New-England forces, who carried on the ſiege, were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of freſh proviſions; but the ſervice on the ſouth ſide of the town was attended with many difficulties; for moſt of the cannon deſigned to be placed on the battlements, were obliged to be dragged above two miles, through very marſhy grounds; in ſome parts almoſt impaſſabe. Perſeverance and courage, however, ſurmounted every difficulty; and the troops that had been conſidered as unfit for action in a regular manner, performed wonders. Several batteries were erected on the riſing ground near the place, from whence red-hot bullets were diſcharged into the town, and the governor not ſeeing any proſpect of aſſiſtance, ſurrendered the place, and with the garriſon, who all engaged not to bear arms againſt Britain, during the ſpace of twelve months, were conveyed to Rochfort in France. This was a moſt valuable acquiſition to Great Britain; and his majeſty was ſo ſenſible of it, that he conferred ſeveral honours upon the officers. The inhabitants of New England acquired immortal honour, and convinced thoſe in power, that courage, joined with prudence, is able to accompliſh any thing.

It is now time for us to turn our thoughts to Great Britain, where a rebellion broke out that threatened immediate deſtruction to our civil and religious liberties. But although many individuals were ruined by it, yet in the end it was attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences to the nation. It awakened the Britiſh legiſlature to take into conſideration the nature of the feudal law in Scotland, and by putting an end to the hereditary juriſdictions, by which the power of the landholders over their tenants was deſtroyed, the royal family of Hanover was more firmly eſtabliſhed on the Britiſh throne than ever, while thoſe who had been conſidered as ſlaves were now treated as free members of the community.

We have already ſeen in what manner Charles, the eldeſt ſon of the pretender, attempted to invade England during the laſt year, and it is aſſerted, that upon his return home to his father at Rome, he was adviſed to lay aſide all thoughts of engaging in an enterprize likely to be attended with inſurmountable difficulties, and if failing of ſucceſs muſt involve many families in ruin. Such was the advice given Charles by his father, who had failed in an attempt of the like nature; but the young adventurer, whoſe mind was full of romantic notions, and who had been hurried on by the advice of ſome needy fugitives, reſolved to try his fortune for the recovery of that crown which he looked upon as the right of his family. The French miniſtry looked on the whole as a Don Quixote expedition, and however earneſt they were to ſee Great Britain diſtreſſed, yet ſuch were their notions of the ſuperiority gained by them in Flanders, that all Charles could procure from them was only one ſhip of war to carry him over to Scotland, where he doubted not of meeting with many friends to eſpouſe his cauſe. Accordingly, he ſet ſail in a ſmall frigate from Port St. Lazaro, on the fourteenth of July, and was joined by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of ſixty guns, which was to ſerve as a convoy. Their deſign was to have ſailed round Ireland, and then land in the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland; but happening to fall in with the Lion, an Engliſh man of war of fifty guns, a deſperate engagement enſued, and the French ſhip was ſo much diſabled, that ſhe was obliged to ſet ſail for Breſt, where ſhe arrived in a very ſhattered condition. The frigate, in which was the young chevalier, the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sherridan, and ſome few others, made her eſcape during the engagement, and ſailing up the channel came to an anchor on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, landed at Moidart, between the iſlands of Sky and Mull, where he was kindly received by Mr. M'Donald of Moidart, and concealed in his houſe till notice of his arrival was diſperſed among the reſt of the clans. Notice of his ſailing from France was given, and a reward of thirty thouſand pounds offered for apprehending him; but few people would believe that he had landed, becauſe they did not imagine that any but a madman would have engaged in ſo romantic an expedition.

On the third of Auguſt his Britannic majeſty arrived in London from his German dominions, to the great ſatisfaction of his loyal ſubjects, who received him with every demonſtration of joy. Every precaution was taken by his majeſty to cruſh the rebellion before it had ſpread too far. The lord-mayor of London was ordered to keep the trained-bands in readineſs; the high-ſteward of Weſtminſter arrayed the militia; orders for the ſame purpoſe were ſent to the lords-lieutenants of the different counties; nine battalions of the army were ordered over from Flanders; and ſix thouſand Dutch troops were demanded in conſequence of former treaties.

As ſoon as it was known at Edinburgh that the pretender's ſon had landed, Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, marched to oppoſe the rebels; but they gave him the ſlip; and on the fourth of September arrived at Perth, where they proclaimed the pretender by the name of James III. and a commiſſion was read, importing, that Charles his eldeſt ſon, was to act as regent for him. There the young chevalier was joined by lord George Murray, the perſon called the duke of Perth, lord Nairn, lord Strathallen, and many other perſons of diſtinction, with their dependents and tenants, ſo that the rebel army was now about two thouſand ſtrong; but it muſt be remembered that not one fifth of them had either arms or ammunition. From Perth they marched ſouth-weſt to the banks of the Forth, a few miles above Stirling, where they croſſed that river, and on the ſeventeenth of September took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh without the leaſt oppoſition. Had the magiſtrates of that city been unanimous in their opinions, the rebels might have been kept out till the arrival of the forces under Cope; but they ſpent the time in unneceſſary deliberations, without doing any thing of importance.

On the ſame day that the rebels took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, general Cope, who had embarked his forces at Aberdeen, landed at Dunbar, twenty-ſeven miles eaſt of Edinburgh, where he was joined by two regiments of dragoons under the command of the brave colonel Gardiner. The rebels, knowing that no time was to be loſt, marched to meet general Cope, and on the twentieth of September encamped at a place called Tranent, about ſeven miles eaſt of Edinburgh. Next morning about day break, the rebels, who had got about two thouſand ſets of arms at Edinburgh, attacked the royal army with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to give way, and many of them were made priſoners. In this engagement colonel Gardiner, a man of great piety and a valiant ſoldier, loſt his life, after he had done every thing in defence of the rights of his country; and the baggage, arms, and ammunition falling into the hands of the rebels, they became ſo much elated that they doubted not of carrying every thing before them. The conſternation that took place among all ranks of people when the news of this engagement was made public, is ſcarce poſſible to be conceived; but to the honour of the Britiſh ſubjects in general, both in England and Scotland, they gave their ſovereign all the proofs of their loyalty that could be deſired.

General Gueſt, an officer of great knowledge and courage, commanded in the caſtle of Edinburgh, to which the archives of the city and the money in the public offices had been removed; and that caſtle being a place of great ſtrength, the rebels could not get poſſeſſion of it.

Marſhal Wade, at the head of about fourteen thouſand men, marched northwards into Yorkſhire, and from thence to Newcaſtle on Tyne, where he encamped; but as moſt of the men had contracted dangerous diſorders in Flanders, ſo the greateſt part of the army was ſeized with ſickneſs, and rendered incapable of acting, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was then extremely cold.

On the ſixteenth of October the parliament met, and his majeſty in his ſpeech told them, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, and therefore he doubted not but they would aſſiſt him in reſtoring peace to the nation, and in ſupporting the honour of his crown and dignity. Addreſſes containing the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty were preſented by both houſes to his majeſty; and the commons, in order to provide for the public ſafety, ſuſpended the habeas corpus act, upon which ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody. Admiral Vernon was ſent to command a fleet in the Downs, there being great reaſon to ſuſpect that the French would attempt to invade the ſouth of Kent, and his ſhips ſeized ſeveral French veſſels which were carrying arms and ammunition to the pretender in Scotland. This was ſtriking at the root of the rebellion, and from ſuch circumſtances our miniſtry were enabled to form ſome notion of their ſtrength, and the methods to be uſed in oppoſing them.

The chevalier, finding it impracticable to ſeize the caſtle of Edinburgh, marched towards England at the head of five thouſand men; for after the defeat of general Cope, his army had increaſed conſiderably. On the twelfth of November the rebel army attacked the city of Carliſle, and in three days it ſurrendered; all the arms and ammunition falling into their hands, and there the pretender was proclaimed. Thus ſucceſsful, and marſhal Wade not having been able to get up in time to oppoſe them, they marched ſouthward to Preſton, where they arrived without any moleſtation; and on the twenty-ninth made their public entry into Mancheſter. At Preſton and Mancheſter the pretender was again proclaimed; and in the latter place a regiment was raiſed for him, and the command thereof given to one Mr. Townly, a Lancaſhire gentleman, who had been ſome years in the French ſervice. It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of the people in London, when they found that the rebels had got ſo far ſouthward; and therefore the duke of Cumberland, who had returned from Flanders, was ſent down to oppoſe them.

The rebels, having marched from Mancheſter, arrived at Derby on the fourth of December; but finding that the duke of Cumberland was advanced as far as Newcaſtle under line in Staffordſhire, they ſuddenly retreated and marched northward. The duke purſued them with the cavalry and one thouſand foot, whom he mounted on ſuch horſes as could be procured in the country; while marſhal Wade detached a body of horſe to ſecond the duke's operations, under the command of general Oglethorpe. The royal army attacked the rear of the rebels at a village called Clifton in Weſtmoreland, on the eighteenth of December, and made them retire with conſiderable loſs; and on the thirtieth the duke, having driven the rebels into Scotland, retook the city of Carliſle, and ſent the garriſon to different priſons.

A. D. 1746. The rebels having marched as far as Stirling, one of the moſt important forts in Scotland, being ſituated where the High and Lowlands meet, attacked the caſtle, then commanded by general Blakeney; but they had neither artillery nor engines that could be of ſervice to them in conducting ſuch an enterprize. In the mean time, general Hawley, who had advanced from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, reſolved to drive the rebels from Stirling; but on the ſeventeenth of January both armies met at Falkirk-moor, about ſix miles ſouth-eaſt from Stirling. There the rebels behaved in the ſame manner as at Preſton-Pans, where general Cope was defeated; for they fell upon the royal army with ſuch fury, that Hawley was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him great part of his baggage and artillery. Indeed there was ſuch a ſtorm of ſnow, wind and rain, that blew in the faces of the royal army, that many of their muſkets would not fire; and the dragoons, of which there were three regiments, fled at the firſt onſet, and breaking through the firſt line of the foot, threw the whole into the utmoſt confuſion.

However trifling the ſucceſs obtained by the rebels was, yet it gave them freſh ſpirits, and becauſe the city of Glaſgow had raiſed a regiment of militia to oppoſe them, they ſent a party under the command of the earl of Kilmarnock, and fined the inhabitants thirty thouſand pounds. News of what they called a victory, was ſent over to France, and publiſhed in the Paris gazette; but the duke of Cumberland, who had returned from Carliſle to London, in conſequence of giving his opinion in the privy-council, was ſent down to Scotland to take upon him the command of the army, conſiſting of fourteen battalions, and two regiments of dragoons, beſides about five hundred loyal Highlanders, who had been raiſed in Argyleſhire, by colonel John Campbell.

When the duke arrived at Edinburgh he found the army in much better order than he expected; and on the laſt day of January he began his march towards Stirling; but the rebels retreated at his approach. They were divided in their councils, diſpirited becauſe the French had not aſſiſted them according to their expectations, and knowing that the royal army would be too powerful for them, they reſolved to retire to the Highlands, imagining that there they might recruit their forces, and make a freſh ſtand. From Stirling they continued their march to the north, in the moſt precipitate and irregular manner; but ſome ſmall advantages obtained by them over ſeveral detached parties, inſpired them with freſh courage, and enabled them to hope that it was ſtill poſſible for them to repair their loſs.

The duke of Cumberland marched after them with as much expedition as the ſeaſon would permit; and on the firſt of April he arrived at Aberdeen, where he was informed that they had ſeized a ſloop in the harbour of Montroſe, and ſent her to France for freſh ſupplies.

At Aberdeen he was obliged to remain till ſuch time as the river Spey was fordable, becauſe in that ſeaſon it overflows its banks; but on the eighth of April he began his march, and croſſed that river on the twelfth without any oppoſition from the rebels, who might have obſtructed their paſſage had they not been reduced to a ſtate of infatuation. In the mean time, the earl of Cromartie, who had been ſent into Caithneſs to raiſe recruits for the rebel army, was attacked by a party of militia, and both he and his ſon made priſoners.

At Nairn the duke received intelligence that the rebels had advanced to Culloden near Inverneſs, and therefore he marched with the utmoſt expedition. On the morning of the ſixteenth, the royal army, having ſtruck their tents, came up with the rebels about noon; but their numbers had been very much leſſened in conſequence of deſertion, ſickneſs, and a variety of other events, ſo that it was in a manner impoſſible for them to oppoſe the duke with any probability of ſucceſs. About one o'clock both armies were drawn up in order of battle; and the rebels, in their uſual manner, attacked the duke's forces with the utmoſt fury; but fury of the moſt undaunted courage, is of little ſervice when oppoſed by troops regularly diſciplined.

The royal army had been drawn up with ſo much order and regularity, that the rebels ſoon gave way, and within the compaſs of forty minutes, twelve hundred of them were killed. The dragoons, who flanked the infantry, advanced even to the rear of the rebel army, and meeting in the center, nothing was to be ſeen but confuſion and bloodſhed. The remainder of the rebels fled in great diſorder; but the duke of Kingſton's light horſe being ordered to purſue them, a dreadful carnage enſued; for all thoſe who offered to ſurrender priſoners, were put to the ſword; an act of cruelty that would ſtand unjuſtified, were it not for the beneficial conſequences that flowed from it. Indeed the ſtate of public affairs rendered it in a manner abſolutely neceſſary to make uſe of the moſt violent methods, in order to impreſs the minds of the people with a reverential reſpect to the government, without which no ſort of ſubordination among the different ranks in ſociety could be maintained.

For ſome time the duke remained with the army in the Highlands till the public peace was reſtored, and then he ſet out for London, where he was received by his royal father with all the marks of parental reſpect, and by the people with the greateſt acclamations of joy. The unfortunate adventurer, who had involved ſo many families in ruin, wandered about in diſguiſe, ſubjected to all the miſeries ariſing from hunger and nakedneſs, till the month of Auguſt following, when he got on board a French ſhip, and was landed at Reſcourt, near Morlaix, on the coaſt of Britany.

Such was the end of this unnatural rebellion, carried on by ſome diſcontented perſons in favour of a popiſh pretender; and ſome noblemen and gentlemen being concerned in it, it was neceſſary that their lives ſhould atone for their crimes. Accordingly, ſome of them were attainted, among whom were the lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino; but Cromarty had intereſt enough to procure a pardon, under certain reſtrictions. Some others of leſſer note ſuffered; and in the beginning of the following year, lord Lovat, the life and ſoul of the rebellion, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

During the remainder of this year, the war raged with great fury on the continent: for although an emperor had been choſen, yet the acquiſition made by the French in the Netherlands alarmed all Germany, while the Dutch looked for nothing leſs than immediate deſtruction. The Dutch in general conſidered it neceſſary, that a perſon ſhould be made choice of to conduct the affairs of the republic, and none ſeemed more proper than the prince of Orange, who had married the princeſs royal of England. But a ſtrong party oppoſed that motion, and the command of the army was a ſecond time conferred on prince Waldeck, a German, and a man of known courage; but as he was not a native of the country, ſo it could not be ſuppoſed that he would act like one naturally attached to the republic.

Early in the ſpring, the French king took the field, accompanied by marſhal Saxe and ſeveral other generals: and the allies, under count Bathiani, not being able to oppoſe them, retreated to Breda, the capital city of Dutch Brabant, leaving Antwerp expoſed to the enemy, who, in a few days, took poſſeſſion of it. A detachment from the French army, under the command of the prince of Conti, was ſent to inveſt Mons, a city of great ſtrength; but the garriſon behaved with ſo much bravery, that notwithſtanding the ſuperior numbers of the French, yet the place held out till the latter end of July, when they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. So rapid were the French conqueſts after the battle of Fontenoy, that every place gave way to them almoſt as ſoon as they approached; and Lewis XV. publiſhed an edict, whereby he ordered to be annexed to his dominions all thoſe provinces that had been taken from his kingdom by the treaty of Utrecht. All the towns of ſtrength in the Auſtrian Netherlands had ſubmitted to the French, except Namur, a ſtrong fort ſituated on the confluence of the Maeſe and the Sambre; and that the French reſolved to bring under ſubjection as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit.

On the eighteenth of July, the allied army being reinforced with the Heſſians that had been ſent over to Scotland, and alſo with a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, reſolved to remain no longer unconcerned ſpectators, but to oppoſe the French with courage and perſeverance. Prince Charles of Lorrain, who had marched towards the Netherlands, knew the importance of Namur, and therefore he drew up the allied army, which he had now taken under his command, on an eminence in ſight of the French forces.

Nothing could have been better contrived than the meaſures taken by prince Charles, ſo far as he was able to act conſiſtent with the inferiority of his army to that of the enemy. But the count Lowendahl having taken Huy, where the allies had their magazine, the prince was obliged to retire to the north of the Maeſe, and leave Namur expoſed to the enemy. Accordingly the trenches before it were opened on the ſecond of September, and the ſiege carried on by thirty-five thouſand French till the twenty-third, when the garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand Auſtrians, after making a brave defence, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The allied army, which lay encamped near Maeſtricht, being joined by Sir John Ligonier, with ſeveral battalions from Britain, prince Charles reſolved not to remain any longer inactive, but to venture on an engagemrnt with the French; but count Saxe perceived his intention, and having fortified his camp in the ſtrongeſt manner, the allied army was obliged to return once more to Maeſtricht. To that place they were followed by the French, who had been reinforced with that part of the army which had been employed againſt Namur. The allies now finding that an engagement was inevitable, prepared to meet the enemy, who had been drawn up in three columns, with artillery in the front; and about noon a moſt dreadful cannonading began, which did great execution on both ſides. At laſt the allies, after having done every thing that could have been performed by brave men, were obliged to abandon the field, and retreat to Maeſtricht: but the French purchaſed the victory extremely dear, without being able to reap any material advantages from it.

In Italy, the Auſtrian and Sardinian forces performed many ſignal actions. Don Philip was obliged to abandon Milan; and the king of Sardinia having retaken all the Piedmonteſe forts, advanced towards Genoa, in order to join the Auſtrian army. This brought on a moſt bloody engagement, in which above nine thouſand of the French and Spaniards were killed, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners; while the Auſtrians did not loſe above four thouſand. Soon after this battle, the Auſtrian forces were joined by thoſe of the king of Sardinia, who took upon him the command in chief, and reſolved, if poſſible, to drive the French and Spaniards from their entrenchments, which he effected; for they were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of eight thouſand men, beſides their cannon and ammunition.

Don Philip, in conſequence of theſe repeated loſſes, found his army reduced to thirty thouſand men, with which he returned to Provence, and put them into winter quarters. Nor was it much better with the count de Gages, whoſe forces ſuffered conſiderably; and the court of Madrid was ſo enraged, that he was recalled, and the command given to the marquis de las Minas.

On the fourth of December, the ſenate of Genoa delivered up their capital city to the Auſtrians, who placed in it a garriſon of only ſixteen hundred men, under the command of the marquis de Botta. Had the Auſtrians, on this occaſion, obſerved a conduct conſiſtent with humanity, they might have remained maſters of Genoa; but their cruelty, in exacting taxes of an exorbitant nature, drove the people to deſpair, and then awakened in them the laſt remaining ſpark of courage. They roſe in ſuch numbers upon the garriſon, that they killed many of them; and being joined by the peaſants in the neighbouring country, the whole Auſtrian army was driven out of the territories of Genoa.

In the latter end of this year, died Philip, king of Spain, a man of a peaceable diſpoſition, but hurried on to war by the intrigues of the French king, and the ambition of his queen, who was a mortal enemy to the Auſtrian family. Much about the ſame time, died Chriſtian VI. king of Denmark, a prince beloved by his ſubjects; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederick, who had married the princeſs Louiſa, daughter of his Britannic majeſty, and who reigned many years afterwards, rather as a tender parent than an abſolute ſovereign.

With reſpect to naval affairs during this year, little was done to promote the intereſt of Great-Britain. In the Eaſt-Indies were ſix ſhips of the line, who prevented the French from ſeizing on our ſettlements: but in America nothing of importance happened. An attempt was made by an Engliſh ſquadron, of ſixteen ſhips of the line, under the command of admiral Leſtock, and eight battalions of land-forces, commanded by general Sinclair, to take poſſeſſion of Port l'Orient, on the coaſt of Britany; but they were driven back by the French, who had notice of their intentions.

On the eighteenth of November, the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech, told them, that it had been propoſed to hold a conference at Breda; but as it could not be known what would be the iſſue, he was determined to proſecute the war with vigour; and therefore the commons were given to underſtand, that it would be neceſſary for them to grant the ſupplies as ſoon as poſſible. Both houſes were unanimous in preſenting the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes to his majeſty; and the commons granted him nine millions, four hundred and twenty-five thouſand, two hundred and fifty-four thouſand pounds, for defraying the expences of the war. On the other hand, the king, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people, propoſed to reduce three regiments of horſe to dragoons, and two troops of his life-guards, by which a conſiderable ſum of money would be ſaved: and ſo ſenſible were the commons of the king's œconomy in reducing theſe unneceſſary forces, that they received his meſſage with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, and both houſes preſented him with addreſſes on the occaſion.

In the mean time, it appeared evident that the French had no intentions of making peace; for their late ſucceſſes had made them ſo arrogant, that they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, but ſuch as ſhould be dictated by themſelves. Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, who had ſucceeded his father, began to wiſh for peace; and even went ſo far, as to upbraid the French miniſtry with having led his ſubjects into an expenſive and unneceſſary war. The king of Portugal was made choice of to act as a mediator between Great-Britain and Spain; but the negotiation was rendered abortive, by the artful intrigues of the French, and the unrelenting diſpoſition of the Spaniſh queen-dowager. Such was the ſtate of public affairs at the end of this year. In Italy, the Auſtrians had been ſucceſsful, but their provinces in the Netherlands were in the hands of the French. The allies could only act on the defenſive, while Holland was every moment in danger of being totally ſubdued.

A. D. 1747. The French reſolved, early in the beginning of this year, to make the moſt powerful efforts; and, for that purpoſe, Lewis XV. propoſed opening the campaign at the head of an army conſiſting of one hundred and fifty thouſand men; while ſixty thouſand were ſent into Provence, to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and enable them once more to diſtreſs the Auſtrians and the king of Sardinia.

The duke of Cumberland having reſtored peace at home, by ſubduing the rebels, went over to Flanders, and in the month of February marched the allied army, in three diviſions, to the banks of the Maeſe, amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand men. Marſhal Saxe, whoſe army lay in quarters of cantonment along the Schelde, from Bruſſels to Antwerp, formed a reſolution of making himſelf maſter of Holland: and having tranſmitted an account of his deſign to the French court, it was approved of by a great majority, and orders were ſent him to begin the operations as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Accordingly count Lowendahl attacked Sluys with an army of twenty-ſeven thouſand men, and in a few days the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender. Many other places ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as attacked; for the Dutch, during the greateſt part of this war, behaved in the moſt cowardly and infamous manner. Hulſt, in particular, a place of great importance, was ſurrendered up by the Dutch governor, although he knew that the duke of Cumberland was within a day's march to aſſiſt him. In a few weeks, count Lowendahl ſubdued every place in Dutch Flanders; upon which the people of Holland roſe in a moſt tumultuous manner, and inſiſted that the prince of Orange ſhould be made choice of as ſtadtholder, and intruſted with the executive authority. It was in vain to oppoſe the popular clamour; and the ſtates of Zealand having made choice of the prince to be their captain-general and admiral, their example was followed by the reſt of the provinces, which gave the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the people.

Things now began to wear a different aſpect; for a treaty had been concluded between Great-Britain and the empreſs of Ruſſia, by which the latter was to furniſh fifty thouſand men, to act in ſuch manner as his Britannic majeſty ſhould think proper. The Dutch, who had hitherto acted in the moſt dilatory manner, promiſed to exert themſelves, on condition that the Britiſh parliament ſhould be diſſolved; a propoſal which his majeſty complied with, although they had not ſat ſix years. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being preſent, he told them, that although he found himſelf under the neceſſity of diſſolving them, yet it was not from any motives of diſguſt, but to comply with the requeſts of his allies. He thanked them for the generous manner in which they had contributed towards the expence of the war; and then the parliament was diſſolved, after having paſſed the famous act for aboliſhing hereditary juriſdictions in Scotland, which, in all probability, will prevent a rebellion from ever breaking out again in that part of the kingdom.

The duke of Cumberland, who had been obliged to remain ſome time inactive, drew in his ſcattered parties on the twentieth of July, and formed, for an engagement with the French, at a village called Vall, or La Vall, near the town of Maeſtricht. The French were ſtrongly poſted on the riſing ground, in ſight of the allies, and both armies continued to cannonade each other till the evening. Next morning, by day-break, marſhal Saxe ordered the French infantry to march down upon the allies, which they did in a vaſt column of ten battalions in front, and as many in depth, and attacked the village of La Vall with amazing fury. This was one of the boldeſt attempts that could have been made; for the allies had planted batteries of cannon in all the avenues leading to the village, which did prodigious execution among the enemy, and the village was four times taken and retaken. At laſt numbers prevailed, and the allies were obliged to give up the village.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland ordered the Britiſh and Hanoverian forces to advance on the right of the enemy; and he had taken his meaſures ſo prudently, that victory would have declared in favour of the allies, had it not been for the cowardly behaviour of the Dutch. The Britiſh and Hanoverian foot advanced with ſuch bravery, that the French had almoſt given way, and the duke ordered the Dutch cavalry to ſupport them; but, inſtead of obeying the orders, they wheeled to the right, and trod down five battalions of the allied army. The French general, taking the advantage of this unexpected circumſtance, ordered his cavalry to advance, which they did, and broke through the lines of the Engliſh. In vain did the duke of Cumberland attempt to rally the Dutch forces; and had it not been for the moſt exemplary behaviour and bravery of Sir John Ligonier, the allied army would have been totally defeated. That brave general, putting himſelf at the head of a large body of cavalry, attacked the French with ſuch fury, that he checked their progreſs, and, in conſequence thereof, enabled the duke to retreat in very good order. Sir John having, by his gallant behaviour, thus ſaved the army, was the laſt man that offered to retreat, and then he was taken priſoner, along with the Hanoverian general d'Yſſembourg, general Bland, colonel Conway, and lord Robert Sutton. The loſs, in killed and wounded, fell almoſt wholly on the Engliſh, Hanoverians and Heſſians; for few of the Auſtrians engaged; and the Dutch, inſtead of having done their duty, contributed, in a great meaſure, towards the loſs of the battle. This victory coſt the French ten thouſand of their beſt troops; nor was it attended with any great advantages, for the duke ordered the garriſon of Maeſtricht to be reinforced with ſeveral battalions, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Heer in the dutchy of Limberg.

The country laying open before them, the French reſolved to attack Bergen-op-zoom, the ſtrongeſt fort belonging to the Dutch, and ſituated in ſuch a man- that it could not be blocked up by ſea. It had been hitherto conſidered as impregnable; for altho' often beſieged by great armies, yet had never been taken. The command of the ſiege was given to the count Lowendahl, one of the greateſt generals in Europe; while the fortreſs, one of the moſt important that the Dutch had to loſe, was left to the care of baron Cronſtram, an old ſuperannuated general, deſtitute of courage, and utterly unacquainted with the art of war. It was imagined by moſt people, that the French would never be able to take the place; but the activity of count Lowendahl overcame every difficulty; and after two months ſiege a breach was made, and the French battalions entered the place; while the old governor, who ought to have been every where to ſuperintend the works, was ſleeping in his quarters.

The whole of the garriſon would have been made priſoners of war, had it not been for the bravery of a regiment of Scotch highlanders, under the command of lord John Murray, who fought like lions, and three-fourths of them were left dead on the ſpot. The French king created count Lowendahl a marſhal of France, the higheſt dignity he could raiſe him to; and Bergen-op-zoom being in the power of the enemy, the two armies went into winter quarters, while the duke of Cumberland returned to London.

With reſpect to the affairs of Italy, the war was carried on there with great vigour. The marſhal de Belliſle, who had been releaſed from impriſonment, was ſent to command the French army in Provence; but notwithſtanding he attempted to penetrate into Piedmonteſe, yet he met with ſuch oppoſition from the count de Briqueras, that after an engagement that laſted near a whole day, the French were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of near five thouſand men.

Money, with arms and ammunition, had been remitted to the republic of Genoa from the French, ſo that they had been enabled to defend their own territories; but Lewis XV. who had been ſo ſucceſsful in Flanders, ſaw all his Italian projects baffled, and his forces obliged to return to Provence.

With reſpect to naval affairs, they were very favourable to Britain during this year; for the French, having ordered a fleet to be fitted out in order to recover Cape Breton, the Engliſh admirals, Anſon and Warren, were ſent to oppoſe them with a ſtrong fleet of ſhips of the line. Accordingly on the third of May, a moſt bloody engagement happened near Cape Finiſterre, in which the French were defeated with conſiderable loſs, and all their deſigns of relieving their colonies were rendered abortive. Mr. Anſon and Mr. Warren, upon their return home, were both rewarded with marks of the royal favour; the firſt being created a peer of England, and the other with a red ribbon of the Bath.

Captain Fox, who commanded the Kent, fell in with a fleet of French merchantmen from St. Dominica, near the coaſt of Galicia, and took twenty-ſix of them richly laden; by which our brave ſeamen were, in part, rewarded handſomely for the hardſhips they had ſuffered. But this was not all the loſs that the French ſuffered at ſea; for, towards the latter end of October, admiral Hawke was diſpatched to intercept their Weſt India fleet, and fell in with them near Belliſle. A moſt deſperate engagement enſued, in which the French were utterly defeated, and ſix ſhips, with three thouſand priſoners were brought into the harbour of Portſmouth. All theſe loſſes tended towards diſcouraging the French; for although their conqueſts in the Netherlands had been very rapid, yet their nation was drained both of men and money; while their commerce was deſtroyed, and their ſubjects ſtarving: from which circumſtance we may learn, the importance a good navy is of to Britain.

With reſpect to the queen of Hungary, the king of Spain, and others of the allies, they were all heartily tired of the war; and Britain, though at more expence than all the others put together, ſeemed reſolved not to ſheath the ſword till juſtice was done, that peace might be concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The French king had intimated to Sir John Ligonier, that he was deſirous of peace; and, in conſequence thereof, towards the latter end of this year, friendly meſſages paſſed between all the contending parties.

The election for members to ſerve in the new parliament had been carried on every where in favour of the court, and both houſes met on the tenth of November, when his majeſty took notice of the happineſs that would ariſe to the proteſtant intereſt, by the change of government that had taken place in the United Provinces; and he congratulated them on the vaſt ſucceſs of the Britiſh navy, by which it was probable peace would ſoon be eſtabliſhed.

The firſt thing done by the miniſtry, was to bring in a bill for the general naturalization of foreign proteſtants; but the city of London remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt it, that it was thought moſt prudent to drop the bill.

A. D. 1748. The committee of ways and means propoſed giving nine millions for the expences of the year; and it being approved of by the commons, was unanimouſly granted, partly by a land-tax, and partly by a loan on the credit of the exchequer. In March a congreſs was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinſon on the part of the Engliſh; count de St. Severin for the French; and for the ſtates-general baron de Waſſenaer and mynheer Haſſelaer. On the thirteenth of May the king prorogued the parliament, after having informed them, that preliminaries for a general peace had been ſigned, and then ſet out for Holland, where he had a conference with the prince of Orange before he proceeded to Hanover.

On the third day of May, marſhal Saxe entered the town of Maeſtricht, which had been ſurrendered upon condition, that it ſhould be delivered up without any damage being done to the ſtores and magazines, if a ceſſation of arms then took place, in order to make room for a general pacification. To the deputies already mentioned were added the following, viz. the marquis de la Porthune Thueil, on the part of France; for Spain the marquis de Soto Major; for the houſe of Auſtria, count de Raunitz; for the king of Sardinia, Don Joſeph Oſſorio, and the count de Chavennes; for the republic of Genoa, the marquis Dorio; count de Monzone, for the duke of Modena; and for the Dutch, the count Bentinck. During the conferences between theſe plenipotentiaries, many difficulties were ſtarted that could not be adjuſted till the return of expreſſes from their different ſovereigns; and, after ſeveral months ſpent in daily conferences, peace was concluded upon terms to the following purport:

On the ſeventh day of October all priſoners, who had been taken during the war, were to be releaſed, and the conqueſts returned to their former owners. Don Philip was to have Parma and Placentia in Italy; but if he ſhould either aſſume the throne of Spain or Naples, or die without male iſſue, theſe provinces were to be given up to the houſe of Auſtria. Great Britain was to ſend two perſons of high rank as hoſtages to remain in Paris, till ſuch places had been given up as had been conquered by us from the French; and accordingly the earl of Suffolk and lord Cathcart were ſent; but this meaſure gave great diſpleaſure to the people in general, becauſe they looked upon it as diſhonourable, and to all intents and purpoſes a diſgrace to the nation. Dunkirk was to remain fortified on the land ſide, but all the works adjoining to the ſea were to be deſtroyed, and the harbour laid open. The king of Pruſſia was to enjoy peaceable poſſeſſion of the province of Sileſia, and the queen of Hungary was to remain ſovereign of all the hereditary dominions left her by her father the emperor Charles VI. and which had for many years belonged to her family.

The Spaniards were to have leave, for four years, to purchaſe ſlaves on the coaſt of Guinea; a privilege that they had been long deprived of: and with reſpect to the other parts and articles of this treaty, they were rather of a formal than an important nature.

Such were the principal parts of this treaty, and few are to be met with in hiſtory that ever gave greater offence to the people in general. Great ſums of money had been granted by the Britiſh parliament, the ſubjects had been loaded with heavy taxes, and they had paid them in order to ſupport the honour of the nation; but here, in conſequence of this treaty, they found that their treaſure had been laviſhed away, and the flower of their army deſtroyed, for no other purpoſe than that of ſupporting German princes, and protecting the electorate of Hanover. They complained that their plenipotentiaries had deceived them, and concluded the articles of peace before they had been duely conſidered by the people; and nothing but murmurs were to be heard from the one end of the kingdom to the other.

His Britannic majeſty, who had been, during the ſummer, on a viſit to his electoral dominions, where he eſtabliſhed the famous univerſity of Gottingen, returned to England in the latter end of October; and on the twenty-ninth of November both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had taken the moſt effectual methods to promote the intereſt of his people, conſiſtent with the ſtate of public affairs; and that as moſt of the contending parties ſeemed averſe to carrying on the war any longer, ſo he doubted not but peace would now be eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſolid and laſting foundation. He added, that now the war was over, the public expence would be much leſſened; and therefore, all he deſired of them was, that they would grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould, from a proper eſtimate, appear neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the crown, by enabling him to fulfil thoſe engagements, which, in conſequence of the late treaty of peace he had entered into.

In anſwer to this ſpeech both houſes preſented very loyal and affectionate addreſſes, though not without ſome oppoſition from the commons. Some of the members in the oppoſition condemned the conduct of the miniſtry in giving plenary powers to the deputies to conclude a peace before the arrival of thirty-ſeven thouſand Ruſſians, who were on their march to join the allied army. They inſiſted, that an enquiry ſhould be ſet on foot to make thoſe at the helm of public affairs, give an account in what manner the public money had been ſo laviſhly ſquandered away; but the power of the miniſterial party bore down all oppoſition.

The conduct of Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcaſtle, was ſeverely cenſured; but Mr. Pitt, ſince earl of Chatham, and Mr. Murray, now lord Mansfield, ſpoke ſo forcibly in his favour, that eight millions were granted for the ſervice of the current year; a moſt amazing ſum, when we conſider that the war was over; but a proof of the intenſe riches of the nation, and the obligations that Britiſh ſovereigns are under, to live on good terms with their ſubjects.

## BOOK XV.

### From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the death of George II.

A. D. 1749. IN conſequence of the late treaty, the French were put in peaceable poſſeſſion of Cape Breton; and the miniſtry reſolved to cultivate the province of Nova Scotia, in the northern part of America. This ſcheme was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the earl of Hallifax, firſt lord of trade and plantations; and his majeſty, ever attentive to the welfare of his ſubjects, countenanced it with his royal approbation. Accordingly, many artificers and huſbandmen were ſent thither in order to clear the grounds, and make way for a proper ſettlement; and it muſt be acknowledged that the Britiſh nation left nothing undone in order to promote ſo patriotic a ſcheme. A town was built by the mere force of induſtry, which is now a flouriſhing port, and named Hallifax, from the title of the peer, who firſt projected it. Many people have ſettled in its neighbourhood, and, upon the whole, it may be looked upon as one of the moſt valuable acquiſitions to Great Britain.

The remainder of the tranſactions during this year, were not of a very important nature. Some domeſtic diſturbances happened in conſequence of the late peace; for many of the ſoldiers and ſeamen having been diſcharged, and not knowing in what manner to procure a ſubſiſtence, committed ſtreet robberies, for which many of them were executed.

The parliament met on the ſixteenth of November, and the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that it was with the utmoſt pleaſure he could now behold peace in Europe, by which the public credit was again re-eſtabliſhed, and commerce, the ſupport of the nation, was likely to flouriſh. To this ſpeech both houſes returned the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes, after which they entered upon public buſineſs, and granted his majeſty ſuch a ſupply, as was able to defray all the expences of government. Some of the ſtudents of Oxford having been guilty of uttering expreſſions of a treaſonable nature, were tried in the court of King's-bench, and two of them were obliged to walk with papers on their breaſts through Weſtminſter-hall.

A. D. 1750. One thing of great importance that engaged the attention of this parliament was the herring fiſhery; and a bill being brought in for that purpoſe, it paſſed into a law, and a ſociety was formed for carrying it into execution, at the head of which was his royal highneſs Frederick, prince of Wales. Another act paſſed this ſeſſion for encouragement of Weavers in the ſail-cloth trade, an article of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh nation. Upon the whole, few ſeſſions ever paſſed more acts for the general encouragement of commerce and manufactures; but indeed nothing could be more neceſſary, as the nation had been almoſt ruined by an expenſive and deſtructive war.

On the twelfth of April the king went, in the uſual manner, to the houſe of peers, where, in a ſpeech from the throne, he thanked the commons for that attention which they had paid to the intereſts of the nation, and for the ſupplies granted to ſupport the government.

Some things of a domeſtic nature took place this year, which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. On the eighth of February, a ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London, by which ſome chimnies were thrown down, and the Thames was very much agitated. The conſternation of the people on this occaſion is even beyond deſcription. But what was ſtill more, on the eighth of March, about half paſt five in the morning, ſuch a violent ſhock was felt, that many of the people ran from their beds naked, being afraid that their houſes would tumble upon them. This ſhock was not confined to London, for it was felt in ſome other parts, particularly in Eſſex, Kent, and Surrey: and a wild enthuſiaſtic, driven mad by zeal, foretold, that on the eighth of April, a third ſhock of an earthquake would lay all London in ruins. One would have thought that ſuch a prediction would have been treated with the utmoſt contempt; eſpecially, as it is declared in Holy writ, that ſuch things are known to God only; but notwithſtanding, ſo infatuated were thouſands of people, that they actually believed the impoſter, and waited for the accompliſhment of his prediction, as if he had been a meſſenger ſent from heaven.

The goal diſtemper, which, in its conſequences, generally proves as fatal as the plague, broke out during the ſeſſion at the Old Bailey, in the month of April this year. Sir Samuel Pennant, lord-mayor of London, Sir Daniel Lambert, one of the aldermen, Sir Thomas Abney, one of the judges of the court of Common-Pleas, baron Clarke of the exchequer, ſeven gentlemen of the law, ſeveral of the jury, beſides a great number of thoſe who were preſent to hear the trials loſt their lives. Indeed it cannot be aſcertained how many perſons died; but certain it is, that the city was greatly alarmed, and every one was afraid of the infection.

During the ſummer of this year his majeſty went to viſit his electoral dominions, and during his reſidence there, he ſigned a treaty with the emperor of Morocco; by which, all the Britiſh captives in his dominions were ſet at liberty. Few other things worth notice happened this year either at home or abroad; for the people were enjoying the ſweets of peace after the toils of war.

The prince and princeſs of Wales, with their eldeſt daughter the princeſs Auguſta, during this ſummer, went on a tour to the weſt and ſouth of England; where they were received, and treated with that reſpect due to their high ſtation and amiable characters.

While his majeſty was abroad, he endeavoured to get the archduke Joſeph, ſon of the emperor, elected king of the Romans; but the ſcheme met with ſuch oppoſition, that for the preſent it was obliged to be laid aſide.

A. D. 1751. On the ſeventeenth of January, the parliament met, and the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had concluded two treaties, one with the king of Spain, and the other with ſome of the German princes, the contents of which ſhould be laid before them. He recommended to both houſes unanimity in their councils: and concluded, by deſiring them not to forget the ſtate of the nation, but above all things provide for its internal ſafety. To this ſpeech loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, and received by his majeſty in the moſt gracious manner.

The firſt thing that engaged the attention of the commons, was a violent diſpute between lord Trentham, and Sir George Vandeput, relating to a ſeat in parliament. Lord Trentham having accepted the place of a lord of the admiralty, his ſeat became vacant, and a writ was iſſued for the election of a new member to repreſent the city of Weſtminſter.

Lord Trentham was ſupported by the miniſtry, who looked upon Sir George Vandeput as one ſet up by the popular party. A poll being demanded and taken, the high-bailiff declared the majority to be in favour of lord Trentham; but that not being ſatisfactory to the oppoſite party, they proceeded to a ſcrutiny. Still the majority ſeemed to be in favour of lord Trentham, and the high-bailiff returned him duly elected; upon which he took the oaths and his ſeat in the houſe. At this meaſure, the friends of Sir George were ſo much enraged, that they preſented a petition to the houſe, complaining of the conduct of the high-bailiff; to which lord Trentham preſented an anſwer; ſetting forth, that the friends of Sir George had, in the whole of their conduct, acted utterly inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, and inſtead of ſupporting the freedom of election, had intimidated all thoſe who came to poll, unleſs they happened to be of their own party; and that they had gone ſo far as to threaten the high-bailiff.

That a proper enquiry might be made into theſe allegations, the high-bailiff was ſummoned to the bar of the houſe, where he gave information, that the honourable Mr. Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, Mr. Crowle, a counſellor at law, and one Gibſon, an upholder, had obſtructed him in the diſcharge of his duty. Crowle was obliged to kneel down at the bar of the houſe, and receive a reprimand on his knees from the ſpeaker; and Gibſon was committed to Newgate. With reſpect to Mr. Murray, the charge againſt him was very heavy; for it appeared, from undoubted evidence, that he had raiſed a moſt outrageous mob, and called out to them to knock the dog on the head; by which he meant the high-bailiff.

Accordingly he was committed a cloſe priſoner to Newgate, and then brought to the bar of the houſe to receive judgment; but when he came, he refuſed to kneel; at which the houſe was ſo much enraged, that he was recommitted to the ſame priſon, and forbid the uſe of pens, ink, or paper, nor was any one permitted to converſe with him, unleſs they firſt received an order from the ſpeaker. In that manner he remained in priſon till the end of the ſeſſion, and the power of parliament being then diſſolved, he was ſet at liberty amidſt the acclamations of the people.

During this ſeſſion of parliament his royal highneſs Frederick, prince of Wales, was ſeized with a fever, which put an end to his valuable life, on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His royal highneſs left, beſides his preſent majeſty, four ſons and three daughters, and ſoon after his death was born the princeſs Carolina Matilda, now queen of Denmark. The day after the prince's death his body was opened, and it was found that there was an abſceſs upon his lungs, which had burſt and occaſioned his death. His remains were depoſited in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Somerſet walking as chief mourner, attended by ſeveral other noblemen.

With reſpect to the character of this prince, we muſt conſider it both in a public and private light. In public, he ſeemed to have nothing ſo much at heart as the good of the people; and he often attended the debates in the houſe of peers, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the conſtitution. The people in general had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes, that one day they would be happy under his government; and there is great reaſon to believe, that had he aſcended the throne, he would have cultivated the arts of peace in a manner ſuperior to all thoſe who had gone before him. In his private life, he was an affectionate huſband, a tender parent, an indulgent maſter, and a ſincere friend. All the time he could ſpare from public buſineſs, was ſpent in ſuperintending the education of his children; ſo that it may juſtly be ſaid of him, "He joined in one, "the prince, the father, the huſband, and the "friend." But all the hopes of the public were blaſted, and ſunk in the nature of all ſublunary things.

The death of the prince, for ſome time, put an end to party diſputes; and his eldeſt ſon, our preſent ſovereign, was created prince of Wales; while the princeſs-dowager of Wales, his mother, was to act as regent in his ſtead, if his majeſty ſhould happen to die before he arrived at years of maturity.

On the twenty-ſecond day of May, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave his royal aſſent to the bill for aboliſhing the OLD, and eſtabliſhing the NEW ſtile; which has been attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences to the merchants in general, who, before that time, were often led into confuſion concerning the dates of their bills and letters. On the twenty-fifth of June, his majeſty prorogued the parliament; and, in his ſpeech, informed them, that as a general diſſoluteneſs of manners had taken place among the people, it was their duty to do all in their power to enforce the execution of thoſe laws which had been made againſt immorality and profaneneſs.

On the eleventh of October, this year, the prince of Orange died, in the forty-firſt year of his age; and that event was ſucceeded by the death of the queen of Denmark, youngeſt daughter of his majeſty, who expired on the nineteenth of December.

With reſpect to the affairs on the continent, the French ſeemed intent on proſecuting their deſign of enlarging their conqueſts in North-America, and in ſpiriting up the Indians to murder our traders on the borders of Virginia. Spain was intent on putting their navy on a proper footing; and, for that purpoſe, ſeveral of the men who, in conſequence of the peace, had been diſcharged from our dock-yards, were inveigled over to that country, where they built ſeveral ſhips of war, on the ſame model as the Engliſh. Nothing could be more inconſiſtent with ſound policy, than to ſuffer thoſe uſeful men to leave the kingdom; and it was the duty of the miniſtry, when they diſcharged them, to provide for them ſome other employments, inſtead of leaving them to ſtarve.

On the fourteenth day of November, the parliament met; and the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, informed them, that he had concluded a treaty with the king of Poland, who was now become his moſt faithful ally; and that, with reſpect to the death of the prince of Orange, it would make no alteration in the ſtate of public affairs. He told them, that the ſtates-general were firm in the intereſt of Great-Britain: and concluded by recommending to their notice the ſhocking condition in which the nation was involved by a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs that ſeemed to have diffuſed itſelf through all ranks of people; ſo that nothing but the groſſeſt immorality and profaneneſs were to be met with. Both houſes preſented loyal and affectionate addreſſes to his majeſty; and Mr. Muncy, who had given ſo much diſturbance during the former ſeſſions, made his eſcape out of the kingdom; while the publiſher of a pamphlet, intituled his caſe, was proſecuted at common law, and, after a long hearing, was moſt honourably acquitted by the jury.

A. D. 1752. The commons having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, amounting in the whole to four millions, other buſineſs of a very important nature was entered upon, and many uſeful acts paſſed for the regulation of the internal policy of the nation. One act was made to puniſh ſuch as kept diſorderly houſes; and another, by which all pawnbrokers were obliged to take out licences: that the people in the highlands might be brought under a proper ſubjection to the government, ſome of the forfeited eſtates were reduced into one conſolidated fund, and the profits ariſing from them appropriated towards erecting charity-ſchools, that the children of thoſe concerned in the rebellion might be brought up in the principles of the proteſtant religion. Working-ſchools were at the ſame time eſtabliſhed, by which many poor children were uſefully employed; and poſterity will have reaſon to bleſs thoſe who firſt propoſed making an act that will, in the end, be attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences.

Another act paſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament, for preventing the horrid crime of murder: wherein it was ordained, that every criminal convicted of having wilfully, and of malice, killed another, ſhould be executed on the next day except one after the ſentence was pronounced: but if it ſhould happen that judgment was pronounced on Friday, then execution was not to take place till Monday, becauſe of the Sunday intervening. The body of the malefactor was to be either delivered to the ſurgeons, to be diſſected and anatomized, or it was to be hung in chains on a gibbet; but it was not, on any account whatever, to be buried. The commons paſſed a reſolution, that, for the future, all their daily journals ſhould be annually publiſhed, and the care of the publication was left to Mr. Hardinge, the chief clerk, which gave great ſatisfaction to the ſubjects in general: and on the twenty-ſixth day of March, the king went to Weſtminſter, and prorogued both houſes of parliament.

Moſt of the powers of Europe were, during this year, very buſy in promoting ſuch ſchemes as ſeemed conſiſtent either with their intereſt or ambition. Some trifling diſputes aroſe between the king of Pruſſia and the court of Great-Britain, but theſe were adjuſted in the moſt amicable manner. In Corſica, nothing was to be ſeen but diſorders of the worſt ſort; for the Genoeſe, who pretended to the right of ſovereignty over that iſland, had impoſed ſuch grievous taxes on the people, that they became mad by oppreſſion. In Germany, a ſecond attempt was made to elect the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans; but it was ſo violently oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia, that the whole dropped for the preſent, contrary to the inclination of his Britannic majeſty, who had exerted himſelf very much on the occaſion. In America, the French were carrying on their plots in ſuch a barefaced manner, that it was not conſiſtent with the honour or intereſt of Britain to remain an idle ſpectator. Nor were the French leſs aſſiduous in executing their projects in the Eaſt-Indies, where they ſpirited up the natives to make incurſions into our ſettlements, by which many of our traders were much injured. In the Weſt-Indies, the ſame ſchemes were carried on; ſo that the people of this country began to ſee that the French had only made peace in order to declare war as ſoon as they could, conſiſtent with the nature of their circumſtances.

On the fifteenth of September this year, a moſt dreadful hurricane happened in South-Carolina, by which many of the inhabitants were killed, and ſeveral houſes in Charles-Town deſtroyed. This reduced the people to great diſtreſs; but the generoſity of the inhabitants of Great-Britain was ſo warm in their favour, that all their loſſes were made up, and the colony left in a more flouriſhing condition than ever. Nothing more of any importance happened this year; for, during the greateſt part of the ſummer, his Britannic majeſty had been at Hanover.

A.D. 1753. The public buſineſs during this year was, for the moſt part, of a parliamentary nature. The ſeſſions was opened on the eleventh of Jannary, and both houſes preſented very loyal addreſſes to his majeſty. Two millions were granted for the ſervice of the current year; and, upon the moſt ſtrict enquiry, it appeared that the national debt amounted to the enormous ſum of ſeventy-four millions, three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, four hundred and fifty-one pounds fifteen ſhillings. Several excellent acts paſſed during this ſeſſion, particularly one for bringing to juſtice all thoſe concerned in plundering ſuch ſhips as ſhould happen, by ſtreſs of weather, to be driven on the Engliſh coaſt. The inhabitants reſiding near the ſea, particularly in Cornwall, had been long guilty of that infamous practice; and thoſe, who ought to have been conſidered as objects of compaſſion, were robbed, and ſtripped naked.

But that which principally attracted the notice both of the public and the legiſlature, was a bill brought in for the general naturalization of the Jews. It was much countenanced by the miniſtry, and all the towns where manufactures are carried on in an extenſive manner: and having originated in the houſe of lords, it paſſed with very little oppoſition. No ſooner was it known that the bill had paſſed the upper houſe, than the nation ſeemed in one continued ſcene of clamour and oppoſition. It was repreſented as an attempt to undermine the chriſtian religion, and ſet aſide the order of God. The lord-mayor of London, with the aldermen and common-council, preſented petitions againſt it, and ſo did the merchants; but notwithſtanding, it paſſed the lower houſe by a great majority. It is not conſiſtent with the dignity of hiſtory to intermeddle with political diſputes any farther than to relate the circumſtances that gave riſe to them. Thoſe who ſupported this bill thought that great riches would be brought into the nation; and that the Jews, by buying up the goods manufactured by our artificers, would extend our commerce throughout the world. On the other hand, the popular party ſaid, that the Jews had been fugitives and vagabonds ever ſince the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian; that it was the order of God they ſhould be ſo for rejecting the Meſſiah, and the terms of ſalvation offered in the goſpel. They added farther, that they were to continue ſo till they acknowledged the Lord of glory, and therefore it was the higheſt preſumption in us to grant them any indulgence. Indeed, the legiſlative power, as well as the miniſtry, were ſenſible of this; for next ſeſſion the act was repealed, and the people, in conſequence thereof, looked upon themſelves as releaſed from a ſtate of bondage.

The next bill in which the whole nation looked upon itſelf as concerned, was that to prevent clandeſtine marriages. It is certain, that every man and woman, at a proper age, have a right to enter into the marriage ſtate, conſiſtent with their own inclinations: but in all civil ſocieties, it has been found neceſſary to lay ſuch reſtrictions on this inſtitution, as may prevent its being abuſed. Thus, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that every man who enters into the marriage ſtate, is not only capable, but alſo under an obligation, to provide, in a proper manner, conſiſtent with his circumſtances, for his wife and children. It is a duty he owes to the community; and therefore thoſe not qualified for ſuch an important truſt, will be ready to leave their wives to ſtarve, while the education of their innocent children will be neglected. Marriages, too often contracted in private, and to anſwer ſiniſter purpoſes, left no room for a public proof, if any diſpute aroſe concerning them; and many innocent children, in conſequence thereof, had been ruined. It may farther be added, that in many ſocieties it is found neceſſary to make natural rights give way to ſome political inſtitutions, which may be only of a temporary nature.

On the other hand, it was argued by thoſe who oppoſed the bill, that all mankind are, by nature, free; and that nothing can conſtitute a real marriage beyond the conſent of the parties: that all agreements, even of the moſt trifling nature, were founded on conſent; and if ſo, then marriage, the cement and ſupport of human ſociety, ought to reſt upon the ſame principle: that thoſe who did not enter into the marriage ſtate by voluntary conſent, could never take that care of their tender and helpleſs offſpring, which, by all the laws of ſociety, was incumbent upon them.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that neither the miniſtry nor the oppoſition could be charged with this bill: it did not originate from either in particular, but from a combination of both. In a word, the reaſon for bringing in the bill was that of young heirs and heireſſes having inadvertently placed their affections on others below their ſtation, by which they were often reduced to ruin. It is extremely natural for men who have procured titles, and acquired riches, to endeavour to preſerve the one untainted, and the other undiminiſhed; and the warmer paſſions becoming extinct in the mind, a ſort of nominal prudence takes place that can never be agreeable to youth. Such were the reaſons aſſigned, or rather made uſe of, in framing this bill; and it not only paſſed both houſes by a great majority, but alſo became a law, in conſequence of the royal aſſent. It is certain, that it has both its advantages and diſadvantages, but the end deſigned by it has not taken place. No proviſion is made in the act againſt foreign marriages; and therefore nothing is more common than to hear of minors going over to the continent, to indulge their inclinations; nor has Scotland, where the proteſtant religion is profeſſed, been ſo much as mentioned. The act, like all others of a public nature, occaſioned much ſpeculation, and was either approved of or condemned according to the different ſentiments of the people. It is certain, that it might have been framed in a much better manner; but, upon the whole, we may ſee that nothing is more difficult than the reducing of natural principles to civil inſtitutions, founded upon the caprice of men who, in general, are guided by their paſſions, inſtead of reaſon.

This year was remarkable for an inſtitution which had been long wanting in Britain, and of the utmoſt importance to the republic of letters. The vaſt collection of natural curioſities belonging to Sir Hans Sloane, were purchaſed by the government, and depoſited in the noble ſtructure called Montague Houſe, in Great Ruſſell-ſtreet, near Bloomſbury. But, that the honour of the nation might be fully eſtabliſhed, and a place opened for men of learning to ſtudy, without being at any expence, the collection of manuſcripts belonging to the earl of Oxford were likewiſe purchaſed; and theſe, with the king's library, and the valuable collection made by Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton, were brought to the ſame place, which is now called the Britiſh Muſeum, and is open for the reception and uſe of the public in general. Nothing could have done greater honour to the nation than this inſtance of their good ſenſe and unbounded liberality. The moſt curious records in the nation, and copies of ſuch books as are not to be found any where elſe, are now left free for the inſpection of every one. The great officers of ſtate, amounting to twenty-one in number, are appointed official governors of this royal foundation. Two are appointed by the Oxford family, two by the deſcendants of Sir Hans Sloane, and the ſame number by thoſe who are heirs to Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton. Theſe, amounting to twenty-ſeven in number, are to chuſe fifteen more, ſo as to make the whole body of governors forty-two. But although their number is ſo large, yet no perſon can be preſented to an office in the houſe, but by an order ſigned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The parliament continued ſitting till the ſeventeenth of June, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and informed them, that nothing had happened, ſo far as he had been able to procure intelligence, that could in the leaſt diſturb the public peace: and then both houſes were prorogued.

With reſpect to foreign affairs, the French were every where buſy in preparing to break through the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as ſoon as an opportunity ſhould offer. They had been ſpiriting up ſome of the nabobs, or ſubordinate princes in the Eaſt-Indies, to take up arms againſt the Engliſh: and although many of their attempts had been rendered abortive, yet they did not deſiſt from them; ſo that at laſt, as will appear in the ſequel, it became a national concern. It was much the ſame in America, where they had inſtigated the natives of Canada, and ſome other provinces, to take up arms againſt the Britiſh ſettlers in Nova Scotia, in order to reduce that province, which had been eſtabliſhed at ſo much expence, to the condition of a French colony.

On the fifteenth of November, both houſes of parliament met; and the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he was on the beſt of terms with his allies: but many of the commons were not ſatiſfied with this declaration, ſo that violent debates aroſe before an addreſs could be preſented. But ſtill the miniſtry carried their point; and ſuch bills as had paſſed having received the royal aſſent, the parliament was diſſolved, and writs iſſued for the election of a new one.

A. D. 1754. During the receſs of parliament, Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcaſtle, died, and was ſucceeded in that important office, of firſt lord of the treaſury, by his brother, at that time one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. He was a man of great abilities, beloved by the people, and honoured by his ſovereign with many marks of his royal favour. He was a real friend to the Hanover family; and, during a courſe of many years, he had ſupported the intereſts of government in the houſe of commons, without ever propoſing any thing that, in the end, could become prejudicial to the people.

Throughout the whole nation, the election for members to ſerve in parliament went in favour of the miniſtry, who had acquired ſuch an aſcendency, that every thing gave way to them. Few diſturbances happened; and the writs being returned, the duke of Cumberland, in commiſſion, with ſome other noblemen, opened the ſeſſion, Mr. Onſlow being choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The lord-chancellor Hardwick, now raiſed to the dignity of an earl, informed the members, that his majeſty had called them together, in order to conſult on ſome things of the utmoſt importance, which would be laid before them in proper time; and doubted not but they would do every thing to ſupport the honour of the crown, and ſecure the intereſt of the nation. But nothing of any importance was done: for the parliament, which met on the tenth of May, was prorogued on the fifth of June; ſo that all buſineſs which naturally came under their conſideration was ſuſpended till the month of November following:

The depredations made by the French on the properties of our ſubjects in North-America, had occaſioned ſeveral remonſtrances to be made to the court of Verſailles; but no ſatisfactory anſwers were received, every one being evaſive and uncertain. This induced our miniſtry to ſend an expreſs order to Mr. Dinwiddie, one of the North-American governors, to drive the French out of his province, and to erect forts, to prevent their future incurſions. In conſequence of theſe orders, ſome ſkirmiſhes happened: and as it ſeemed reaſonable to believe that the French intended to commence hoſtilities, the earl of Albemarle, our ambaſſador at Paris, was ordered to remonſtrate upon it to the French miniſtry, as a breach of the faith of treaties, and inconſiſtent with the law of nations. The earl obeyed his orders; but, inſtead of receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, the French began gradually to pull off the maſk, and new reinforcements were ſent to America, in the ſame manner as if war had been declared between both nations. From which we may learn, that no confidence is to be put in ſuch perfidious people at any time.

During this year, the queen-mother of Spain loſt all her influence at court, by the diſgrace of her favourite, the marquis de la Enſenada, who was ſucceeded by Mr. Wall, the ſon of an Iriſh papiſt, who followed the fortune of James II. at the revolution. The king of Portugal, who had received many favours from the Engliſh, began to act in the moſt ungrateful manner. He impoſed ſome ſevere taxes upon the Britiſh merchants in the factory at Liſbon, and even went ſo far as to cauſe ſome of them to be impriſoned.

In Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia, as well as Germany, every thing remained in a ſtate of tranquillity, although nothing had been left undone by the court of France to draw ſome of the above powers over to their meaſures. In America, the French continued to carry on their encroachments in a bolder manner than ever. Great complaints were exhibited againſt them, and the people in general wiſhed for the meeting of the parliament, which took place on the fourteenth day of November.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had done every thing to preſerve the public peace of Europe, and that no material alteration had taken place ſince their laſt ſeſſion. He recommended to them to take into their conſideration the affairs of America, but took no notice of the encroachments made by the French on our ſettlements. This was conſidered, by the more diſcerning of the people, as one of the greateſt maſter-ſtrokes of policy; for the minority in the houſe were gaining ground; and it was expected, had his majeſty diſcovered the real ſtate of American affairs, violent oppoſition would have been made to the addreſs, which is always expected at the beginning of each ſeſſion.

The addreſs being preſented, the commons voted that the ſum of four millions, ſeventy-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds, ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the current year. Subſidies were alſo granted to ſeveral foreign princes, particularly the elector of Bavaria, who was to have a body of forces ready, in caſe his majeſty's dominions in Germany ſhould be attacked by the French, or any other of the European powers. Theſe vigorous reſolutions of the houſe of commons alarmed the French to the higheſt degree; but as they had all along acted in the moſt inſincere manner, ſo, on the preſent occaſion, they directed their ambaſſador, the duke de Mirepoix, to amuſe our miniſtry with pretences, that they had not the moſt diſtant view of diſturbing ſuch of our ſubjects as were ſettled in America. Theſe declarations were, however, of too fallacious a nature to have any effect with the people of England. The eyes of our miniſtry were now opened, and nothing ſeemed ſo neceſſary as that of ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation.

A. D. 1755. A proclamation was iſſued on the twenty-third day of January, offering a bounty to ſuch ſeamen as were willing to enter into his majeſty's ſervice. Preſs-warrants were ſent to the principal ſea-port towns: all artificers in our dock-yards, as well as ſeamen, were prohibited, under ſevere penalties, from entering into foreign ſervice: and all ſuch as were abroad, were commanded to return. Things were now grown to ſuch an height, that the deſigns of the French could be no longer concealed; and therefore the king ſent a meſſage to the parliament by Sir Thomas Robinſon, informing them, that the encroachments made on our ſettlements in America rendered it neceſſary for him to augment both his navy and army, and he doubted not but his faithful ſubjects would ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes. Affectionate and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes: and although the French boaſted much of the ſuperior power of their fleets in Breſt and Toulon, yet the Britiſh ſubjects paid little regard to it. The miniſtry prohibited the Iriſh from ſupplying the French with proviſions, which was one of the beſt meaſures that could have been taken, and was applauded by the people in general.

Great diſpatch was made by our miniſtry to fit out the fleet; and, towards the latter end of April, admiral Boſcawen ſailed from Portſmouth with ten ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates, in which were ſix thouſand ſoldiers and marines. About the ſame time, ſailed from Breſt the French fleet, under the command of admiral Macnamara, an Iriſh gentleman; but he had ſecret inſtructions to diſpatch his vice-admiral in his room, while he himſelf, with five ſhips of the line, cruized near the ſtreights of Gibraltar, with no other view than to try whether he could not oblige our admiral to divide his fleet, which had been reinforced by a ſquadron under the command of admiral Holborne. Mr. Pitt, at that time ſecretary at war, procured an act which will ever do honour to his memory, namely, to advance ſix months pay to the ſeamen, and not ſuffer them to ſell their tickets to rapacious uſurers, who often bought them at the rate of fifty per cent. diſcount, to the diſhonour of the nation.

The public buſineſs being diſpatched, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and told them, he adhered, in the moſt ſacred manner, to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but as the French had, in the moſt bare-faced manner, broken through every article of it, he could not, conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the duty he owed to his people, ſuffer them to proceed any further without the moſt vigorous oppoſition. He added, that he never would declare war but upon the moſt juſtifiable terms; and concluded, by aſſuring them, that he truſted for ſucceſs in the Divine Providence, which was ever ready to aſſiſt thoſe who acted juſtly. He then prorogued the parliament, and having made choice of a proper regency to conduct the public affairs, ſet out to viſit his electoral dominions. While he was there he learned, that the French king had entered into a ſecret treaty with the court of Vienna; and to prevent any evil conſequences that might reſult therefrom, he engaged to take into his pay a large body of Heſſian troops; and, at the ſame time, concluded a treaty offenſive and defenſive, with the empreſs of Ruſſia.

While his majeſty was, in concert with his miniſtry, contriving ſuch ſchemes as were moſt likely to be of ſervice to the nation in general, the French were continuing their depredations on our ſettlements, and the inhabitants of the American colonies were quarrelling with their governors. This induced all them who wiſhed well to our intereſts in America, to look down, in the moſt unfavourable manner, on the unproſperous ſtate of the public affairs. Unanimity was wiſhed for; but few expected it. Admiral Boſcawen, who was now off Louiſbourg, attacked part of the French fleet, and actually diſperſed them, which gave ſome gleam of hope to the people of England, who promiſed themſelves great things from the ſuperior abilities of that commander. Two of the French ſhips were taken and ſent to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where they were afterwards condemned as lawful prizes.

A trifling expedition was made in the month of June this year, on the frontiers of the colony eſtabliſhed by the French in Canada; but no other conſequences reſulted from it than that of keeping up the ſpirits of the people. On the other hand, during the ſame month, general Braddock marched, at the head of two thouſand regulars, in order to attack fort Du Queſne; but met with ſo many obſtacles, that his little army was much reduced: for the coloniſts, who had long quarrelled with their governors, refuſed to ſend him ſuch waggons and proviſions as were neceſſary for his aſſiſtance. However, under all theſe difficulties, he arrived, on the eighth of July, within ten miles of fort Du Queſne; and the French, having, by their ſpies, received intelligence of all his motions, advanced to meet him, and encamped in a very advantageous ſituation. Prudence is equally neceſſary in a general as reſolution; and he ought to know when to act on the offenſive or the defenſive; but that quality was wanting in Braddock. Sir Peter Halket, the ſecond in command, adviſed him to cultivate the friendſhip of the Indians, and ſend ſome of them as an advanced guard; becauſe they were much better acquainted with the country than the regulars, who had never been in thoſe parts before. But nothing could prevail with the general, nor would he ſuffer a council of war to be held; ſo that, regardleſs of danger, he marched forward, as if he had been ſure of victory. The French, who had taken every neceſſary precaution, came out of their entrenchments to meet him; while the Indians in their intereſt, whom they had concealed in a wood, burſt out upon the Engliſh, and galled them in flank, while the regulars attacked their front. The general behaved with great courage; but after having five horſes killed under him, he received a mortal wound, of which he died. Soon after Sir Peter Halket and his ſon were both killed; and in general many of the officers ſhared the ſame fate; for the French had given orders to the Indians to aim at them, while the regulars were engaged. This was a fatal ſtroke to the Engliſh, and attended with the moſt dreadful conſequences to thoſe who lived in the back ſettlements; for the Indians in the intereſt of the French, poured upon them in great numbers, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities.

It was the general opinion, that it would be too late to take the field during the remainder of the ſeaſon; and therefore, inſtead of attacking Crown-Point, it was reſolved, that during the winter, the forces ſhould be employed in keeping up a communication between that place and Albany. General Shirley took upon him the command of one part of the troops, but his conduct was much cenſured; while that of general Johnſon, who commanded the other part, was equally applauded. The miniſtry were ſenſible of his vaſt abilities, and therefore he was created a baronet; and, at the ſame time, received a preſent of five thouſand pounds.

In Europe, the miniſters of the different courts were employed in attempting to deceive each other; while thoſe who ſpent their time in the ſtudy of politics, attempted, in vain, to diſcover their real intentions.

As the French could not, with common decency, conceal their real intentions any longer, they endeavoured to perſuade the Spaniards that it was their duty to prevent the Britiſh navy from becoming formidable in America; but Mr. Wall, their chief miniſter, was a ſincere friend to the Engliſh, and conſequently did every thing to fruſtrate the deſigns of the French. They had pretended that we were the aggreſſors in North America; and when the king of Spain offered to become a mediator between the contending parties, he was given to underſtand, that no ſuſpenſion of arms could be agreed upon as had been demanded by the French, till reparation had been made to our coloniſts for the injuries they had ſuffered. This induced the French miniſtry to intrigue with the German princes, and brought over to their intereſt the elector of Cologne, who promiſed to give them leave to form magazines in his territories. From this circumſtance, the people of England were convinced that the deſigns of the French was to attack Hanover, and for that purpoſe they entered into a confederacy with the court of Vienna, with a deſign of diſtreſſing the king of Pruſſia. Nothing was left undone by his Britannic majeſty to ſecure his electoral dominions; and for that purpoſe he formed ſeveral alliances with the German princes. A ſecond treaty was alſo entered into between our ſovereign, and the empreſs of Ruſſia; but it did not take effect. News arrived that admiral Boſcawen had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages over the French; and much about the ſame time, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Portſmouth with eighteen ſhips of the line, in order to intercept the French fleet; but they had the good fortune to eſcape and get ſafe into Breſt. Four men of war were diſpatched from Portſmouth, under the command of commodore Frankland, to protect our ſugar plantations from the enemy, and likewiſe to exerciſe plenary powers in committing hoſtilities wherever it ſhould ſeem neceſſary, or where he ſhould happen to meet with oppoſition.

Orders were ſent to all our naval officers to ſeize ſuch of the French ſhips as they could lay hold of; and the duke de Mirepoix, who was not able to deceive our miniſtry any longer, ſet out on his return home without taking leave.

The king, who had been in Hanover, during the greateſt part of the ſummer, returned to England on the fifteenth of September, and on the thirteenth of November, both houſes of parliament met; when the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed them that he had taken every neceſſary precaution to ſecure the peace of Europe, and to protect his ſubjects in America from the inſults of the French; but although he had done every thing to convince the world of his pacific diſpoſition, yet there ſeemed no appearance of an accommodation. That he wiſhed for peace, but never would ſubmit to it upon diſhonourable terms; and therefore had concluded ſeveral treaties with the princes on the continent, in order to be ready to aſſiſt him in caſe of war being declared.

Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the addreſſes that ſhould be preſented to his majeſty on the ſubject of his ſpeech; for many lords and gentlemen diſapproved of his having concluded treaties, without previouſly aſking their advice. However, after a moſt violent conteſt, the addreſſes were preſented, which occaſioned ſeveral reſignations; particularly, that of Mr. Pitt, pay-maſter of the forces, who was ſucceeded by the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay, while Sir George Lyttleton was appointed chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge. When the public buſineſs came on before the houſe of commons, every thing went in favour of the miniſtry; and the treaties concluded by his majeſty were approved of by a very great majority. Subſidies were granted to the empreſs of Ruſſia, the elector of Bavaria, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; but the ſon of the latter, for reaſons unknown, renounced the proteſtant religion, which gave great offence to all the other princes of that perſuaſion, eſpecially to his Britannic majeſty, who had beſtowed upon him his daughter in marriage.

On the firſt of November this year, a moſt dreadful calamity happened at Liſbon, which laid great part of that city in ruins. The inquiſition having condemned ſeveral proteſtants and others, whom they conſidered as diſaffected to the Romiſh church, All-Saints day was appointed for their execution, or as they call it, the celebration of an act of faith. Many of the ignorant people from the country, had aſſembled at Liſbon, to be witneſſes of this horrid ſpectable; but as proteſtants, if found among the mob, are ſure to be treated with every mark of indignity, ſo the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory retired quietly to their apartments. During the morning the ſky had continued ſerene and clear, a cloud was not to be ſeen; but about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a moſt dreadful ſhock of an earthquake was felt, and the water in the river Tagus roſe above ten feet perpendicular. On the altars of the ſeveral churches, tapers had been lighted to celebrate the horrid ſolemnity, and the violence of the concuſſion having thrown them down, they ſet fire to the other materials, and in a few minutes the whole city ſeemed to be on a blaze. In many parts the earth opened, as if ready to devour the ſuperſtitious inhabitants, and according to the moſt moderate computation, no leſs than eight thouſand perſons of both ſexes periſhed. The ſurvivors were obliged to take ſhelter in the adjacent fields, where they could not procure the neceſſaries of life, and many of them periſhed with cold and hunger. Our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid having tranſmitted an account of this calamity to our miniſtry, his majeſty, touched with the circumſtances of the unhappy ſufferers, went to the parliament houſe, and informed the members; who, to their everlaſting honour, ordered that one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſent to relieve their immediate wants. The king of Portugal was ſo ſenſible of this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that he wrote a moſt grateful and affecting letter to our ſovereign, promiſing that on every occaſion, for the future, he would take care to provide for the intereſt of our ſubjects when they came to ſettle in his dominions.

A rumour now took place, and was actually propaged throughout the kingdom, that the French intended to invade this nation; upon which all hopes of peace were given up, though the French ſtill ſubmitted to all the indignities which our navy offered them. It ſeems they wanted a pretence for entering into a new war, and nothing ſeemed more likely to give colour to ſuch a meaſure, as that of our men of war ſeizing the ſhips belonging to their merchants.

The Eſperance man of war, a French ſhip of eighty guns, having been ſent from Rochfort to Breſt, was met by captain Stephens in the Orford, of ſeventy guns, and after a deſperate engagement, that laſted three hours, the Frenchman, with above three hundred ſailors on board, was taken and carried into Plymouth, ſo that notwithſtanding war was not formally declared, yet the hoſtilities committed, ſhewed that it could not be far diſtant.

A. D. 1756. This year opened with parliamentary buſineſs of the moſt important nature; for it was ordered that all the old regiments, both of dragoons and foot, ſhould be augmented, and that ten new regiments of foot, beſides ſeveral troops of light horſe, ſhould be immediately raiſed. For defraying the whole public expence, the parliament granted the ſum of ſeven millions, two hundred and ninety-eight thouſand, five hundred and fifteen pounds. Many excellent laws paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament, and in general, the members were unanimous; ſo that few arguments were uſed in oppoſition, to what was propoſed by the miniſtry. War was now apparently inevitable; but while the court of Great Britain was deliberating on the moſt proper methods to be uſed in proſecuting it, an incident took place that ſurprized all Europe, and gave a new and moſt unexpected turn to the face of public affairs.

The king of Pruſſia, who had ſpent ſeveral years in cultivating the arts of peace, diſcovered ſuch profound knowledge in the art of politics, that no treaty of the moſt ſecret nature could be long concealed from him. By his ſecret emiſſaries, in different countries, he learned that the empreſs of Ruſſia, in conjunction with the French and the empreſs queen of Hungary, had entered into a league offenſive and defenſive, and that Sileſia was not only to be retaken and annexed to the houſe of Auſtria, but likewiſe all the hereditary dominions of the king of Pruſſia were to be divided among the conquerors; and this treaty was acceded to by Auguſtus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. As we had agreed to bring ſome Ruſſian troops into the empire of Germany, in order to defend the electorate of Hanover, the Pruſſian monarch publiſhed a maniſeſto, wherein he declared that he was ready to take the field, at the head of his whole army, to oppoſe the entrance of any forces that ſhould preſume to come into the empire. This was a moſt mortifying ſtroke to our ſovereign, who imagined that his electoral dominions would be ſeized by the French; and therefore it was propoſed by our miniſtry that nothing could contribute more towards ſecuring Hanover, than that of entering into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia. Propoſals of the like nature had been made to him by the French; but he had already ſuch proofs of their perfidy, that he paid no regard to any thing advanced by them. Accordingly, it was agreed upon between him and the court of Great Britain, that in conſequence of the war having broke out in North America, there was reaſon to fear that it might extend further, both the contracting powers ſhould exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to prevent any foreign troops from coming into the empire, or to paſs through it, that the public peace might be maintained.

On the twenty-third of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, he informed them, there was great reaſon to fear that the French intended to invade this kingdom, becauſe of the vaſt naval preparations making by them along the coaſt. He propoſed that ſix thouſand Heſſian troops ſhould be immediately taken into the pay of Great Britain, and that they ſhould be ſent over to this kingdom to prevent the deſigns of the enemy. But what was very remarkable, was his majeſty's not having taken the leaſt notice, that general Blakeney, governor of Fort St. Philip, and Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, had both ſent letters to the ſecretary of ſtate, informing him, that the French were fitting out a large ſquadron at Toulon, and that there was not the leaſt doubt but they intended to attack the iſland of Minorca, and the general requeſted that proper aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent him.

What could induce the miniſtry to act in ſuch a manner, will remain a ſecret for ever, ſo far as we are able to learn; but certain it is, nothing could be more unjuſtifiable, and the conſequences proved fatal to the nation. Thoſe who wiſhed well to the nation, cenſured their conduct in the ſevereſt manner, but ſtill the miniſterial influence prevailed, and bore down all oppoſition. Such as were real patriots moved, that the militia might be raiſed to defend the nation, and that no mercenary troops ſhould be hired; but the miniſtry, as if they had intended to exaſperate the people to the utmoſt, made a motion in the lower houſe, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that he would take into Britiſh pay twelve battalions of his electoral troops, and that they ſhould be brought over to this kingdom. Great oppoſition was made to this motion, but the miniſtry carried their point; in conſequence of which, the nation was, in a manner, filled with foreign troops, and the people diſcontented. The vulgar rabble, who were ever fired with indignation at the arrival of foreigners, wanted an opportunity to quarrel with theſe poor men, who could not be ſuppoſed to have any connection with public affairs; but their behaviour was ſo inoffenſive, that even their moſt inveterate enemies could not find fault with them.

The Britiſh miniſtry, who, for ſome time, appeared to act as men whoſe eyes had been ſhut, began to ſee the neceſſity they were under of protecting the iſland of Minorca; and accordingly it was reſolved that a fleet ſhould be ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng, ſon of lord Torrington, who procured a peerage by his vaſt knowledge of naval affairs. The abilities of Mr. Byng had never been called in queſtion: he had ſerved in ſeveral expeditions, and had made himſelf agreeable, both to the officers and ſeamen. No perſon could be found endowed with more ſenſibility, and humanity ſeemed to be his darling paſſion. Along with him, as ſecond in command, was Mr. Weſt, a man of great abilities, and much eſteemed both for his courage and prudence. It will ſcarcely be credited in future ages, that our miniſtry acted only upon principles of ignorance; for diſcerning perſons will aſcribe their conduct to ſomething of a criminal nature.

The fleet did not ſail from Spithead till the ſeventh of April; and during their voyage to Gibraltar, which laſted till the ſecond of May, many of the ſeamen were taken ſick, and, conſequently, the fleet much weakened. He had only one battalion of land forces on board; and when he got into the harbour of Gibraltar, general Fowke, who commanded the garriſon, refuſed to give him any of his men, alledging, as an excuſe, that he had not ſufficient to defend the place, in caſe an attack ſhould be made. He learned farther, that M. de la Galiſſoniere, the French admiral, had ſailed from Toulon with a large fleet of the line, beſides tranſports, on board of which he had no leſs than fifteen thouſand land forces, which he had landed in Minorca, and taken poſſeſſion of every thing except the fort of St. Philip.

This fleet, of which our miniſtry had received repeated accounts, ſailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, juſt three days after Mr. Byng ſailed from Portſmouth; and the inequality of the voyages being ſo great, there is no wonder that they got there before our fleet could ſo much as enter into the Mediterranean. General Blakeney, who had notice of the approach of the French, took care to provide for the ſecurity of Fort St. Philip, as far as was poſſible, conſidering what a ſmall number of men he had then under his command. It was in vain for him to attempt to defend the reſt of the iſland, and conſequently, the French forces landed, without oppoſition, at a place called Ciudadalla, on the weſtern part of the iſland, and prepared to attack Fort St. Philip. The duke de Richlieu was at the head of this expedition; and when he landed, he found that he had neglected to bring horſes with him to draw the heavy artillery over roads that had been, in a manner, rendered impaſſable by order of general Blakeney. This circumſtance obliged him to re-embark his heavy artillery, and land it at Mahon, near St. Philip's, where he intended to erect his batteries. In the mean time, the general ſent a meſſenger to the French marſhal, demanding to know why he had landed in the iſland of Minorca in a hoſtile manner; and received for anſwer, that he acted in conformity with the practice of the Engliſh, who had taken ſome of their men of war without making a public declaration of their intentions.

On the eleventh of May, the entrenchments were opened; and marſhal Richlieu ſent his compliments to general Blakeney, offering him what conditions he pleaſed to accept of; but the governor told the meſſenger, that it would be ſoon enough to treat of terms when they came ſo near each other as to be able to ſhake hands. Accordingly, the royal ſtandard was placed upon the caſtle, as a ſignal that the garriſon would defend it to the laſt extremity. But here our attention is called off to objects partly different, and partly connected with it.

Admiral Byng, while at Gibraltar, ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty, informing them, that he had been ſent on an expedition at an improper ſeaſon; that he had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the French; and that there was great reaſon to fear that all his attempts would be rendered abortive. This meſſage from the admiral gave great offence to the miniſtry, who were conſcious that they had acted inconſiſtent with their duty; and therefore they cauſed a report to be propagated, that Byng would never face the French. This increaſed the public clamour; and on the nineteenth of May, the Engliſh fleet came to an anchor off the iſland of Minorca. Captain Hervey was diſpatched with a letter to general Blakeney, to inform him of the arrival of the fleet, and to know in what part of the iſland he would have the recruits landed; but before he had got out of ſight of the admiral's ſhip, the French fleet appeared, and ſeemed to be very ſtrong; but the admiral made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking them.

During the night, nothing of importance happened; and when the morning appeared, there was ſuch a thick fog, that the fleets loſt ſight of each other; but about noon the ſky clearing up, the line of battle was formed, and admiral Weſt bore down upon the French. Had Weſt been properly ſeconded, there is reaſon to believe that the enemy would have been defeated; but admiral Byng, although in every reſpect a brave officer, yet, on the preſent occaſion, laid his conduct open to much cenſure. It ſeems that the admiral was diſtracted in his opinion, whether to retreat or advance; for when the captain of his own ſhip deſired him to bear down upon the enemy, he peremptorily refuſed, leſt he ſhould fall into the ſame error as admiral Matthews had done ſome years before. No ſign of cowardice was diſcovered in the whole of Mr. Byng's conduct, but he acted in ſuch an abſurd manner, that the ſhips moſt fit for action did not come up; ſo that the enemy, who had rather acted on the defenſive, had an opportunity of ſailing away.

During four days that the Engliſh fleet remained waiting for the return of the French, ſeveral councils of war were held, in which it was at laſt agreed, that they ſhould ſet ſail for Gibraltar, not having forces ſufficient to protect Fort St. Philip. This was one of the moſt imprudent ſteps that could have been taken; for had they remained but one day longer, they would have intercepted a large fleet, laden with proviſions and military ſtores, for the uſe of the French army in Minorca. It was above a month before the fleet arrived at Gibraltar; and news of their miſcarriage being publiſhed, admiral Hawke, aſſiſted by admiral Saunders, was ſent into the Mediterranean,

terranean, with orders to ſuperſede admiral Byng, who, with general Fowke, the deputy-governor of Gibraltar, were put under an arreſt, and ſent priſoners to England in the Antelope man of war, in order to be tried by two different court-martials.

In the mean time, the French carried on the ſiege of Fort St. Philip with great vigour, while the garriſon made a moſt gallant defence. The French army amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand men, with ſixty-two large battering cannon, and twenty-one mortars, which kept playing inceſſantly on the fort. On the fifteenth of June, general Blakeney ordered a moſt furious attack to be made on the enemy, by which they were, for ſome time, driven back, and many of their batteries were demoliſhed.

The ſoldiers in the garriſon did not exceed two thouſand five hundred in number; and the French general being well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege, deſtroyed moſt of the outworks, and then made a breach in the wall.

On the twenty-ſeventh, the duke de Richlieu put himſelf at the head of a large detachment, and attacked the place ſword in hand, which was gallantly defended by the Engliſh, who diſputed every inch of the ground with them. Several of the mines were ſprung, and ſuch execution was done upon the enemy, that great part of the glacis was covered with dead bodies. But notwithſtanding, the French continued the attack, and made themſelves maſters of two ſtrong redoubts: and colonel Jefferies, the ſecond in command under general Blakeney, was ſuddenly ſurrounded, and, with one hundred men, taken priſoners, juſt at the inſtant that he was on the point of retaking one of the redoubts. Major Cunningham, another brave officer, was ſo deſperately wounded, that he could not do his duty: ſo that the governor was deprived of the aſſiſtance of two men whoſe courage and prudence had rendered them very conſpicuous. The duke de Richlieu then ordered a parley to be beat, under pretence of burying the dead; but no ſooner had the governor granted his requeſt, than he made uſe of the time in fortifying the redoubts he had taken, by which he became maſter of all the ſubterraneous paſſages, ſo as to be able to blow up the fort. The general finding it, in a manner, impoſſible to hold out againſt ſuch a numerous army, which was daily encroaching upon him, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved that the place could not hold out any longer, but that propoſals muſt be made to the French to enter upon articles of capitulation.

The duke de Richlieu was ſo ſenſible of the bravery of the Engliſh general, that he offered them what terms they pleaſed; and accordingly they were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to remain in the iſland till ſhips came from Gibraltar to take them on board, which was not till the ſeventh of July. In this manner was Britain deprived of the iſland of Minorca, a place of the utmoſt importance during a war, becauſe it affords proviſions and harbours of ſafety for all ſuch veſſels as happen to go from England to the Mediterranean. The importance of it was not known till it was loſt; and had we been at war with any of the Italian ſtates, we could ſcarce have had an opportunity of ſending a fleet beyond Gibraltar.

In the beginning of this year, the earl of Loudon had been ſent to America, to take upon him the command of the army deſtined to act in that quarter of the world; but ſo negligent had the miniſtry been in fitting him out in proper time, that before he landed, he found the French general Montcalm in the field, at the head of a conſiderable army. In the mean time, Oſwego, a ſtrong fort ſituated on the lake Ontario, in Canada, was taken by the French, and all the men found in it ſent priſoners to Montreal. The loſs of this important place was owing entirely to the delays made by our miniſtry, and the altercations that took place between our generals and the coloniſts. Fort Granville fell into the hands of the French at the ſame time, which ſtruck ſuch a damp into the minds of the people, both in the mother-country and on the continent of America, that nothing was to be heard but murmurs, while the conduct of our officers was ſeverely cenſured.

In the Eaſt-Indies, the French had been very active in ſpiriting up the natives againſt our ſettlements, particularly in Bengal, where the new nabob, Surajah Dowla, took the field, and laid ſiege to the town of Calcutta. The governor, Mr. Drake, being a Quaker, refuſed to fight; ſo that the command devolved upon Mr. Holwell, who reſolved to hold it out to the laſt extremity. But the enemy's army was almoſt innumerable, and the place but poorly fortified. Add to this, that the ſhips belonging to the company had fallen down the river, which the nabob knew, and reſolved to avail himſelf of that circumſtance. He would not hearken to any terms of capitulation, although Mr. Holwell propoſed them to him, but, by mere force of numbers, ruſhing into the place, cruelly ordered the governor, with one hundred and forty-five men, to be confined in a dungeon, where one hundred and twenty-three periſhed before morning for want of freſh air. This was one of the moſt horrid tranſactions that we meet with in hiſtory; it was directly oppoſite to the laws of war, and contrary to the principles upon which civil government is founded. The governor, Mr. Holwell, with ſuch others as ſurvived, were ſent priſoners to the nabob's capital, far up the country, where they were treated with great cruelty. On the other hand, admiral Watſon defeated, and took priſoner, Angria, a famous pirate, who reigned like a ſovereign on the coaſt of Malabar; and in his caſtle was found the ſum of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds. This was a valuable acquiſition. But we muſt now return to take a view of the ſtate of public affairs in Europe.

War had been hitherto carried on, without any public declaration thereof, either by the French or Engliſh: but as it ſeemed no way neceſſary to keep the maſk on any longer, England declared war, by proclamation, on the eighteenth of May, which was anſwered by another at Paris, in the moſt formal manner, on the eleventh of June following.

The city of London, followed by many corporations throughout the kingdom, preſented moſt loyal addreſſes to his majeſty upon the declaration of war, and promiſed to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes: ſo that our aged ſovereign had the pleaſure to find that he reigned as an object of love in the hearts of his ſubjects.

In the mean time, the empreſs of Ruſſia, highly exaſperated that we ſhould have entered into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia without conſulting her, ordered her army to be augmented conſiderably; and, at the ſame time, in order to conceal her real intentions, ordered her miniſters at foreign courts to publiſh manifeſtos, intimating, that ſhe had nothing in view but that of protecting her own dominions. The empreſs-queen of Hungary proceeded in the ſame manner; ſo that the flames of civil war were now lighted up on the continent of Europe; while the king of Pruſſia, ever attentive to his own intereſt, and the ſecurity of his ſubjects, reſolved to be beforehand with both, and prevent them from taking thoſe advantages which they intended.

No prince could ever be more active, on this occaſion, than the king of Pruſſia; for the moment he learned that the court of France had entered into an alliance with the empreſs-queen, he ordered his miniſter at the court of Dreſden to demand leave for a body of his forces to paſs through Saxony; but inſtead of receiving an anſwer, the elector ordered all his forces to be collected together, and encamped at Pirna, till ſuch time as he could receive reinforcements of Auſtrians, to enable him to take the field. This ſo exaſperated the king of Pruſſia, that he took the field at the head of a moſt formidable army, and obliged the elector of Saxony to depart to Poland, to which nation he was conducted by a body of dragoons; while all the treaſures and archives belonging to his hereditary dominions were ſeized, and his army made priſoners of war. Leipſic ſurrendered at the ſame time to the conqueror; and the people were obliged to provide, not only all ſorts of neceſſaries for the Pruſſian army, but alſo to furniſh them with money to carry on their conqueſts.

On the firſt of October, the king of Pruſſia came up with the Auſtrian army, and reſolved to give them battle, having firſt ſhewn his generals the ſituation of the ground, and acquainted them with the ſteps that he intended to take. The Auſtrians having neglected to take poſſeſſion of ſome riſing grounds, the king of Pruſſia gave orders for his troops to advance, and attack the enemy's cavalry, who were poſted in an adjoining plain. Indeed, the attack was made with ſo much fury, that the Auſtrian cavalry gave way, and fell back upon the infantry: upon which the Pruſſians advanced with ſuch courage, that although ſixty pieces of cannon played upon them, yet they made themſelves maſters of all the ditches and defiles. The Auſtrian army being thus put into confuſion, they began to give way, which the king of Pruſſia obſerving, ordered the whole body of his infantry to advance, and wheel about to the left, where they attacked the ſuburbs of Lowoſchutz, and reduced the whole to a heap of aſhes. Count Brown, who commanded the Auſtrian army, was obliged to retreat in the beſt manner he could, leaving the honour of the victory to the Pruſſians, after an engagement that laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Pruſſian monarch was not, however, able to make his enterprize of any great advantage to himſelf, for the winter approaching, he was obliged to put his troops into quarters of cantonment at Dreſden, and along the Elbe. Count Schwerin commanded another part of his army, which had penetrated into Bohemia; and they finding that proviſions could not eaſily be procured, returned towards Sileſia, and took up their quarters in the province of Glatz.

The diſcontents among the people of England were now increaſed to ſuch an height, that it was found neceſſary to make ſome changes in the miniſtry. Accordingly, the duke of Devonſhire was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, in room of the duke of Newcaſtle; Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; earl Temple was made firſt lord of the Admiralty; and the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate, were given to Mr. Pitt, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen that ever lived in Britain.

On the ſecond of December, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers; and the commons being ſent for, he told them, that, under the protection of the divine providence, he doubted not but he ſhould be able to fruſtrate all the ſchemes hatched againſt him by his perfidious enemies. He told them, that nothing could ſo much engage his attention, next to the mother country, as the preſervation of America; and, for that reaſon, that the war ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. He added, that nothing could contribute more towards diſtreſſing the enemy, than internal peace among his ſubjects; and therefore recommended to them unanimity in all their deliberations. The militia (he ſaid) was one of the moſt favourite objects he had in view, with reſpect to the preſervation of the nation; and therefore he told them, that it was their duty to put it upon the moſt reſpectable footing. He concluded by telling them, that no meaſure ſhould be undertaken by him, but by the advice of his parliament, in whom he placed the utmoſt confidence. Both houſes preſented the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes, and then proceeded to the diſpatch of public buſineſs.

A. D. 1757. The committee of ſupply granted his majeſty the privilege of keeping on foot forty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred ſoldiers, and fifty-five thouſand ſeamen. The Heſſians and Hanoverians were ſtill kept in pay, but moſt cruelly uſed by the people: for one of them having committed a miſdemeanor, puniſhable in this country by the common law, his commander not knowing any difference between municipal and military law, ordered him to be tried by a court-martial. This part of the officer's conduct, although not juſtifiable, yet could not be attended with any dangerous conſequences, eſpecially as the man was a ſoldier, and a foreigner; but notwithſtanding, the people were exaſperated to ſuch a degree of madneſs, that they would not ſuffer them to lodge in their houſes. Diſtreſſed as theſe poor creatures were with cold, they never complained, but lay in the fields in tents till the month of January, when the legiſlative power, in the moſt compaſſionate manner, made proper proviſion for them.

The great dearth of corn, owing to the iniquitous practice of engroſſing, reduced many perſons, and indeed the nation in general, to great diſtreſs. Tumults happened in almoſt every part of the kingdom; which is not to be wondered at, when it is conſidered, that the people were ſtarving in the midſt of plenty. His majeſty, touched with the ſufferings of his people, recommended their diſtreſſed condition to parliament; and an act was paſſed to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of all ſorts of grain.

As there was too much reaſon to fear that the French would invade this kingdom, and as it was neceſſary that great part of our regular forces ſhould be employed abroad, ſo a bill was brought into parliament to eſtabliſh a national militia, on an extenſive and uſeful plan. This was ſuch a conſtitutional meaſure, as gave pleaſure to the nation in general; and yet ſome diſcontented perſons exclaimed ſo loudly againſt it, that many of the people, particularly in Yorkſhire, actually roſe in a body, and demoliſhed the houſe where the juſtices of the peace and deputy lieutenants had met to make choice of ſuch as were to ſerve.

On the fifteenth of February, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, to inform them, that the French were daily pouring ſuch numbers of troops into Germany, that there was reaſon to fear they had ſome deſign on his electoral dominions. He therefore recommended Hanover to their protection, not doubting but his faithful commons would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt. In anſwer to this meſſage, moſt loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes; and it was voted, that an annual ſubſidy ſhould be paid to the king of Pruſſia, and that an army of obſervation ſhould act on the borders of Hanover, under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, to watch the motions of the French, and preſerve that electorate from their making any encroachments upon it.

At the ſame time, great preparations were made for the naval ſervice; and a deſign was formed to take from the French Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. Sir Edward Hawke, with the admirals Saunders and Oſborne, were ſent to North-America with conſiderable fleets; and general Hopſon, with lord Charles Hay, had under them ſix thouſand two hundred land forces. Two ſquadrons were diſpatched at the ſame time, one to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt-Indies; ſo that every thing was done for the intereſt of the nation: but ſuch of the former miniſtry as had been diſcarded, made ſuch oppoſition to theſe meaſures, that Mr. Pitt, and the honourable Mr. Legge, who had acted as the moſt ſteady and upright patriots againſt every thing that ſeemed to threaten any hurt to the nation, were commanded to reſign. They did not, however, retire from public buſineſs, without receiving the approbation of their fellow ſubjects; for moſt of the cities and corporations preſented them with addreſſes, and their freedom in gold boxes.

Diſtreſs and diſcontent, during the firſt part of this year, reigned in every part of the nation. Bread was ſo dear, that the poor could ſcarce purchaſe it. And although admiral Byng, whoſe conduct had given ſuch offence, had been ſhot at Portſmouth, yet the people in general looked upon him as rather unfor tunate than criminal. They conſidered him as one who had been ſacrificed to ſcreen the miniſtry from cenſure; and although a parliamentary enquiry was made into their conduct, yet they contrived to act in ſuch a manner, that the whole came to nothing. The only good effects attending the execution of the admiral was, the riviving a true ſpirit of courage among our officers, both by ſea and land. From this circumſtance they ſaw and were convinced, that no ſtation, let it be ever ſo dignified, could ſcreen them from puniſhment; and that the only way to true honour and real glory, was to diſcharge their duty faithfully.

His majeſty finding the public clamour extremely high, made another change in his miniſtry; and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reinſtated in their former employments, to the inexpreſſible pleaſure of the nation in general. The parliament was prorogued on the fourth of July, when his majeſty thanked the commons for the generous ſupply granted for the ſupport of the war, and recommended to them to carry with them, to their reſpective counties, a ſpirit of unanimity, as the moſt ſure means of procuring the favour of divine providence.

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Nothing, however, could damp his ſpirits, his uſual bravery gave life to all his actions; and altho' guilty of an error very common in war, he reſolved to profit by miſtakes, and riſe ſuperior to miſfortune. He was ſurrounded by enemies on every ſide, his reſources for carrying on the war were to be drawn from his own dominions, which were then on the point of being invaded by the Ruſſians; but he reſolved to act with more prudence for the future, and make caution a concomitant of courage.

The king of Great Britain was ſo equitable in all his proceedings, that although obliged to defend Hanover, yet leſt he ſhould give the leaſt offence to any of the German princes, he ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed; wherein was pointed out the deſigns of the French, and the neceſſity his majeſty was under to protect his electoral dominions. As ſoon as this manifeſto was publiſhed, the duke of Cumberland aſſembled the army of obſervation, and marching from Hanover, croſſed the Weſer near Retburgh, which he took from the French, and there eſtabliſhed his head quarters.

His royal highneſs had diſpoſed of his troops in the moſt admirable manner; for they ſtretched out in one line of different detachments, under the command of the moſt experienced generals; but they had not been long at Retburgh, when the duke learned that the French army was marching from the Lower Rhine, and that their deſign was to cut off his communication with the Weſer. The French, whoſe numbers were double to that of the allies, continued marching forward, and his royal highneſs was obliged to repaſs the Weſer, as he had not ſtrength ſufficient to venture on an engagement. The river Weſer is on each ſide ſurrounded with high banks, and certain it is, that the duke, notwithſtanding the inferiority of the numbers, might have made a violent oppoſition to the French, and diſputed their paſſage inch by inch; but inſtead of that, they were ſuffered to croſs on temporary bridges without the loſs of a ſingle man. They then ſeized the important paſs of Stadt Oldendorff, which opened a paſſage into Hanover, and that electorate was laid under very heavy contributions.

On the evening of the fourth of July, the duke ordered in all his detached parties, and drew up in order of battle, but the ſoldiers were obliged to reſt all night on their arms. About five next morning, the French cannon began to play upon that wing of the army that was compoſed of Heſſians; and altho' they were cut down in whole ranks, yet they continued firm and immoveable. About eight in the morning the ſmall arms began to fire, and certain it is, the allied army behaved with as much bravery as ever was diſplayed in a field of battle, for they were not ſo much as put into the leaſt diſorder.

The only fault committed by the allies was the ſuffering the grenadiers, who compoſed the center, and were drawn up in a wood, to defile off in order to ſtrengthen the right wing; for by that movement the French were enabled to penetrate ſo far, that one of the Hanoverian batteries fell into their hands. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick behaved, on this occaſion, with the moſt ſingular bravery; for putting himſelf at the head of a body of grenadiers, retook the battery with their bayonets fixed, although the French party, whom they drove from it, were double their number.

The French, however, were in poſſeſſion of two riſing grounds, on which they had erected ſtrong batteries; and as it would have been next to impoſſible to have taken them, the duke, after doing all that could be performed by an able general, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſounding a retreat. This was one of the moſt obſtinate engagements during the whole of the laſt war, for it laſted full three days, and the French loſt four times as many men as the allies, while the retreat made by the latter was ſo well conducted, that the enemy were afraid to purſue.

The allied army marched to Nienburg, where they encamped; while the French took Hamelen, and demoliſhed the fortifications. The duke de Richlieu was, by the intrigues of madame Pompadour, ſent to ſuperſede all the other French generals in Germany; and in the beginning of Auguſt he ſent a detachment, under the duke de Chevereuſe, to take poſſeſſion of the city of Hanover. The garriſon were permitted to go where they pleaſed, and the regency, finding it impoſſible to oppoſe ſuperior numbers, ordered the citizens to remain quiet till ſuch time as things ſhould happen to take a different turn.

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The Auſtrians under count Daun, were encamped in the moſt advantageous manner, on three riſing grounds, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to diſlodge them; but the Pruſſian monarch, relying on the courage and valour of his troops, began the attack about three in the afternoon, and by the moſt invincible courage, they made themſelves maſters of two of the riſing grounds. The third encampment, however, baffled all their attempts; and it being utterly impracticable to bring up the horſe, they were obliged to give way, which threw the king into the moſt violent paſſions, eſpecially when he recollected that he had acted contrary to the opinion of marſhal Keith.

Great numbers of men were killed on both ſides, and the Pruſſian monarch was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Prague, and retreat in the beſt manner he could. The Auſtrians attempted to haraſs him, but his men behaved with ſuch bravery, that they loſt but few of their number; and count Daun entered the city of Prague in triumph. The Pruſſian monarch was ſo ſenſible of his error, that in a letter to marſhal Keith, he took the whole blame upon himſelf, and declared that no troops could ever have acted with greater bravery than the Auſtrians.

Nothing, however, could damp his ſpirits, his uſual bravery gave life to all his actions; and altho' guilty of an error very common in war, he reſolved to profit by miſtakes, and riſe ſuperior to miſfortune. He was ſurrounded by enemies on every ſide, his reſources for carrying on the war were to be drawn from his own dominions, which were then on the point of being invaded by the Ruſſians; but he reſolved to act with more prudence for the future, and make caution a concomitant of courage.

The king of Great Britain was ſo equitable in all his proceedings, that although obliged to defend Hanover, yet leſt he ſhould give the leaſt offence to any of the German princes, he ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed; wherein was pointed out the deſigns of the French, and the neceſſity his majeſty was under to protect his electoral dominions. As ſoon as this manifeſto was publiſhed, the duke of Cumberland aſſembled the army of obſervation, and marching from Hanover, croſſed the Weſer near Retburgh, which he took from the French, and there eſtabliſhed his head quarters.

His royal highneſs had diſpoſed of his troops in the moſt admirable manner; for they ſtretched out in one line of different detachments, under the command of the moſt experienced generals; but they had not been long at Retburgh, when the duke learned that the French army was marching from the Lower Rhine, and that their deſign was to cut off his communication with the Weſer. The French, whoſe numbers were double to that of the allies, continued marching forward, and his royal highneſs was obliged to repaſs the Weſer, as he had not ſtrength ſufficient to venture on an engagement. The river Weſer is on each ſide ſurrounded with high banks, and certain it is, that the duke, notwithſtanding the inferiority of the numbers, might have made a violent oppoſition to the French, and diſputed their paſſage inch by inch; but inſtead of that, they were ſuffered to croſs on temporary bridges without the loſs of a ſingle man. They then ſeized the important paſs of Stadt Oldendorff, which opened a paſſage into Hanover, and that electorate was laid under very heavy contributions.

On the evening of the fourth of July, the duke ordered in all his detached parties, and drew up in order of battle, but the ſoldiers were obliged to reſt all night on their arms. About five next morning, the French cannon began to play upon that wing of the army that was compoſed of Heſſians; and altho' they were cut down in whole ranks, yet they continued firm and immoveable. About eight in the morning the ſmall arms began to fire, and certain it is, the allied army behaved with as much bravery as ever was diſplayed in a field of battle, for they were not ſo much as put into the leaſt diſorder.

The only fault committed by the allies was the ſuffering the grenadiers, who compoſed the center, and were drawn up in a wood, to defile off in order to ſtrengthen the right wing; for by that movement the French were enabled to penetrate ſo far, that one of the Hanoverian batteries fell into their hands. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick behaved, on this occaſion, with the moſt ſingular bravery; for putting himſelf at the head of a body of grenadiers, retook the battery with their bayonets fixed, although the French party, whom they drove from it, were double their number.

The French, however, were in poſſeſſion of two riſing grounds, on which they had erected ſtrong batteries; and as it would have been next to impoſſible to have taken them, the duke, after doing all that could be performed by an able general, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſounding a retreat. This was one of the moſt obſtinate engagements during the whole of the laſt war, for it laſted full three days, and the French loſt four times as many men as the allies, while the retreat made by the latter was ſo well conducted, that the enemy were afraid to purſue.

The allied army marched to Nienburg, where they encamped; while the French took Hamelen, and demoliſhed the fortifications. The duke de Richlieu was, by the intrigues of madame Pompadour, ſent to ſuperſede all the other French generals in Germany; and in the beginning of Auguſt he ſent a detachment, under the duke de Chevereuſe, to take poſſeſſion of the city of Hanover. The garriſon were permitted to go where they pleaſed, and the regency, finding it impoſſible to oppoſe ſuperior numbers, ordered the citizens to remain quiet till ſuch time as things ſhould happen to take a different turn.

The duke of Cumberland continued retreating towards the dutchy of Verden, and from thence to Stade, where the moſt valuable of the records had been depoſited; and on the glacis of that city he formed a camp. His royal highneſs drew up his lines in the beſt manner conſiſtent with the ſituation of the ground: but the greateſt abilities are of little, or, indeed, no ſervice, when oppoſed by ſuch numbers as the French army under the duke de Richlieu conſiſted of.

The allies, under the duke, now found themſelves almoſt incloſed by the enemy, and under an abſolute neceſſity of either being compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war, or fight with unequal numbers, under every diſadvantage. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, the king of Denmark interpoſed as a mediator, and a convention was ſigned by the generals on both ſides, in conſequence of which, no leſs than forty thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, &c. were obliged to lay down their arms, and go into quarters of cantonment. This treaty was ſigned at a place called Cloſter Seven, and gave great offence to his late majeſty; for by it the dominions of his Pruſſian majeſty were left expoſed to the French, who would not neglect to avail themſelves of ſuch a circumſtance. A declaration was publiſhed at London on the ſixteenth of September, wherein his majeſty diſclaimed all knowledge of any thing relating to the convention at Cloſter Seven, and that he had not given the duke power to conclude it; ſo that he would ſtill act in concert with the king of Pruſſia.

Whatever the impartial reader may think, muſt be left to himſelf; yet ſurely the duke of Cumberland had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the French; and undoubtedly, had he engaged, he would have been defeated. On the other hand, in conſequence of the convention, the king of Pruſſia's territories were expoſed to the French, who penetrated into them, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities, exacting contributions of a moſt exorbitant nature, and putting thoſe exactions in force by military execution.

In the mean time, the Ruſſians, who had entered Ducal Pruſſia, continued their march, under the generals Apraxin and Fermor, and ſpread ſuch deſolation wherever they came, as had ſeldom happened ſince the Roman empire was over-run by the Goths and Vandals. Pomerania, eſpecially that part of it belonging to the king of Pruſſia, was ravaged and depopulated by the Swedes. Count Daun had penetrated into Sileſia: the French, under the prince de Soubiſe, were advancing towards Saxony; and the whole dominions of the king of Pruſſia were given up for loſt. But nothing could diſcourage that prince, nor damp the bravery of his ſpirits. The barbarities committed by the Ruſſians were ſuch, that the king of Pruſſia reſolved to attack them firſt, and this brought on a general engagement on the thirtieth of Auguſt. The Ruſſians, on this occaſion, behaved with great intrepidity; whole ranks, and even lines, were cut down: but notwithſtanding, they knew not what it was to retreat. The victory was diſputed by both, but the loſs of men was greateſt on the part of the Ruſſians.

Riſing ſuperior to every misfortune, and ſoaring above impending danger, his Pruſſian majeſty having left ſome men to guard the paſſes which lead towards Bohemia, marched in order to meet the combined armies of France and the Empire, under the princes de Soubiſe and Saxe Hilburghauſen, and came up with them at Roſbach on the morning of the fifth of November, when the Pruſſians obtained a compleat victory, with the loſs of only a few men. An orator, ſpeaking of the conduct of the Pruſſians on this memorable day, has the following words: "Religion marched in the van with indignant look; Liberty flew along the ranks, and enflamed the zeal of the warriors; while the omnipotent Jehovah thundered through the embattled ſquadrons, and their enemies lay vanquiſhed at their feet." Here the king of Pruſſia, and all his army, behaved with ſuch courage, and made the diſpoſitions with ſuch prudence, that the enemy were cut off in vaſt numbers, and the greateſt part of their baggage and ammunition was taken, beſides many priſoners.

On the twelfth of November, the king ſet out to aſſiſt the prince of Bevern, who was then in Sileſia, and in his way thither, a party of four thouſand ſoldiers, who had been priſoners among the Auſtrians, and had made their eſcape, joined him; and meeting with ſeveral parties of huſſars and croats, they diſperſed them, and ſeized the proviſions they were eſcorting to the army.

At laſt the king came up with the Auſtrian army near Schweidnitz, and a moſt bloody battle enſued, in which the Pruſſians obtained a compleat victory, though dearly bought. The Auſtrians, after doing every thing that brave men could perform, were obliged to retreat, and take ſhelter under the walls of Breſlaw, which had lately fallen into their hands.

Future ages will read with admiration an account of a prince defeating a large army on the fifth of November, and on the fifth of December repeating the ſame, though great part of his army was compoſed of young recruits, who had never before ſeen an engagement. The king immediately purſued the Auſtrians, and undertook the ſiege of Breſlaw, which ſurrendered in a few days, and thirteen thouſand men were made priſoners of war. The military cheſt, containing the ammunition, was taken at the ſame time; and the king, in compaſſion to his army, who had performed wonders, ordered them into quarters of cantonment during the reſt of the winter.

In the mean time, the Hanoverians, who had been confined from action by a treaty of neutrality, were ſo cruelly oppreſſed by the French, that they reſolved to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery; and the king of Britain ſent a commiſſion to prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, to put himſelf at the head of the army in that electorate. Hoſtilities being thus commenced, the French, by order of the duke de Richlieu, committed greater cruelties than ever in Hanover: and the empreſs-queen ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed, complaining of the conduct of the court of London, in having violated the treaty of Cloſter-Seven. This, however, was not regarded; and that haughty woman, whoſe mind boiled with reſentment, ordered the two towns of Oſtend and Newport to be put into the hands of the French, in order to diſtreſs the trade of England. All theſe meaſures were countenanced by the Dutch, who acted as the moſt mercenary wretches, being hireling to all parties, without ever taking the leaſt part in the war.

With reſpect to the naval tranſactions during this year, the Engliſh cruizers and privateers made ſeveral captures: but although they diſtreſſed the enemy, yet they acquired but little advantage to themſelves. In the Weſt-Indies, captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, accompanied by ſome other ſhips, cruized off the bay of Cape François, although a large ſquadron of French men of war were lying at the ſame place. The French admiral not knowing how to juſtify his conduct if he remained inactive, reſolved to attack the Engliſh, and, for that purpoſe, ſailed out of the harbour. Captain Forreſt, who watched all his motions, no ſooner ſaw him hoiſt his ſails, than he prepared to meet him, and ſhortened ſail, in order to give the enemy time to come up. About noon the French fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line and three frigates, formed into one line; and the Engliſh captain ordered the Dreadnought and the Edinburgh to attack them. The engagement began with great fury, but the bravery of the Engliſh bore down all oppoſition; and towards the evening, the French were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs.

The Engliſh, who could not, conſiſtent with their own ſafety, purſue the enemy, kept all night under ſail in the bay; and next morning ſeized a large fleet of French merchant ſhips, which were carried into Jamaica, and there ſold as legal prizes.

On the firſt of December, the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed them, that although things had turned out contrary to his expectations and the juſtice of his cauſe, yet he was determined in his own mind to proſecute the war with vigour; for which purpoſe he depended on divine providence and the aſſiſtance of his faithful commons. He expatiated largely on the late ſucceſſes which the king of Pruſſia had obtained over his enemies in Germany; and took notice to the commons, that the eyes of all Europe were turned towards them, as the perſons who, in all human probability, were moſt likely to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. He concluded by recommending to them the neceſſity they were under to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, whoſe victories in Germany would weaken the power of the French; and the moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes were preſented.

A. D. 1758. As ſoon as the holidays were over, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom in general; and made ſeveral laws, laying a tax on ſome branches of luxury, particularly on ſilver plate, which was charged ſixpence each ounce. Several licences were obliged to be taken out for vending ſuch things as ſeemed not, in their own nature, neceſſary: and, upon the whole, the commons granted the ſupplies in the moſt liberal manner.

The regular payment of wages due to ſeamen was, during this ſeſſion, eſtabliſhed into a law, which has been of infinite ſervice to that uſeful body of men: and the laws relating to the militia being found defective, a new bill was brought in, by which they were explained and amended.

On the twentieth of June, after ſeveral acts had paſſed, and every thing been done for the ſecurity of the nation, the parliament was prorogued by commiſſion; and the commons were given to underſtand, that their conduct, during the whole of the ſeſſion, had given his majeſty the utmoſt ſatisfaction.

The ſubjects of Great-Britain were unanimous in applauding the conduct of Mr. Pitt, who had the principal ſhare in the management of public buſineſs; and it muſt be acknowledged, that no miniſter ever acted with greater courage, wiſdom, or perſeverance. He was a true judge of merit under every character, and in every ſtation; and ſuch accompliſhed men were made choice of by him to command the army and the navy, that the Britiſh glory roſe to the higheſt pitch of grandeur. Such was the internal ſtate of Britain at the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament; ſo that, conſiſtent with the order of things, we muſt take a view of what was tranſacting on the continent.

The king of Pruſſia had made ſuch excellent uſe of the ſucceſſes that had attended his arms during the remainder of the laſt year, that the Ruſſians were obliged to diſperſe themſelves in Poland for want of ſubſiſtence; and the Swedes, who had over-run Pomerania, were ſo much haraſſed by the Pruſſian ſoldiers, who drove them from one place to another, that they were obliged to take ſhelter in Stralſund. The Auſtrians, who had been driven out of Sileſia, took refuge in Bohemia; and although the Pruſſian monarch had armies, to the amount of three hundred thouſand men, to contend with, yet the ſame magnanimity which had diſtinguiſhed every part of his conduct, ſhone now more conſpicuous than ever. The French were meditating ſchemes for annexing Hanover to their own dominions; and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had no reaſon to expect any favours from ſuch perfidious enemies, yet entered into a treaty with Lewis XV. wherein he promiſed to withdraw his troops from aſſiſting the Hanoverians, and employ them in the ſervice of France. This was one of the moſt ungrateful propoſals that, perhaps, ever had been made; and it conveys to us a very mean idea of the fidelity of German princes. The landgrave had been long ſupported by the Engliſh; he had entered into a treaty of the moſt ſolemn nature with our ſovereign; but here, like a mean, mercenary wretch, he recedes from all his engagements, and turns his back upon his moſt generous benefactor. Nor was it much better with the duke of Brunſwick, who, although under many obligations to us, promiſed to act in concert with the French; but all his ſchemes were defeated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who commanded the allied army; and that of his ſon, the hereditary prince, who acted under his uncle.

The French, who had made themſelves maſters of Bremen, and ſome other places belonging to the German empire, were ſoon driven from them by a detachment, under the prince of Holſtein Gottorp; while the duke de Richlieu, who had behaved in the moſt cruel manner to the Hanoverians, was ſuperſeded, and the command of the army given to the count de Clermont. This new general, as ſoon as he had reviewed the army, found it in a moſt wretched condition, in conſequence of the relaxation of diſcipline, the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the almoſt total want of all the common neceſſaries of life. He knew, that, under ſuch circumſtances, it would be an act of madneſs to attempt any thing againſt prince Ferdinand; and therefore thought it moſt prudent to retreat towards the Rhine, while the hereditary prince of Brunſwick haraſſed his rear, and ſeized the greateſt part of the baggage.

The duke de Randau, the French governor at Hanover, who had done every thing to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and in all things diſcharged his duty as a man of honour and humanity, ordered all the magazine of proviſions to be diſtributed among the poor; and, upon the whole, left behind him ſuch an amiable character, as ſhines far more conſpicuous than all the blandiſhments of military honours.

The prince of Brunſwick made every diſpoſition that could be thought of for diſlodging the French from ſuch places as they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of in the electorate of Hanover; and the garriſon of Hoya, a ſtrong town on the Weſer, was taken, and all the military ſtores fell into the hands of the allies. Minden was taken at the ſame time, and the French now found that they were loſing ground every day.

The count de Clermont having croſſed the Rhine, cantoned his forces along the banks of that river; while prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick took poſſeſſion of Munſter, from whence his detached parties iſſued with ſuch rapidity, that they beat up the quarters of the French, and drove them from all their advanced poſts. This was ſhocking news to the haughty French king, whoſe armies had been hitherto conducted by men raiſed to office through the intrigues of his miſtreſs: but now it was found neceſſary to change both men and meaſures. The duke de Belleiſle was placed at the head of the war department; and, like a real lover of his country, he boldly repreſented to his ſovereign, that the conduct of his generals in Germany had been ſo inconſiſtent with the duty they owed to the public, that they deſerved the higheſt cenſures. He, at the ſame time, ſent letters to the colonels of regiments, commanding them, in his majeſty's name, not to expoſe any commiſſions to ſale, but to beſtow them according to merit and ſeniority, becauſe ſuch only are qualified to ſerve in the army, and conduct the buſineſs of war, who have acquired knowledge by experience.

On the twenty-third of June, both armies met at a place called Crevelt, and a moſt obſtinate engagement enſued, when the French were obliged to give way, but their retreat was covered by their dragoons, who behaved with the greateſt courage imaginable. This victory, which coſt the allies many of their beſt forces, was yet far from being deciſive: for although ſeveral towns ſurrendered to them, among which was the city of Duſſeldorp, yet the enemy took refuge under the walls of Cologne; and juſt about the ſame time, the marſhal de Contades was ſent to take upon him the command of the French army. Prince Ferdinand had propoſed, in a council of war, to make an irruption into the Netherlands, and ſo draw the French out of Germany, that they might not have an opportunity of diſturbing the king of Pruſſia, while their own territories were in danger of being invaded. General Imhoff, a Hanoverian officer, attacked a party of the enemy, and drove them from a wood; but the prince de Soubiſe had made himſelf maſter of the important town of Gottingen, by which prince Ferdinand, whoſe army had ſuffered much by the overflowing of the Rhine, was in danger of having his forces divided. Prince Xaverius was ſent with a body of forces to aſſiſt the prince de Soubiſe; while prince Ferdinand, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, diſpatched general Oberg, with ten thouſand men, to join a detachment of Heſſians who were on their march to aſſiſt the allied army; for the French had acted in ſuch an inſincere manner with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, that he had determined not to have any farther connections with them. Both armies continued on the defenſive, as if their ſole intention had been to watch the motions of each other; but on the tenth of October, about four in the afternoon, a ſevere cannonading began; and notwithſtanding the allies, for ſome time, ſeemed to gain the advantage, yet they were at laſt obliged to give way, but retreated in good order. General Oberg loſt his magazine of proviſion and ammunition; but prince Ferdinand having been joined by a body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, who died ſoon after, the French reaped but little benefit from the victory.

In the beginning of this year the king of Pruſſia beſieged the town of Schweidnitz, and carried on the attack with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. He likewiſe detached a ſtrong party who took the town of Trawtenaw, by which a paſſage was opened for his troops to march into Bohemia or Moldavia. Accordingly, he marched to the city of Olmutz, the capital of the latter, in which was a ſtrong garriſon; but the king beſieged it in form.

Count Daun, who knew the importance of the place, marched to its relief; and meeting with a large convoy of proviſions, he ſeized the whole, by which the king of Pruſſia was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. His ſuperior knowledge and preſence of mind enabled him to make an exceeding good retreat; and although count Daun watched all his motions, yet he was afraid to attack him; and marſhal Keith brought off all the heavy artillery. The Auſtrian detached parties gave way as faſt as he approached, one of them was ſurrounded and taken; and the king, who ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to misfortune, reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to Bohemia.

The empreſs of Ruſſia entered into a new confederacy with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, and in conſequence thereof her army was ordered to take the field, under the generals Fermor and Brown. Koningſberg, the capital of Pruſſia, was taken without any reſiſtance; and the Coſſacks and Calmacks, a ſet of inhuman barbarians who followed the army, ravaged the neighbouring country, murdering the people without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The Pruſſian general Dohna, watched their motions; but no ſooner had the king heard that they were approaching towards the frontiers of Sileſia, than he began his march from Bohemia, in order to give them battle. The Ruſſians had now advanced to the neighbourhood of Frankfort; and on the ninth of Auguſt the king arrived at Landſhut, where he croſſed the Oder, and next day the army were allowed to reſt. The Pruſſian monarch reſolved to attack them immediately, and for that purpoſe marched paſt their left flank, and drew up his army in order of battle in an extended plain, for the Ruſſians were in poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds.

This brought on a moſt bloody engagement, in which above twenty thouſand Ruſſians were killed, till at laſt night parted them, and the Pruſſians continued under arms. Next morning the battle began afreſh; for the Ruſſians were ſo numerous that they remained in an immoveable ſtate, notwithſtanding their loſs. The victory was claimed by both ſides, although neither had obtained one; but both behaved with the moſt undaunted courage. Beſet, as the king was, with enemies on every ſide, he ſtill continued to act with vigour; and finding that count Daun intended to attack his brother, prince Henry, he marched to his aſſiſtance with twenty-four battalions, and arrived at Torgau on the fifth of September. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties on both ſides; and the king, whoſe army had been much weakened, was obliged to remain on the defenſive. Count Daun, who always acted in the moſt cautious manner, found that the Pruſſians had neglected to fortify the village of Hochkirchin, he began his march in the middle of the night of the fourteenth of October, and attacked that wing of the Pruſſian army which was under the command of marſhal Keith.

This was an unexpected ſtroke, and although the Pruſſians did every thing in their power to repair the loſs, yet they were, after a moſt obſtinate engagement, forced to give way; and the brave marſhal Keith, with prince Francis of Brunſwick, were killed, and the prince of Anhalt taken priſoner. The king loſt above three thouſand men; but he retreated in good order, and continued ten days endeavouring to bring the count to a freſh engagement. Of all the generals during the war count Daun ſeems to have been the moſt properly qualified for making uſe of detached parties, and harraſſing an enemy in a retreat. Whenever he found that the king had decamped, he was ſure to haraſs his rear.

Prince Henry of Pruſſia was reduced to great ſtraits in Saxony, while the marſhal Laudohn was ſent to haraſs the king in Luſatia. Dreſden was the great object the Auſtrians had in view, becauſe in conſequence of its being taken from the Pruſſians an opening would be made into Brandenburgh. This they knew would diſtreſs the king more than any thing they could undertake; but it was not to be executed ſo eaſily as they imagined.

Count Schmettau, who commanded in Dreſden, declared that if the Auſtrians ſhould attack the city, he would reduce the whole to a heap of aſhes; and although the magiſtrates begged on their knees that he would deſiſt from ſuch a meaſure, yet he remained inflexible, and actually laid combuſtibles into the houſes. He began with the ſuburbs, where moſt of the Saxon nobility and gentry reſided, and in a few hours the whole was in one continued blaze. Count Daun beheld, with aſtoniſhment, the conflagration, and being afraid that the general would ſerve the interior part of the city in the ſame manner, he deſiſted, in ſome meaſure; while the king of Pruſſian relieved the town of Neiſs, and then reſolved to return to Saxony. This obliged count Daun to retire towards Bohemia; and the Ruſſians, who had penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, in order to beſiege ſome fort that would afford them winter quarters, were obliged to return to Poland. They did not, however, fail to ruin Ducal Pruſſia, where they robbed and murdered the inhabitants in the moſt horrid manner, ſo that the whole country was a ſcene of blood and miſery.

The Britiſh navy during the whole courſe of this year, had been very ſucceſsful both in America and Europe. Captain Forreſt, with the captains Langdon and Suckling, attacked a French ſquadron at Cape François, and diſabled ſeveral of them; after which he proceeded to the bay of Hiſpaniola, and in his way thither took a ſquadron of nine ſhips, all richly laden, which greatly diſtreſſed the French, and brought a conſiderable ſum of money into the nation. Admiral Boſcawen ſailed from Portſmouth in the month of February for the North American ſeas, and Sir Edward Hawke was ſent to the bay of Biſcay. On the coaſt of Spain, admiral Oſborn, aſſiſted by captain Gardiner, a brave officer, attacked a French fleet of the largeſt ſhips of war, and took two of the largeſt belonging to their whole navy. Sir Edward Hawke intercepted a large fleet laden with ſtores and proviſions for North America; and in a few days after, he took a fleet of their merchant ſhips, by which their commerce was greatly diſtreſſed. Theſe ſucceſſes were of ſo rapid a nature, that the people began to look upon their naval officers as the ornaments of their country, and to place the utmoſt confidence in them.

On the ſixth of June a deſcent was made on the coaſt of France by the duke of Marlborough, who commanded the land forces, and he was ſupported by commodore Howe; who, with the great guns on board his ſquadron, kept the French in continual fear. The duke, having deſtroyed the ſhipping at St. Servan, was informed that the enemy were marching to cut off his retreat, was obliged to re-imbark the forces, and then the fleet ſailed towards Havre-de-grace, in order to make a ſecond attempt to land; but the wind blowing from the ſhore, obliged them to ſail towards Cherburg, where the duke attempted to land the forces, but ſtill the wind was againſt them, ſo that they were once more obliged to ſtand out for ſea, till a more favourable opportunity ſhould offer. On the ſecond of Auguſt the fleet weighed anchor a ſecondtime, and ſet ſail for France, under the command of general Bligh and commodore Howe; having on board his royal highneſs prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, who went as a volunteer, it being the deſign of his royal grand-father to bring him up in the knowledge of naval affairs.

The French, who had been ſo often alarmed during this ſummer by the appearance of our fleets on their coaſts, had thrown up an entrenchment on the land ſide of Cherburgh; but the Britiſh forces landed without much oppoſition. The fire of our bomb-ketches ſilenced a ſmall battery which the enemy had erected, while the grenadiers, with the other forces, were enabled to march from the landing-place up to the town; but in their way thither, they were met by a party of the enemy, who attempted to oppoſe them. This, however, they were not able to do, for the Engliſh guards drove them up a hill, where they remained till night, and then made their eſcape. A camp was then formed at the village of Erville near Cherburg, and the next morning the general, finding that the enemy had fled, marched into the important town of Cherburg without the leaſt oppoſition; for the magiſtrates had ordered the gates to be ſet open. A manifeſto was ordered to be ſtuck up in every public place, promiſing protection to all thoſe who ſhould not be found in arms; and the people in general behaved with great decency to the ſoldiers; who, in return, uſed them much better than in common on ſuch occaſions.

The French had laid out great ſums of money in making a baſon for the ſhipping; and although not finiſhed, was looked upon as one of the greateſt curioſities in Europe, and would have been of the utmoſt importance to the French navy. This baſon the general cauſed to be deſtroyed; and while the engineers were employed in blowing it up, the light horſe ſcoured the adjacent country to the diſtance of four miles, where they found that the enemy were daily encreaſing in numbers. Some of the advanced parties continued to ſkirmiſh with each other, but few of our men were killed, only that captain Lindſay, a brave young officer, was mortally wounded, and died ſoon after. All the ſtores in the town were put on board our fleet, three thouſand pounds in money was exacted of the inhabitants, and the general ordered that the troops ſhould be re-imbarked; having firſt thrown up a trench to defend ſuch as embarked laſt, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by the enemy. The fleet returned to the coaſt of England, and again ſet ſail for the coaſt of France, where they took above twenty ſhips, and deſtroyed ſuch batteries and magazines as they found erected along the ſhore.

St. Malo, a ſtrong town on the French ſhore, and extremely popular, was next attacked, on one ſide by our troops, and from the ſea by our ſhips of war; but the weather proving tempeſtuous, they were obliged to deſiſt, and come to an anchor in St. Cas bay. There the general landed his troops, in order to ſpread an alarm among the people, that the French king might be obliged to recal his forces from Germany. Undoubtedly the ſcheme was well planned; but the events of war are uncertain. A camp had been marked out by captain Clarke, the quarter-maſter general; but on the eighth of September the army began to march, and in the evening halted near the river Equernon.

In the mean time the enemy, who had poſted ſome regulars and militia on the oppoſite banks of the river, were ſo much intimidated that they retreated; and the Britiſh army having croſſed the river, continued their march to Martignon, a ſmall village, where they diſcovered a detached body of the enemy, who retired and ſpread the alarm among the people. One ſmall party attempted to haraſs the flank of our army, but finding it impracticable, they made a ſignal to ſurrender; but the Britiſh forces, miſtaking their meaning, fired and killed an officer with ſome of the men.

The ſecond regiment of foot guards was ſent to bring up the proviſions, and colonel Cunningham, the chief engineer, was ordered to ſecure the beach, leſt there ſhould be a neceſſity for a retreat. The general now learned that ſome regiments had left the garriſon of Breſt, and were marching to oppoſe him; as he did not know but others might be ſent to aſſiſt them, he ſent notice to lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, to have the tranſports ready for the re-imbarkation of the troops.

The army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand five hundred men, began to march on the eleventh, in one column, and were drawn up in ſuch a manner as to be able to attack the enemy on any ſide. But after two-thirds of the army was embarked, the enemy's horſe appeared in ſight, on a riſing ground; and about noon they were joined by a large body of foot, collected from different garriſons. The Engliſh veſſels fired upon them; while the French erected a battery, which they played with ſuch fury upon the remainder of the troops that were embarking, that ſeveral of them, particularly the guards, were killed.

General Drury, with twelve hundred men, drew up on the beach, near the village of St. Cas, while the enemy, to avoid the fire from our ſhips, marched into a hollow way that covered them; and there the Engliſh foot prepared to attack them. A propoſal had been made to the general, to cover the beach with an entrenchment; but it was done in an improper place, and he diſcovered his error when it was too late. General Drury, who exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, drove the enemy twice back; but as they were continually receiving freſh reinforcements, he was obliged to retreat, and march towards the boats. The French batteries played upon their rear, and ſome of their bombs deſtroyed ſeveral of the boats, while the Engliſh ſhips could not fire, leſt they ſhould have deſtroyed ſome of our men. General Drury, with ſome other officers, were killed, and ſeveral were drowned in attempting to get into the boats. Commodore Howe, who had ſucceeded to the title of lord in conſequence of the death of his brother, behaved with great bravery on this fatal occaſion, for he expoſed himſelf to the fire of the enemy, and by his example animated the private men. Notwithſtanding this ſcheme miſcarried in its execution, yet other advantages were obtained that ſerved to counterbalance it.

One Mr. Cumming, a quaker, who had been ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of Africa, made himſelf acquainted with every thing worth notice; and being a man of great abilities and deep penetration, obſerved the extenſive trade carried on by the French, and made himſelf acquainted with the Mooriſh king of Legibelli, whoſe dominions lay along the coaſt where the greateſt part of the trade was carried on. Gum Senega, an article much uſed in the manufactures of Great Britain, had been many years wholly engroſſed by the French; who ſold it to the Dutch, and they to us, at a moſt exorbitant price. But this was not all; for Mr. Cumming took notice that many other valuable articles and branches of trade were carried on, ſuch as elephants teeth, gold duſt, cotton, ambergreaſe, and ſeveral others, all of which were of the utmoſt importance to Great Britain, and might, if conducted with ſpirit, become a real national good.

Mr. Cumming loſt no time in making himſelf acquainted with every thing worthy of notice, and ingratiated himſelf ſo far into the good graces of the prince, that he made him a friend to the Engliſh, and promiſed him great advantages in conſequence of trading with them. But what contributed moſt towards promoting the deſign, was the conduct of the French, who had exaſperated the prince againſt them; and he was extremely deſirous to have them driven from the river Senegal, where moſt of their territories had been eſtabliſhed. He deſired that the king of Great Britain would ſend a few ſhips of war for that purpoſe; promiſing, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt them with what land forces he could raiſe.

The difficulties that Mr. Cumming had to engage with were great indeed; but the love he had for his country, made every thing ſeem trifling. The miniſtry conſidered the whole as a Don Quixote like ſcheme, that would be attended with great loſs without any ſolid advantages ariſing from it; but Mr. Cumming repreſented the practicability and utility of it in ſuch ſtrong colours, that they granted a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips under the command of captain Marſh, with five companies of marines under the command of major Maſon, and a ſmall number of artillery, under the direction of captain Walker; but Mr. Cumming was to ſuperintend the whole.

This ſmall armament ſailed from Portſmouth in March, and put into the Iſland of Teneriffe, in order to procure freſh water. There the ſquadron remained till Mr. Cumming ſailed in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, with a letter to the prince written in the Arabic language. In this letter, to which the king of Great Britain had put his ſeal, Mr. Cumming was appointed to act as ambaſſador, and conduct the whole of the Britiſh trade that ſhould be carried on in that country. Upon his arrival, he found the prince of the place engaged in war with one of the neighbouring nations, and that he was then at a very great diſtance. But Amir, the prince's miniſter, ſent word to his ſovereign that Mr. Cumming was arrived, and that he could raiſe three hundred men to aſſiſt him, upon condition of their being properly reinforced from the chief army. This would have diſconcerted perſons of leſs fortitude than Mr. Cumming; but the greater the difficulties he had to encounter with, the more active was he in endeavouring to ſurmount them. Having ſent notice to captain Marſh to proceed on his voyage, that brave officer weighed anchor, and got to the mouth of the river Senegal, where he learned that the Indian forces promiſed him were not ſo much as raiſed. Next day he took a large Dutch ſhip laden with gum, and the captain told him, that the French had erected ſeveral batteries along the ſide of the river, and that they were determined to diſpute the paſſage with the Engliſh. This, however, no way intimidated the captain; who made the proper preparations for landing, although the enemy kept firing upon them. This brought on a general engagement, which laſted ſeveral hours; and two of the Engliſh tranſports running aground, the marines got on ſhore, where they were joined by thoſe who had landed before them. They threw up an intrenchment to protect them from the fire of the enemy, till ſuch time as they could get the ſtores landed.

Next day two deputies from the French governor arrived, and offered terms of capitulation; upon which it was agreed, that all the Europeans belonging to the French ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, and that none of their private property ſhould be taken from them; that every thing of a public nature ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh; and that the inhabitants, who chuſed to remain in Fort Louis, ſhould be under the protection of the Engliſh government.

Theſe terms being agreed on, captain Walker and captain Campbell were ſent up the river to take poſſeſſion of the forts; but when they came to the firſt place appointed for their landing, the enemy neither took notice of them, nor hung out the flag of truce. This ſurprized them much; and as they did not know what their intention might be, they ſailed back to the ſquadron, and then went on ſhore to their entrenchments. There they were informed that the negroes were in arms at Fort Louis, becauſe they had not been included in the treaty, and the governor refuſed to abide by the capitulation, unleſs the director-general of the French factory ſhould be permitted to remain, to ſee that every thing was executed according to agreement. This requeſt was immediately complied with, and then the fort was delivered up to major Maſon, who found in it great quantities of merchandiſe, beſides proviſions and military ſtores. The inhabitants of the place chearfully ſwore allegiance to the king of Britain. The prince Legibelli ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to congratulate Mr. Cumming on his ſucceſs, and all the neighbouring princes entered into treaties with him. In the whole of this important expedition, the Engliſh did not loſe a ſingle man, and, by prudence and courage, obtained poſſeſſion of a very valuable place.

Mr. Cumming knew that the valuable ſettlement at Fort Louis could not be maintained by the Engliſh, unleſs they were in poſſeſſion of Goree, about one hundred miles diſtant, where the French had large magazines, and where they kept all their ſlaves before they ſent them to the Weſt-Indies. An attempt was made upon it, but the Engliſh had not force ſufficient to take it. News having been tranſmitted to England, commodore Keppel was ſent with ſix ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with ſeven hundred land forces on board. On the twenty-eighth of December, they came to an anchor off Goree, and next morning prepared to attack the place. The French, who had erected batteries along the ſhore, played briſkly upon our men of war, particularly the Prince Edward, which had her main bowſprit ſhot away, but the Naſſau made up to her aſſiſtance. The commodore, who was in the Torbay, paid the utmoſt attention to every thing; and ſo terrible was the fire from his ſhip, that the whole ſeemed one continued blaze.

Many thouſands of negroes came down to ſee the engagement, and were filled with ſurprize at the bravery of the Engliſh ſeamen, whoſe courage increaſed with their danger. The fire from the Engliſh ſhips ſoon obliged the governor to ſtrike the flag; and then a lieutenant, with the commodore's ſecretary, were ſent on ſhore, where they were met by the governor's ſecretary, who aſked them what terms the commodore was willing to grant. This ſurpriſed them, becauſe they imagined that the garriſon were ready to ſurrender priſoners of war; and then they aſked him, whether the flag was not ſtruck? He anſwered, that it was not, but only for a parley; upon which they parted in diſguſt. The engagement was begun again with greater fury than ever; but in leſs than an hour, the governor, as a ſignal to ſurrender, dropped the flag and the regimental colours, and then a party of marines took poſſeſſion of the iſland.

Things of great importance were, at this time, carrying on in America. In May, general Amherſt, with a body of troops, and general Boſcawen, ſailed from Halifax in Nova Scotia; and on the ſecond of June, landed about ſeven miles weſt of Louiſbourg, in the iſland of Cape Breton. The French had taken great care to fortify the place in the ſtrongeſt manner, and the mouth of the harbour had batteries erected at it. The garriſon was numerous, and a chain of forts had been erected along the coaſt, where it was expected the Engliſh would land.

General Wolfe, the ſecond in command, in order to give them an example to imitate, leaped into the water, and got firſt on ſhore. He then attacked, and drove the French from one of their batteries: upon which Mr. Drucour ordered in his detached parties, and prepared to make the moſt vigorous defence. The Engliſh land forces, under the command of general Wolfe, took poſſeſſion of that part of the harbour, near its entrance, called the Light-houſe Point; while the admiral ſet fire to ſome ſhips in the harbour, and burnt two of them to the water-edge. The enemy had only two ſhips of the line and a frigate now remaining, and theſe were taken in a few days; ſo that the harbour being thus laid open, the ſiege was begun, and carried on in the moſt regular manner. It was impoſſible for the governor to hold out againſt the combined force of the army and navy; ſo that he reſolved to capitulate, and the whole garriſon were made priſoners of war. The whole loſs of the Engliſh amounted to about four hundred; and thus, by the utmoſt efforts of courage, the whole iſland of Cape Breton became ſubject to the Engliſh. In Louiſbourg our army found a vaſt quantity of military ſtores; and ſuch of the inhabitants as did not chuſe to live under the Engliſh government, were ſent over to France, but the priſoners were tranſported to England. The iſland of St. John, in the gulph of St. Laurence, was taken, about the ſame time, by lord Rollo, and in the governor's houſe were found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen who had been murdered by the Indians.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy that filled the nation upon the arrival of the news of this important event: it gave inexpreſſible pleaſure to all ranks of people; and eleven pair of French colours that had been taken were brought to his majeſty at Kenſington, who ordered them to be eſcorted, under a ſtrong guard, to the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were hung up as trophies of the victory.

Captain Tyrrel, in the Buckingham man of war, was ſent to protect our commerce in the Weſt-Indies; and in the bay of Martinico he demoliſhed a French fort, with ſeveral merchant ſhips that had on board very valuable cargoes, and a conſiderable number of privateers. Captain Tyrrel was ſeldom diſengaged from action, and few men in his ſtation ever acquired greater honour. Happening to fall in with the Weaſel ſloop of war, commanded by lieutenant Bowles, between Montſerrat and Guadalupe, they diſcovered a fleet of nineteen veſſels, under the convoy of a man of war named the Floriſſant, and two large frigates. But, notwithſtanding ſuperiority of numbers, Tyrrel, who was a ſtranger to fear, immediately hoiſted ſail, and gave chace. The two frigates were ſoon rendered unfit for action: upon which captain Tyrrel attacked the man of war, and poured a whole broadſide into her. A moſt deſperate and bloody engagement enſued, in which captain Tyrrel loſt three of his fingers, and was otherwiſe ſo much wounded, that he was obliged to give up the command to Mr. Marſhal, his firſt lieutenant, who fought bravely till he was killed; and then the command devolved upon the ſecond lieutenant, who fought ſo deſperately, that the Floriſſant was obliged to ſtrike; but the ſea running high before the Buckingham could board her, ſhe again hoiſted her colours, and made her eſcape. This was reckoned one of the moſt glorious actions during the war, and will ever redound to the honour of Tyrrel, who loſt only twenty men, while the French loſt one hundred and eighty, beſides above three hundred wounded; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they could keep the ſhip above water till they got into the harbour of Martinico.

Things had not been, during this year, ſo ſucceſsfully carried on in the Eaſt-Indies, though no blame could be thrown upon our commanders, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. Admiral Pocock being joined by commodore Stephens, with ſeveral ſhips of the line, they ſet ſail from the bay of Madraſs, in order to intercept the French fleet, which they expected to come up with near the bay of St. David's.

On the twenty-ninth of March, the admiral came up with the French fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips of the line, and reſolved to give them battle. The engagement laſted ſeveral hours; and about five in the evening, the French admiral got before the wind, and the Engliſh admiral gave the ſignal for a general chace; but night coming on, he was obliged to deſiſt. In the morning the purſuit was continued; but ſeveral of the ſhips were ſo much diſabled, and the wind was ſo much in favour of the French, that the Engliſh were obliged to come to an anchor in the bay of Madraſs. There he learned that one of the French ſhips had been ſo much damaged, that they had been obliged to run her a-ground; and that they had not been able to land any forces at St. David's. Three of the Engliſh captains, who had not been active enough in obeying the admiral's ſignals, were tried by a court-martial, and broke; for it was in conſequence of their conduct that the French fleet eſcaped, which otherwiſe would have been totally deſtroyed.

The next object the admiral had in view was the reduction of Pondicherry: and having repaired his ſhips, he ſet ſail for that place on the tenth of May. He arrived in the bay oppoſite to that fort on the thirtieth of May, where he got ſight of the French fleet, but could not come up with them; which obliged him to return to Madraſs, in order to conſult on the moſt proper methods to be uſed, and likewiſe to get a ſupply of freſh proviſions, of which the fleet was in great want.

Having conſulted with the governor, and got every thing ready, the admiral weighed anchor on the twenty-fifth of July, and in two days got ſight of the French fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips and a frigate. They were ſteering towards Pondicherry; and admiral Pocock made the ſignal for a general chace, but could not come up with them till the third of Auguſt, when a general engagement enſued. The French admiral found it impoſſible to reſiſt the bravery of the Engliſh; and therefore, in a few minutes, he gave way, while the Engliſh purſued till night, when they were parted, and by that means the French got into the road of Pondicherry. In this engagement the Engliſh had a conſiderable number wounded, among whom were commodore Stephens and captain Martin; but they had not above forty killed.

On the fourteenth of September, colonel Draper, on board the company's ſhip Pitt, arrived at Madraſs, having under his command ſome companies of his own regiment: and in the beginning of December, the French forces encamped near a place called Choultry. The Engliſh cannonaded them a whole day, and next morning they ſeemed as if going to draw up in order of battle. Colonel Draper, with colonel Lawrence, being afraid that they might cut off their retreat, took poſſeſſion of the Black Town, and the French marched up to attack it; but one of their regiments was ſurpriſed by colonel Draper, and almoſt cut off. Had the colonel been properly ſupported, he would, in all probability, have defeated the enemy; but his numbers were ſo ſmall, that he was obliged to retreat.

The parliament of Great-Britain met on the twenty-third day of November, and was opened by a commiſſion from his majeſty. The lord-keeper informed them, that his majeſty had ordered the lords commiſſioners to lay before them all papers relating to the ſtate of the nation: that the great ſucceſs which had attended his majeſty's arms, both by ſea and land, could not fail of reducing the enemy to ſuch diſtreſs, that they would be ready to propoſe terms of peace. He added, that his good brother, the king of Pruſſia, had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, altho' oppoſed by very numerous armies. He ſincerely lamented, that the ſtate of public affairs had laid ſuch burthens on his people; but he doubted not that his faithful commons would conſider ſuch burthens as abſolutely neceſſary, in order to ſupport the dignity of the crown and the intereſt of the nation. He concluded by telling them, that he was ſo well convinced of their affection, both to his perſon and government, that he thought it altogether needleſs to uſe many words to perſuade them, and therefore left the whole to their own diſcretion. No diſputes aroſe concerning the ſpeech, for both houſes preſented the moſt loyal addreſſes, and both ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould be moſt forward in ſhewing their regard for their country.

A. D. 1759. This year opened with a proclamation, offering an additional bounty to ſuch ſeamen as were willing to enter into his majeſty's ſervice; and the conduct of adminiſtration, in this inſtance, was followed by moſt of the cities and towns in the nation. All parties were reconciled, and patriotiſm diffuſed itſelf throughout every part of the kingdom. The miniſtry planned their ſchemes with ſuch judgment, as will ever do honour to their ſuperior abilities; and our forces, both by land and ſea, even performed wonders. The French navy was now reduced ſo much, that they reſolved upon making one bold puſh; but as their whole finances were exhauſted, they were obliged to oppreſs the ſubjects in the moſt cruel manner. Great preparations were made by them along the coaſts of Normandy and Britany; forces were collected together, and ſeveral new ſhips were built. There was not the leaſt doubt but they intended to invade England, for they had provided a great number of flat bottomed boats at Havre de Grace, and ſome other ports. A ſmall ſquadron was to be fitted out at Dunkirk, and the command given to Mr. Thurot, a perſon of obſcure birth, but poſſeſſed of ſuch abilities as would have done honour to the higheſt ſtation in the navy. It was ſuppoſed that this ſquadron was intended for making a deſcent on Scotland; but every thing was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the public were left merely to conjecture. Another ſquadron was to make a deſcent on Ireland; and the whole was to be eſcorted by M. de Conflans, who, with the duke de Aiguillon, was then at Breſt, giving the neceſſary orders. The Engliſh miniſtry, who attended to the intereſts of the nation with the greateſt integrity, took care to be beforehand with them. A ſquadron, under commodore Boys, was ordered to lie oppoſite the harbour of Dunkirk: the fleet in Breſt was blocked up by admiral Hawke; and captain Duff watched Vannes, another of their ports: ſo that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible for them to get their ſhips out of their harbours.

On the ſecond of July, admiral Rodney came to an anchor before Havre de Grace, in order to prevent the flat-bottomed boats from joining the fleet, and ſo fruſtrate the whole ſcheme. Next day he attacked the town with two veſſels, and threw ſuch a number of bombs into it, that moſt of the magazines were deſtroyed. The bombardment continued fifty hours without intermiſſion, and was ſo dreadful that the town was three times ſet on fire. The flat-bottomed boats were likewiſe ſet on fire, and continued burning ſix hours; ſo that it took ſeveral hundred men to extinguiſh it.

The conſternation of the inhabitants was greater than can be imagined, many of them forſook their dwellings, while the military continued erecting batteries, and throwing up entrenchments; for they imagined that the admiral intended to land. The conduct of the admiral on this occaſion ſtruck ſuch terror into the French miniſtry, that they became divided in their councils; for they found it almoſt impoſſible that ever they could make a deſcent on England, while our navy did their duty.

In the mean time, the brave admiral Boſcawen was ſent into the Mediterranean, to block up the harbour of Toulon, where the French had a fleet under the command of M. de la Clue. Three Engliſh men of war were ſent to burn two of the French ſhips that guarded the mouth of the harbour; but a calm coming on, the enemy took the advantage, and fired ſo briſkly, that the Engliſh veſſels were greatly damaged, and the admiral was obliged to return to Gibraltar. The French ſeized that opportunity of getting out of the harbour, thinking to get through the gut of Gibraltar without being ſeen by the Engliſh. Admiral Boſcawen ordered one of his ſhips to cruize, and to keep a good look out, that he might have timely notice of their arrival. Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the cruizing veſſels brought notice to the admiral, that the French fleet were ſteering along the coaſt of Barbary, ſeeming as if they intended to paſs the gut, and ſo get into the ocean. The whole fleet were immediately ordered to weigh anchor, and get under ſail; and next day, about two in the afternoon, they came up with the French, but it was ſome time longer before they could engage, becauſe of the wind dying away. The Engliſh admiral came up with M. de la Clue, in a large French firſt-rate called the Ocean, about four in the afternoon, and the engagement began in the moſt furious manner; the French, according to their uſual cuſtom, aiming all their fire at the ſails and rigging. By this method of fighting, the Namur, admiral Boſcawen's ſhip, was ſo much damaged, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the Newark; and ſoon after the Centaur, a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, ſtruck to the Engliſh.

The French admiral ſtood in for the land, which admiral Boſcawen ſeeing, ordered the America and Intrepid to go and deſtroy his ſhip; but the French admiral ſaved them the trouble: for having one of his legs broke, he got on ſhore, and then the ſhip ſtruck. Admiral Boſcawen ordered her, as ſhe was little better than a wreck, to be ſet on fire; while he burnt another, and two were brought off with very little damage; ſo that the Engliſh obtained this important victory with the loſs of only fifty-ſix men.

This was a moſt fatal blow to the French, for beſides the loſs of four capital ſhips, their two fleets were prevented from joining; but ſtill they carried on their preparations at Breſt, like broken gameſters, who, when they have borrowed a trifle, will venture all upon it. A large body of land forces, with the Iriſh brigades, were kept in readineſs in order to embark on board the tranſports; and a train of artillery was to be ſent along with them. Thurot had made his eſcape out of the harbour of Dunkirk, in order to ſail round the coaſt of Scotland, to divide our fleet, by obliging ſome of them to ſail that way; but all their projects were defeated by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke.

That brave admiral continued to block up the harbour of Breſt, with a fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line; while another ſquadron under the command of commodore Duff, cruized along the coaſt to keep the people in continual alarm, and to prevent any of their privateers putting out to ſea. The French miniſtry were out of all patience, becauſe of their fleet in Breſt lying inactive; and therefore in the month of November, poſitive orders were ſent to M. de Conflans to make an attempt to get out.

A great ſtorm ariſing on the coaſt, the Engliſh fleet were driven out to ſea, and on the tenth of November they came to an anchor in Torbay road. This gave the French admiral an opportunity of making out of the harbour, his deſign being to attack and deſtroy the ſmall ſquadron under the command of commodore Duff, and ſo prevent his junction with the grand fleet. In the mean time, the weather being more favourable, Sir Edward Hawke ſet ſail for his former ſtation, and diſpatched the Coventry and Maidſtone frigates a-head of the ſquadron to give proper ſignals of the approach of the enemy. About ten in the morning of the twentieth of November the Maidſtone gave the ſignal, upon which Sir Edward ordered all the ſhips to draw near and form a-breaſt. The enemy were juſt at that inſtant in purſuit of Duff's ſquadron; but ſeeing the Engliſh fleet, they hoiſted all the ſail they could, by which Duff had an opportunity of joining the admiral. Sir Edward ordered ſeven of the ſhips to give them chace; and, in the mean time, that no opportunity ſhould be loſt, he bore down upon them with the reſt of the fleet, keeping all the ſhips formed in the line of battle.

Future ages will read, with admiration, the conduct of the Engliſh admiral on this memorable occaſion. The coaſt was full of rocks and ſhallows, the wind was blowing towards the ſhore; he had few pilots to give him proper directions, and the enemy had a great number of land forces on board. But no fear of danger could make him neglect that duty he owed to his country; he knew that our enemies were forming ſchemes to make the Britiſh as abject ſlaves as themſelves; and therefore he was determined either to conquer or periſh in the attempt. The two fleets came up together near the iſland of Belliſle, about half an hour after two in the afternoon, and the engagement began between the van of the Engliſh and the rear of the French. The admiral in the mean time continued in purſuit of the van, and came up with the French admiral's ſhip into which he poured a broad-ſide. A large French ſhip named the Theſee, came up to the aſſiſtance of admiral Conflans ſhip the Soliel; but the Royal George, on board of which was admiral Hawke, ſunk her in an inſtant, and every perſon on board periſhed, affording a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle to thoſe who ſaw it.

The weather was very tempeſtuous, notwithſtanding which the battle was carried on with great fury; The Superb, a large French ſhip, was ſunk ſoon after the Theſee, and the Formidable ſtruck her colours. The Heros, another of the French ſhips, ſubmitted, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon; but the ſea continued running ſo high, that the boats could not get up to man her. The night coming on, the ſhattered remains of the French fleet made their eſcape, except the Soliel, in which was the admiral; but when morning came, he diſcovered that he had lain all night at anchor in the midſt of the Engliſh, and therefore ſlipped his cable to make his eſcape. Sir Edward Hawke ordered the Eſſex to purſue her; but unfortunately ſhe happened to ſtick on a ſand bank; ſo that the Vengeance, Portland, and Chatham, were ordered upon the ſame ſervice. The French admiral ſeeing no methods to be uſed in order to ſave his ſhip, got into what boats he had, and then ſet her on fire; while the Engliſh did the ſame to two large ſhips which they had driven upon the ſand banks.

Seven large ſhips of the French ſquadron were ſtill riding at anchor, which the Engliſh admiral ſeeing, ordered the fleet to weigh, but the weather being very tempeſtuous, he was a ſecond time obliged to come to an anchor. The French, ſeeing nothing leſs than immediate deſtruction before them, threw overboard all their ammunition, guns, and ſtores, and then took ſhelter in the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they were protected by ſeveral batteries erected for the purpoſe.

This was one of the moſt important victories ever obtained over the French, during the whole courſe of the war; for it diſconcerted their whole ſcheme laid for the invaſion of England, while their navy was almoſt reduced to a wreck. Nor did the brave Sir Edward Hawke leave the French coaſt till his ſovereign recalled him, in order to confer upon him ſuch honours as his merits entitled him to.

In the mean time the Engliſh were equally ſucceſsful in other parts of the globe; for in the Weſt Indies they took the valuable iſland of Guadaloupe, and the whole exterior parts of Canada on the ſouth of the river St. Laurence were alſo ſubdued.

The next great object of national importance was the reduction of the iſland of Martinico; and for that purpoſe a fleet ſailed from St. Helens under the the command of commodore Hughes, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, beſides ſeveral frigates and bomb-ketches, with tranſports, having on board ſome land forces, under the command of the generals Hopſon and Barrington. At Barbadoes they were joined by commodore Moore, who took upon him the command of the whole ſquadron; and having provided the fleet with every thing neceſſary for the undertaking, they ſet ſail on the thirteenth of January. On the ſixteenth of the ſame month the attack was made on Fort Negro, about three miles from the capital, and next day the marines landed, in order to drive the enemy from their entrenchments; but on climbing up the rock they found them all gone. Immediately, upon a ſignal given, a body of ſeamen from each ſhip landed, and hoiſted the Engliſh flag upon the parapet; while the Woolwich, Roebuck, and Wincheſter, attacked a fort near the entrance of the harbour. This battery was ſoon ſilenced, and a large magazine blown up, while the three ſhips kept up a conſtant fire, in order to cover the flat-bottomed boats. The ſcheme of landing the marines at one part of the iſland, and the reſt of the forces at another, was of conſiderable advantage; for the enemy being afraid that they ſhould be encloſed between two fires, ſhut themſelves up in Port Royal, the citadel, and ſuffered the Engliſh troops to land without oppoſition.

When general Hopſon had advanced a few miles up the country, he found it impracticable to proceed farther, unleſs the commodore would ſend to his aſſiſtance ſome of the heavy artillery, and at the ſame time attack the fort from the bay. Accordingly he ſent to acquaint the commodore, who immediately landed the heavy artillery, which were drawn up to the general by the ſeamen inſtead of horſes, while the ſquadron came to an anchor. The general called a council of war, to enquire whether it was practicable to attack the fort of Port Royal; but the majority being of a contrary opinion, the forces were re-embarked, with a view of landing at St. Piere; and the fleet, with the tranſports, ſet ſail for that part of the iſland; but the attempt miſcarried, though it ſucceeded ſome time after.

In North America, many of the Engliſh groaned under the moſt cruel oppreſſion; for the French had in the moſt infamous manner, ſtirred up moſt of the Indian nations to deſtroy thoſe who lived on the borders of our ſettlements. The barbarities committed by theſe ſavages were the moſt horrid that could be imagined; and compaſſion for the diſtreſſed induced our miniſtry to employ agents to enter into a treaty with the Indians. For this purpoſe a congreſs was held at Eaſton, near one hundred miles from Philadelphia; wherein it was agreed, that fifteen Indian nations ſhould become the allies of Great Britain, and that they and our army ſhould mutually defend each other.

This was one of the wiſeſt meaſures that could have been thought of; for no ſooner was it concluded, than the Indians agreed to go along with our forces, and attack the French in ſuch of their ſettlements as were not then conquered in Canada. The army, employed in this important ſervice, was divided into three parts; the firſt of which, under the command of general Amherſt, croſſed Lake George, without meeting with any oppoſition.

The firſt place he approached was the important paſs of Ticonderago; but the French abandoned it, and fled towards Canada. General Amherſt ordered ſuch parts of the fortifications as the French had deſtroyed, to be rebuilt, and put the place in a much better condition than ever it had been in before; and there he learned that the French had abandoned Crown Point, ſo that nothing but victory attended the Britiſh arms. The general ſent a party of men to take poſſeſſion of it, and to fortify it in the ſtrongeſt manner; becauſe, in conſequence of doing ſo, the Indians in the French intereſt, would be prevented from coming down in ſcalping parties to commit the moſt horrid barbarities.

A party of French, who had not been able to keep up with the main body, retired to an iſland in Lake Champlain; and as there was reaſon to fear that they would plunder the neighbouring inhabitants on the continent, general Amherſt ordered a ſloop of ſixteen guns to be built, and gave the command thereof to captain Loring; but the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, and the weather ſo very tempeſtuous, he could not proceed on the Lake, and the general returned to Crown Point.

While general Amherſt was at Crown Point he received intelligence that Sir William Johnſon, who commanded a party of Indians, had been joined by general Prideaux, and that they were on their march towards Niagra. There they attacked the French fort; but general Prideaux was unfortunately killed by the burſting of a ſhell, while he was taking a view of the trenches. Sir William Johnſon took the command upon him till the arrival of general Gage, and then the ſiege was carried on with great vigour. The French were ſo much alarmed with the apprehenſion of loſing a fort that would open a new way for the Engliſh, that they ſent a body of twelve hundred regulars, under the command of M. de Aubry, to aſſiſt thoſe that were in the garriſon.

Sir William Johnſon having intelligence that they were approaching the place, reſolved to give them battle; and therefore, leaving a ſmall party to conduct the ſiege, he came up with them near the borders of a wood, and a deſperate engagement enſued. In leſs than an hour, victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, and the French general, with the greateſt part of his men, were killed; for the Indians, who had concealed themſelves in the wood, galled them in the ſevereſt manner. Seventeen officers were taken priſoners, a liſt of which Sir William ſent to the French governor of the fort, requeſting him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to attempt holding out any longer. The governor, conſcious that he could not defend himſelf much longer, agreed to capitulate; and the articles being drawn, the garriſon were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war. They were then ſent to Newark, in order to embark for France; and as for the women, with the ſick and wounded, they were treated in the moſt humane and compaſſionate manner.

But the great object ſtill in view by the Engliſh was the complete conqueſt of Canada; for although they had ravaged moſt of the country, yet the towns ſtill held out for the French. It was an attempt of the moſt hazardous nature, but nothing ſeemed too difficult for our troops, who had carried conqueſt before them through every country where they happened to engage.

The fleet deſtined to execute this enterprize, ſailed from Portſmouth in February under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes; but when they had got within ſight of Cape Breton, they were obliged to ſteer away towards Hallifax, the harbour being frozen over. In the mean time, admiral Durell was detached, with a ſmall ſquadron, to the river St. Laurence; there to cruize, and prevent the garriſon of Quebec from receiving ſtores.

Admiral Saunders, having taken in freſh proviſions, and embarked the land forces, ſailed up the river St. Laurence. The commander in chief of the forces was general Wolfe, and under him were the generals Monckton, Townſend, and Murray, young gentlemen of approved abilities, and brought up to all the hardſhips of a military life. About the latter end of June the forces were landed on the iſle of Orleans, a little below Quebec; where the general cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed, intimating, that the king of Great Britain, his ſovereign, had fitted out a fleet and an army to reduce all the French ſettlements in North America; but that no injury ſhould be done to the peaceable inhabitants, who ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and to follow their ſecular employments.

No declaration made by one who came in an hoſtile manner, could be more replete with ſentiments of humanity; but the Romiſh prieſts had ſo prepoſſeſſed the people againſt the Engliſh, that they looked upon our army as a body of heathens devoted to deſtruction. Such of the ſtraggling parties of our forces as happened to leave the main army, were murdered by theſe moſt wretched bigots. Upon which the brave general Wolfe ſent a letter to the French commander, requeſting that he would iſſue orders to the Canadians and Indians to deſiſt from ſuch practices, as were contrary to the laws of war, and a diſgrace to humanity. He added, that unleſs his requeſt was complied with, he ſhould find himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of making repriſals, and treating all thoſe who fell into his hands in the ſame manner as the Britiſh ſubjects had been treated by the Indians. M. de Montcalm, the French general, though a brave ſoldier, yet having received poſitive orders from his court not to ſhew any mercy to the Engliſh, refuſed to return any anſwer to general Wolfe's letter; upon which, contrary to his natural ſentiments of humanity, he was obliged, though very unwillingly, to ſuffer the ſoldiers to commit ſome very irregular actions.

The ſituation of Quebec made it eaſy for the French to fortify it in the ſtrongeſt manner, and the garriſon was well ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions. At the ſame time, M. de Montcalm had under his command a large body of regulars, ſo that the taking of the place ſeemed next to impoſſible: but the confidence which the general had in his troops, and his martial genius, which ſeemed ſuperior to every thing, induced him to begin the hazardous enterprize, bidding defiance to all dangers, for the ſake of military glory, and the love of his country.

Point Levi, near Quebec, was fortified with a train of artillery; and as the taking of that place was of great importance, general Wolfe ordered general Monckton to advance towards it in the night with four battalions, and next morning it was taken. The Engliſh erected a battery upon it; upon which the French general ſent a body of ſixteen hundred men to diſlodge them, but they fell into ſuch confuſion, that they fired on each other, while the Engliſh played off their artillery with ſo much ſucceſs, that great part of the town was reduced to aſhes.

In the mean time, the Engliſh fleet ſuffered conſiderably, in conſequence of a dreadful ſtorm, which drove the ſhips againſt each other, and ſeveral of the tranſports were daſhed in pieces. The French general, who beheld this diſaſter, ordered ſome fire-ſhips to be ſent in among the Engliſh tranſports; but the Engliſh admiral diſconcerted his ſcheme, by ordering the ſeamen to board them; and then being towed to land, they were all ſet on fire. A ſecond attempt of the like nature was made, but it was attended with the ſame conſequences, for they were burnt like the others. General Wolfe found it neceſſary to make himſelf as well acquainted with the river St. Laurence as poſſible; and therefore colonel Charlton was ordered to land at a place called Point au Tremble, in order to make what diſcoveries he could, and, if poſſible, to bring off ſome priſoners, by which the deſigns of the enemy might be known. Theſe orders the colonel obeyed, while general Townſhend prevented the French from erecting a battery near the mouth of the river Montmorenci, where they intended to cannonade the Engliſh; and this was done by keeping up a continual fire.

The water was too ſhallow for the men of war to come up to the beach; but, to remedy that misfortune, the admiral ordered two tranſports to be got ready, and to be run on ſhore, by which he propoſed taking the advanced redoubt. By ſuch means as theſe, the forces were landed; and the grenadiers were ſo impatient to diſlodge the French from their entrenchments, that they ran on in the moſt irregular manner, without minding the orders they had received. The enemy kept up ſuch a cloſe fire, that the grenadiers were obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the redoubt, which had been abandoned by the French; and the general finding the night coming on, ordered

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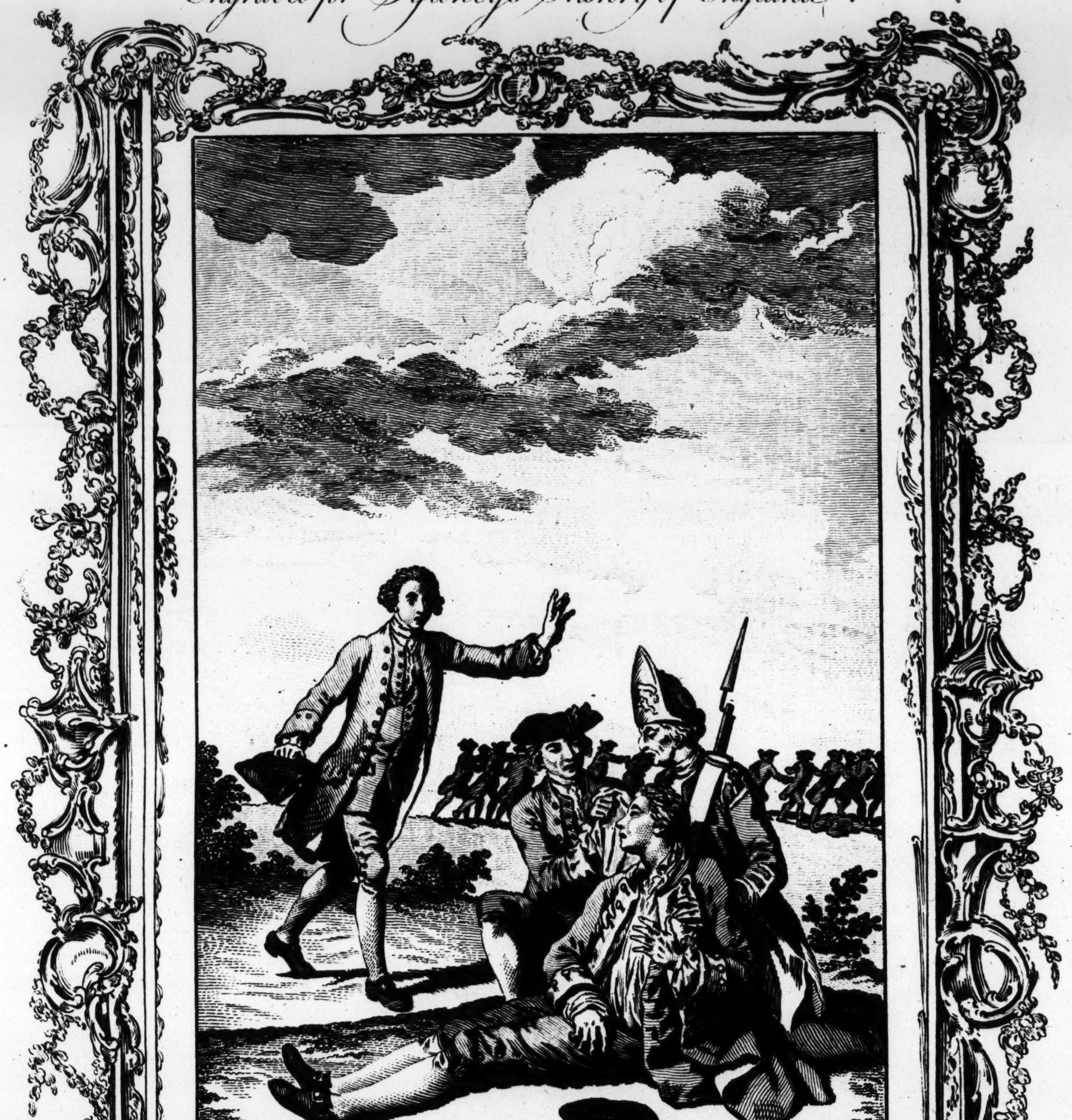


Wale del. Grignion sculp.

**GENERAL WOLFE**

*Expiring in the Arms of a Grenadier & Volunteer at the Siege of Quebec.*

them to retreat to the camp at Montmorenci; while the admiral, who was afraid leſt the two tranſports which had been run aſhore ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy, ordered them to be ſet on fire. The retreat of the grenadiers diſcouraged the general ſo much, eſpecially as five hundred men had been killed, beſides a great number of officers, that he was determined to make one bold effort; and, for that purpoſe, general Murray was ſent to a place called Chambaud, where he burnt a large magazine of proviſions and ammunition belonging to the French. The fatigues which the brave general Wolfe had lately undergone, had ſuch an effect on his conſtitution, that he was forced to keep his bed for ſeveral days; and, in the mean time, deſired the other generals to make the moſt neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the place, that the diſpute might be finally terminated. It was their opinion, that it would be beſt to land ſuch of the forces as were yet on board, about three miles above the town, and ſo bring on the enemy to a general engagement: but this meaſure being found impracticable, they were landed a little below the town, in the middle of the night: for although ſeveral of them had landed before, yet they had been obliged to re-embark. General Wolfe was one of the firſt that ſet foot on ſhore; and the general diſembarkation was covered and protected by admiral Holmes, who kept hovering on the coaſt while the boats glided along. They had a riſing ground to aſcend, called Mount Abraham, and about the middle of it was a guard of French ſoldiers; but colonel How, with a party of highlanders, drove them from it, and made way for the army to aſcend the hill. The French general had marked out a ſtrong camp, and actually taken poſſeſſion of it; but no ſooner did he learn that the Engliſh had aſcended the hill, than he reſolved to give them battle.

In the mean time, general Wolfe ſeeing that the French were approaching to attack him, ordered the line to be formed, giving the command of the right to general Monckton, and that of the left to general Murray: the center was commanded by himſelf; and about nine in the morning the engagement began. Soon after the firſt or ſecond firings were over, general Wolfe, who was ſtationed in the hotteſt part of the battle, received a wound in his wriſt; but pulling a handkerchief out of his pocket, wrapped it round his hand, and continued to advance at the head of the grenadiers, without the leaſt emotion, as if inſenſible of any thing but his duty.

The French met the Engliſh grenadiers with great fury. General Wolfe, in puſhing forward, received a mortal wound in his breaſt, and, like Epaminondas, loſt his valuable life at a time when victory had declared for him. The critical moment was now arrived; for the general being killed, no time was to be loſt, leſt the troops ſhould have been diſpirited: and general Townſhend being the next in command, haſtened to the center, where he ſoon found that a party of two thouſand French were on the point of attacking him in the rear. Theſe, however, were afraid to advance, thinking it more prudent to retire among the woods.

The French now gave way, after above eight hundred had been killed; and M. de Montcalm finding himſelf mortally wounded, juſt before he died, wrote a letter to general Townſhend, recommending to his humanity and compaſſion the poor priſoners and the wounded. The next in command under him ſhared the ſame fate; for being mortally wounded, he was carried on board one of our ſhips of war, but expired within a few hours after.

The brave general Wolfe, of whom the nation had formed the greateſt hopes, expired ſoon after the victory. Being told of the ſucceſs of his forces, he ſaid to thoſe who attended him, "Then (thank God) "I die contented." To do juſtice to all ranks of people, it muſt be acknowledged that the loſs of this brave officer was ſincerely lamented. He was only in his thirty-ſecond year, but crowned with military glory in ſuch a manner, that his name will be tranſmitted to poſterity with honour; while other young gentlemen, in ſucceeding ages, will be ſtimulated to emulate ſo ſhining a character. A noble monument has been erected for him in Weſtminſter-abbey. But his actions will immortalize his name, when the moſt ſolid marble ſhall have crumbled into duſt.

The generals and admirals being now in poſſeſſion of every thing but the town, they thought it more prudent to accept of propoſals to capitulate than to undergo the hardſhips of a ſiege; ſo that the garriſon were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war. By the articles of capitulation it was granted, that the people ſhould enjoy the free uſe and exerciſe of the Romiſh religion, and all epiſcopal offices, in the ſame manner as when under the French government, till ſuch time as the war was over; and that they ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as if they had been originally ſubjects of Great-Britain. The Engliſh having taken poſſeſſion of the gates, general Townſhend gave the command of the town to general Murray, with a garriſon of five thouſand men; and ſet ſail, with admiral Saunders, for Europe. General Monkton, who had been dangerouſly wounded in the battle, was ſent to New-York, where he happily recovered.

In the Eaſt-Indies, the affairs of the Engliſh began to wear a favourable aſpect: for the admirals Corniſh and Pocock defeated a large ſquadron of men of war, and obliged them to take ſhelter in the iſland of Mauritius, to refit. The Dutch, ever ſelfiſh and mercenary, continued to ſupply the French with proviſions; for they ſeldom pay the leaſt regard to any thing beſides money, the means uſed in procuring it being little attended to. Under pretence that our men of war had given them ſome affront, the Dutch governor of Batavia ordered ſome of our merchantmen to be ſeized; and captain Wilſon, in the Calcutta Indiaman, having demanded ſatisfaction, the Dutch commodore threatened to ſink him if he did not immediately retire. As captain Wilſon knew that it would be very imprudent in him to engage with force ſo ſuperior, he returned to Calcutta, and told colonel Clive in what manner he had been treated. There being two other Eaſt-Indiamen lying there at the ſame time, the colonel ordered them to attack the Dutch commodore. Accordingly a ſmart engagement enſued, in which two of the Dutch ſhips were obliged to bear away, a third was driven on ſhore, and four ſtruck their flags. Colonel Coote, who had been ſent in the beginning of this year from England, carried on the war with very great ſucceſs on the coaſt of Coromandel, where he defeated general Lally, reduced ſeveral ſtrong forts which the French had erected, and concluded the year with honour to himſelf, while the intereſt of the nation was promoted.

In Germany, the war was carried on with various ſucceſs. The king of Pruſſia was ſo ſurrounded by enemies on all hands, that it was imagined he would be ſwallowed up; but perſeverance enabled him to ſurmount every difficulty. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who commanded the allied army, had been conſiderably reinforced by freſh troops from England; and on the thirteenth of April, he came within ſight of the French, commanded by marſhal Broglio, at Bergen, a ſmall village in the neighbourhood of Frankfort. No general could have done more than prince Ferdinand in order to procure victory; but ſuch was the ſituation of the French, that although he attacked them three different times, yet he was, in the end, obliged to retreat, but did it in ſuch excellent order, that the French were not able to purſue him. This action was a ſevere ſtroke to the allied army, who were greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; while the French, who had taken the city of Gottingen, enjoyed them in great plenty, and were every day marching farther into the electorate of Hanover, exacting of the inhabitants heavy contributions.

It was now become, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary for the allies to venture on an engagement, otherwiſe the French would have once more made good their winter quarters in Hanover. The French general had made himſelf maſter of the city of Minden, and ordered a camp to be formed in its neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Ferdinand, whoſe army lay encamped at Peterſhagen, acted with ſo much prudence, and diſplayed ſuch military ſkill, that the French could not perceive, from his motions, whether he intended to advance or retreat.

He had received advice, that a large convoy of proviſions was coming from Paderborn for the uſe of the French, and he deſigned, if poſſible, to prevent its joining the army. At the ſame time, he made as if he intended to divide his forces, and this led the French generals into a ſnare. The duke de Broglio marched, in order to attack general Wangenheim; but when he came to the top of an eminence, he was ſurpriſed to ſee the whole of prince Ferdinand's army drawn up in the order of battle.

It was now too late to think of retiring; for on one ſide was the river Weſer, and on the other a deep moraſs, both ſtrongly guarded by the allies; ſo that the French were in great danger of being ſurrounded. The engagement was begun by the French cavalry, who came upon the Engliſh infantry with great fury. Nothing could equal the courage of the Engliſh on this occaſion; for although they were only aſſiſted by a ſmall party of the Hanoverian army, yet they cut in pieces two bodies of the French horſe who had repeatedly attempted to break through them. The Engliſh regiments of Walgrave and Kingſley cut in pieces two French battaſions who attempted to ſupport the horſe; upon which the center of the French army being broken, and the reſt beginning to retreat, prince Ferdinand ſent an expreſs order to lord George Sackville, who commanded the Engliſh horſe, to come up at full gallop; but a miſunderſtanding having, for ſome time, ſubſiſted between the prince and lord George, the latter did not come up in time to ſhare in the glory of the victory. Had the Engliſh cavalry come up in time, the French would have been totally routed; but, by this fatal miſunderſtanding, they made good their retreat in tolerable order, the Engliſh not being able to haraſs their rear without the aſſiſtance of the horſe. As the glory of this victory was chiefly owing to the courage and bravery of the Engliſh, ſo the prince did not neglect to acknowledge it, and only regretted that the marquis of Granby had not commanded the horſe.

Great rejoicings were made in England when the news of this important victory arrived: but the ſpirits of the people were damped when they conſidered that the conduct of their own general had prevented it from being deciſive. Lord George Sackville, whoſe conduct expoſed him to great cenſure, left the army, and returned to England, where he was, by his majeſty's orders, ſtripped of all his employments, and the command of the Britiſh forces conferred on the brave marquis of Granby, a young nobleman, who, to the moſt extenſive benevolence, joined the moſt undaunted courage, and was obeyed by the ſoldiers from motives of love rather than fear.

The French were ſo much incenſed at their loſs of this memorable battle, that the marſhal de Belleiſle, who was at the head of the war department, loſt the whole of his reputation, while the duke de Broglio and the marſhal de Contades mutually upbraided each other. Broglio, who had gone to Paris in order to vindicate his own character, took care to repreſent that of M. de Contades in ſuch an odious light, that the latter was recalled, and the former inveſted with the chief command, partly by the intrigues of madam Pompadour, and partly by the antipathy his ſovereign had conceived againſt him.

When Broglio returned to the camp, the ſeaſon was too far advanced for action; but notwithſtanding, he reſolved to attack prince Ferdinand's lines, who was well prepared to receive him. In that, however, he miſcarried, and was obliged to return to his camp, leaving the prince at full liberty to ſecure all his cantonments, while the army went into winter-quarters.

The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, whoſe military glory was now beginning to ſhine in the moſt conſpicuous light, had been detached, at the head of a party, into Saxony, in order to ſecond the operations of the king of Pruſſia, and, during the time he was there, he behaved not only with courage, but alſo diſplayed ſuch conſummate knowledge as ſurpriſed all Europe.

On the fourteenth of November, both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, by commiſſion, and the lord-keeper informed the members, that his majeſty had called them together in order that all public affairs ſhould be laid before them; that their advice ſhould be taken in every thing of importance; and that they might beſtow ſome marks of their favour on thoſe generals and admirals who, during the ſummer, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves with ſo much honour. He added, that nothing could give him greater pleaſure than to ſee the public tranquillity reſtored; but that he would never make peace on terms which were diſhonourable. He rejoiced to find that his beloved ſubjects lived in harmony under his government; and aſſured the commons, that although great ſums of money had been granted for carrying on the war, yet none of them had been appropriated to private purpoſes, but the whole laid out in the uſes for which they were deſigned. He concluded by recommending to them the general ſtate of Europe, ſo far as the flames of war had been lighted, that all theſe nations had their eyes fixed upon them; and that he doubted not but they would contribute in the moſt liberal manner towards ſupporting the army and navy. Dutiful and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, and a perfect union took place between the miniſtry and the parliament.

Two of the royal family of Great-Britain died towards the cloſe of this year. The princeſs of Orange, eldeſt daughter to his majeſty king George II. died at the Hague, after a lingering illneſs that had confined her ſome months. She was a lady of extraordinary talents, and, as guardian for her ſon, ſhe ruled with ſpirit and prudence. Beſides the Latin, ſhe was well acquainted with French, Spaniſh, Italian, and Low Dutch, and her leiſure hours were ſpent in the company of learned men; ſo that, in moſt things, the princeſs was a ſtriking image of her royal mother. The other branch of the royal family that paid the debt of nature, was the princeſs Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of his royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales, a young lady of an engaging aſpect, and the moſt agreeable manners.

A. D. 1760. The firſt thing that engages our attention this year, is the proceedings of parliament, which were in all things ſatisfactory to the miniſtry. Seventy thouſand men were allowed for the ſervice of the royal navy, and three millions, ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds, were granted for maintaining them. It is unneceſſary to mention all the particulars which were taken into conſideration during this ſeſſion of parliament; but certain it is, nothing was aſked by the miniſtry that the commons refuſed. They granted a ſupply of fifteen millions, three thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three pounds, fifteen ſhillings and nine-pence halfpenny; more than could have been raiſed by any nation beſides Britain: but however enormous, yet it was no more than what was neceſſary. The militia were this year raiſed in ſeveral counties, and put under proper regulations; ſo that there was no reaſon to fear that the internal peace of the kingdom would be diſturbed.

The commons took into conſideration the ſtatute of the ninth of queen Anne, by which it is enacted, that no perſon ſhall be elected a knight of the ſhire, unleſs he is poſſeſſed of ſix hundred pounds per ann. nor any one returned to ſerve as a burgeſs, unleſs he had three hundred. It ſeems that this act, however ſalutary, and calculated to promote the intereſt of the people, by ſupporting the dignity of parliament, had been proſtituted to the baſeſt purpoſes. Methods had been found out to elude the force of it, and many perſons had procured ſeats in the houſe of commons who were not qualified according to law.

To remedy an evil of ſo dangerous a nature, a bill was brought in, and paſſed both houſes, by which it is enacted, that every perſon duly elected ſhall, previous to his taking the oaths, deliver in to the clerk a true eſtimate of his eſtate, and that ſhall be left to be inſpected by any member who chuſes, and the newly elected member ſhall ſwear to the truth of the contents.

Several other acts paſſed, particularly one for the regulation of the payment of prize-money due to ſeamen, which before had been left to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners of the navy. A bill was brought in, and paſſed, for regulating weights and meaſures, and proper proviſion was made for raiſing the ſums granted to his majeſty. After which, the parliament was prorogued by commiſſion.

We have ſeen, in our account of laſt year's tranſactions, that, notwithſtanding the vigilance of commodore Boys, yet M. de Thurot had made his eſcape out of the harbour of Dunkirk with five ſhips, having on board, beſides ſeamen, above twelve hundred land forces. Proceeding to the northward, he entered the Baltic, and ſailed to Gottenburgh, where having taken in freſh proviſions, he returned, and anchored at Bergen, in Norway; for his deſign was to amuſe the Engliſh, and, if poſſible, keep his real intentions hid from them.

The weather, as is uſual in the northern ſeas, had been very ſtormy; and one of the ſhips in Thurot's ſquadron was ſeparated from the reſt, and obliged to return to France. With the four remaining ſhips, M. de Thurot ſailed from Bergen on the fifth of December 1759; and having paſſed the Orkneys, he got among the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, on one of which he landed on the ſixteenth of January this year. There he procured ſome live cattle, with other ſorts of freſh proviſions, and then ſet ſail for the north of Ireland. His deſign was to have got into the harbour of Derry; but a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, another of his ſhips was driven off, and he never ſaw her afterwards, though it appears that ſhe got ſafe back to France. At laſt they came to an anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and the ſame day the land forces were put on ſhore; but many of them were reduced to the moſt wretched condition by ſickneſs and bad proviſions.

The number of able men who bore arms amounted to little more than ſix hundred; and lieutenant Hall went off, with a party of men, to make proper obſervations on them, for as yet it was not known whether they were friends or enemies. Finding there was little doubt of their being French forces, he gave orders to his non-commiſſioned officers to take care that the enemy did not get round them to attack them in flank or rear; and then he returned to the town, and informed lieutenant-colonel Jennings.

The colonel ordered the gates and paſſes leading to the town to be blocked up and barricadoed with ſuch materials as could be procured. In the mean time, the French came up to the gates, but were repulſed by a ſmall number of Strode's regiment, moſt of whom had not been three months in the ſervice. It is probable that the place would not have been taken, had not there been a ſcarcity of ammunition; ſo that the parties at the gates were obliged to retreat, and take ſhelter in the caſtle. This gave the enemy an opportunity of getting in, and drawing up in the market-place; upon which it was found abſolutely neceſſary to capitulate, and the garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. It was ſtipulated, that no injury ſhould be done to the town; but the magiſtrates having neglected, or rather being unable to furniſh the French with freſh proviſions, the town was put under military execution, and great exceſſes were committed.

An expreſs having been ſent to the duke of Bedford, at that time lord deputy of Ireland, he diſpatched a meſſenger to captain Elliot at Kinſale, who immediately hoiſted his flag on board the Æolus, having with him the Pallas and Brilliant; and on the twenty-ſixth of February, he got ſight of the enemy, who had embarked their land forces, in order to return to France. He came up with them near the Iſle of Man, and a moſt deſperate engagement enſued, which laſted an hour and a half; but at laſt the brave Thurot was killed, and his ſhips ſtruck to captain Elliot.

In America, during the courſe of this year, the French ſpirited up ſume of the ſouthern Indians againſt the Engliſh; and a company of theſe barbarians formed a ſcheme to murder Mr. Atkins, who ſuperintended our commerce; and, to add to the attrociouſneſs of the crime, it was intended to have been committed while Mr. Atkins was engaged in a conference with them. One of the Indians, in the moſt cowardly manner, laying hold of a tomahawk, ſtruck Mr. Atkins on the head; but not having killed him, ſtruck a ſecond time, and miſſing his aim, wounded the clerk. It was neceſſary that an act of ſo atracious a nature ſhould not eſcape unnoticed; and therefore Mr. Atkins having diſpatched an expreſs to general Amherſt, that officer detached twelve hundred men to South-Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, now earl of Eglington, whoſe courage had ſhone conſpicuouſly on many former occaſions ſince the commencement of the war. In the month of June, he arrived at Charles-Town, and from thence proceeded to the Twelve Mile River, which he croſſed about the latter end of that month. He encamped the forces on a riſing ground, from whence he had a proſpect of the country: and being determined to ſurpriſe the enemy, he left a ſufficient number of men to take care of the tents, and with the reſt marched through the woods, till he came to an Indian town called Little Keowee, where the Indians fired upon him; but the Engliſh ſoldiers ruſhing in, put every one of them to the ſword. From thence the colonel marched to another Indian town, called Eſtatoe, conſiſting of about two hundred families; and they having abandoned their houſes, he ordered every one of them to be ſet on fire, after having ſeized on all the proviſions, and every thing of value.

The ſoldiers having found the body of an Engliſhman, who had been barbarouſly murdered by the Indians, it exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to ſet no bounds to their reſentment. Accordingly, for ſome time, every priſoner taken by them was immediately put to death: and although humanity may blame their conduct in that affair, yet it was, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary, where they had to engage with ſavages, who paid no regard to the law of nations, and upon whoſe minds nothing leſs than terror would make any impreſſion.

As it was not the intention of colonel Montgomery to ſpread deſolation every where, he rather choſe to enter into a treaty with them; and, for that purpoſe, an Indian, named Makullakulla, and more commonly known by the name of the Little Carpenter, was given to underſtand, that peace would be granted them on proper terms. The Little Carpenter was always a friend to the Engliſh, and diſapproved of the conduct of his countrymen when they took up arms; ſo that no perſon was conſidered as more proper to negotiate an affair of ſuch importance.

The Little Carpenter left nothing undone to perſuade his countrymen, the Cherokees, to accommodate matters with the Engliſh; but not being able to perſuade them to hearken to the voice of reaſon, the colonel continued his operations, and marched into the interior part of the country. As he was obliged to march through a wood, the Indians fired upon his men in ſo fierce a manner from behind the thickets, that captain Morriſon was killed, and part of the army obliged to give way. This diſaſter, however was ſoon overcome by the arrival of the grenadiers and light infantry, who puſhed forwards till they came to a riſing ground, from whence they diſcovered a body of the Indians encamped in the moſt ſecure manner. They attacked them with their bayonets at the head of their muſkets, and having forced them to give way, purſued them into the woods; and then the colonel continued his march till he came to the Indian town Etchowee, from whence all the inhabitants had fled; ſo that there was plenty of proviſions for the men, beſides ſeveral things of value, for they were permitted to plunder.

In the latter end of July, colonel Montgomery, after having undergone many hardſhips, and loſt about ſeventy men, arrived at fort Prince George, where the fatigued ſoldiers were permitted to refreſh themſelves ſeveral weeks. In the mean time, the Indians attacked Fort Loudon, on the confines of Virginia; and the garriſon not being able to hold out, were obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. It is remarkable in the North-American ſavages, contrary to the practice of heathens in general, that they never pay any regard to the faith of treaties. Thus, when the garriſon of Fort Loudon were on their march to Carolina, they were ſurpriſed by a body of the Cherokees, who maſſacred all the officers, except captain Stewart, and killed twenty-five of the private men, the reſt being made priſoners, and ſent into the heart of the country, where they were treated in the moſt cruel and inhuman manner, contrary to the articles of capitulation, by which it had been agreed that no hurt ſhould be done to them.

The Little Carpenter, who ſeems to have been endowed with all thoſe qualities which are neceſſary to conſtitute the character of a great man, generouſly laid down all he had in the world for the ranſom of captain Stewart; and that officer having been conducted to Holſton river, met with major Lewis, who had advanced ſo far at the head of a party of Virginians.

In North-America, during this year, the war was carried on with great vigour, and, at the ſame time, with equal ſucceſs. The Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of all Canada, except the town of Montreal, and ſome other forts on the river St. Laurence; and the chevalier de Levit, who commanded the French forces in thoſe parts, reſolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. General Murray, who had been left commander of that place, received notice of the approach of the enemy; and finding that they had landed, he ordered all the bridges to be broken down, and the roads rendered almoſt impaſſable. Next day the general began his march to meet them; but they retreated at his approach, upon which he returned to Quebec. Upon his retreat, the enemy, amounting to near twelve thouſand, including the ſavages, having recovered their ſpirits, wheeled about, and marched towards Quebec: upon which general Murray, notwithſtanding the inferiority of his numbers, reſolved to give them battle. Accordingly he marched out, and a moſt bloody engagement enſued; but the French were ſo numerous, that general Murray was obliged to retreat, and take ſhelter within the walls of Quebec, which he determined to hold out to the laſt extremity. On the firſt of May, the enemy began to cannonade the place; but the garriſon made ſuch a vigorous defence, that ſeveral of the enemy's batteries were ſilenced, while the firing of the others continued to ſlacken gradually: but, notwithſtanding, there is reaſon to believe that the garriſon would have been obliged to ſurrender, had not lord Colville come to their aſſiſtance. That nobleman having ſailed from Hallifax, met with great oppoſition, by reaſon of the vaſt ſhoals of ice which blocked up the river, and the thick fogs, which, during that ſeaſon, are very dangerous to the ſhipping. At laſt, through innumerable difficulties, he was enabled to ſend a veſſel into the harbour of Quebec, to inform the general that the fleet was making way to aſſiſt him. On the fifteenth of May, commodore Swanton arrived with the firſt diviſion of the ſquadron; and next morning, in conſequence of orders from the general, he attacked the French veſſels which lay above the town, and deſtroyed ſeveral of them. This was a moſt mortifying ſtroke to the French army; and, in conſequence thereof, they raiſed the ſiege, leaving behind them all their artillery and proviſions. As ſoon as general Murray found that they had retreated, he drew out the garriſon, in order to haraſs them in the rear; but they had croſſed a river, ſo that it was not judged prudent to purſue them any farther.

During the whole of this year, general Amherſt, commander in chief of the army in America, left nothing undone to ſupport the honour and intereſt of his country; and all thoſe officers and ſoldiers who fought under him, acted in ſuch a manner, that many of the Indians were brought over to our intereſt, and became our allies.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in America, the French and the allied army continued ſkirmiſhing with each other in Germany; and although no general could have behaved with greater courage, or diſplayed more ſhining qualities, than prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, yet the country had been ſo much exhauſted, that his army was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, burning for military glory, boldly attacked a large party of the French at Corbach, and would have totally defeated them, had not freſh reinforcements come up to their aſſiſtance. This obliged the prince to retreat; but within a few days afterwards, he engaged another party of the French, and, by the aſſiſtance of Elliot's light horſe, five battalions were made priſoners of war. At the ſame time, their military cheſt fell into the hands of the allies, with all their arms and ammunition: and, what was moſt remarkable, this victory was wholly owing to the bravery of a new regiment of light horſe, compoſed of young recruits who had never before ſeen an engagement.

Prince Ferdinand, who was much better acquainted with the country than any of the French generals, haraſſed their army in detached parties; and at laſt found himſelf under the neceſſity of coming to an engagement at a place called Warbourg, where the French were totally defeated; ſo that a communication was opened between Hanover, Weſtphalia, and the allied army.

In leſs than a week after this engagement, the hereditary prince ſet out on an expedition, with a choſen body of light troops; and, in the moſt courageous manner, beat up the French quarters, and drove them from Dymel with great ſlaughter.

In the eaſtern part of Germany, the king of Pruſſia was in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation; but his brother prince Henry, one of the moſt accompliſhed generals of the age, acted with ſuch prudence and circumſpection, that he contributed, in a great meaſure, towards retarding the progreſs of the Ruſſians, who, by this time, had made an irruption into the province of Sileſia, and were ſpreading devaſtation wherever they came, without regard to age or ſex, or any other diſtinction.

The Pruſſian monarch was every where engaged; for no ſooner had he defeated one party of the enemy, than another ſtarted up; while count Daun, who watched all his motions, continued to haraſs his rear whenever his army ſtruck their tents. This brought on a general engagement near Torgau, on the banks of the Elbe, which gave a new turn to the affairs of Europe, and was attended with conſequences of the moſt important nature.

Marſhal Daun was fluſhed with ſucceſs: he looked upon the king of Pruſſia as one devoted to deſtruction, and imagined that one action more would totally ruin him. But nothing is more uncertain than the fate of generals and armies, nor are any in ſo much danger as thoſe who look upon their enemy with contempt. The king of Pruſſia was now almoſt deſperate; he had no where to turn himſelf, without meeting with one enemy or another to oppoſe him: his hereditary dominions were in a manner ruined, his moſt important forts were taken from him, and therefore, with the ſame preſence of mind that had ſupported him under all his difficulties, he ventured upon an engagement.

Marſhal Daun had drawn up his army in the moſt excellent order; but notwithſtanding that, the king of Pruſſia ventured to attack him on the third day of November, about two in the afternoon. The Auſtrians exerted themſelves with great bravery; but the perſeverance of the Pruſſians obliged them to give way, and count Daun found himſelf under the neceſſity of retreating towards Bohemia, after he had loſt a great number of his men.

Thus the Pruſſians were left in poſſeſſion of the field, and a communication was opened between their different parties, ſo that they could occaſionally aſſiſt each other. Indeed, of all the victories gained by the king of Pruſſia, this was the moſt important; for had he been defeated, he would have been totally ruined. He was like one who had his way to work through walls, redoubts, and enchantments; but by his conduct on this ever memorable day, he ſet himſelf, as it were, at liberty, and even became greater than ever. His army received freſh ſupplies, proviſions were brought to them in great plenty; and although many of his ſoldiers were only raw young fellows, yet the conduct of their ſovereign operated ſo ſtrongly on their minds, that nothing ſeemed too difficult for them.

While the public affairs were conducting in this manner, while the Britiſh arms were crowned with ſucceſs in every part of the world where they were engaged, her triumphs were in ſome meaſure damped by the loſs of that perſon whoſe preſence gave life to them. The venerable George the ſecond, who had been bleſſed with a longer life than any king of England ſince the Norman conqueſt, was on the morning of the twenty-fifth of October, ſeized with a fit in his palace at Kenſington, and expired without either pangs or convulſions. His majeſty had got up at his uſual hour, and having drank a diſh of chocolate, he enquired of the page concerning the weather, being anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails. He then ſignified his intention of walking in the garden; but had ſcarce uttered the words when he fell down, and before his daughter, the princeſs Amelia, could come to aſſiſt him, according to his deſire, he died in the arms of his ſervants.

His majeſty was in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, well ſhaped, of a middling ſtature, and a bright countenance. In his natural temper as a man, he was apt to be paſſionate and haſty; but in his public conduct, no prince acted with more deliberation and coolneſs. In all his intentions he appears to have been ſincere; for when he entered into any public treaty, nothing could induce him to recede from his engagements. The ſervants in his houſhold, particularly thoſe who were more immediately about his perſon, were ſeldom changed, they lived to have grey hairs like their royal maſter. From this circumſtance we may infer, that whatever he was in his private character as a man of a paſſionate diſpoſition, yet notwithſtanding he muſt have been a good maſter. That he was a tender and an indulgent parent, is evident from the whole of his behaviour to his children; and to his royal conſort, who, indeed, was an ornament to her ſex. In public, with reſpect to party diſputes, the king was, during the firſt years of his reign, ſtrongly attached to a miniſter whoſe converſation he delighted in, and whoſe abilities he eſteemed; but when he found it neceſſary, in order to ſilence the public clamour, to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, he never afterwards gave himſelf much concern who were to be his miniſters. He was perfectly acquainted with the intereſts of the ſeveral courts of Europe, and never took up arms till in a manner he was forced to it. By his conduct the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria were prevented from being diſmembered, and many millions were expended for that purpoſe; his majeſty well knowing that the ſafety of Europe, and the intereſt of the proteſtant religion depended on preventing the French coming into Germany. But notwithſtanding his zeal in favour of the Auſtrian family, yet he remained no longer their friend than they were the friends of the empire; from which we may conclude that he had a good heart, and a clear as well as a ſolid underſtanding.

All party diſtinctions were buried in oblivion at the time of his death; and thoſe unfortunate young gentlemen, whoſe fathers had been concerned in the rebellion, were provided for either in the army or navy. Such as were diſaffected to the government, blamed his majeſty for a partial attachment to his German dominions, without conſidering that he never neglected to attend to the affairs of Britain. Born and educated in Hanover, it was natural for him to love that country. He lived in it till he was in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, ſo that he never attained a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh language; a circumſtance that has been much dwelt on by ſome late authors, who from thence infer, that he was not a friend to learning. Nothing, however, can be more falſe; for it is well known that he eſtabliſhed the famous univerſity of Gottingen, on the moſt extenſive plan, and filled the chairs with profeſſors of ſuch abilities, that he lived to ſee it the moſt ſhining ſeminary in Europe. He ordered all the books that had been collected by the kings of England ſince the time of Henry VII. to be depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum; and there he ordered to be depoſited all the manuſcript letters written by any of our ſovereigns, from the death of Edward III. to the death of queen Anne. Queen's College in Oxford, was in a manner almoſt rebuilt at his expence, and many new profeſſorſhips were added both to the Engliſh and Scotch univerſities. Let hiſtory be ranſacked from the moſt early ages, few princes will be found like George II. who could unite, in his own perſon, two virtues totally oppoſite, namely, that of being able to conduct the affairs of two different governments. In Hanover, though poſſeſſed of abſolute unlimitted power, yet he exerted that power in making his ſubjects happy, and was conſidered by them as an indulgent parent. In Britain, where his conduct was circumſcribed by law, he acted like a wiſe magiſtrate, and never undertook any thing of importance, till he had firſt conſulted his parliament, by whoſe advice he was conſtantly directed.

Upon the whole, if George II. was not ſo brilliant in what was commonly called wit, yet he had the moſt ſolid judgment, which, perhaps, is a thouſand times ſuperior. He grew up, as it were, to an advanced age in the love of his ſubjects both at home and abroad; every year made him more beloved than the laſt; and when he paid the debt of nature, one tear was ſhed for him; or, in other words, the whole nation mourned at once. He left a moſt glorious example to his ſucceſſor, which it is hoped he will never deviate from; and, in general, his ſubjects were rich and happy.

With reſpect to the ſtate of learning during this long reign, it continued advancing towards perfection. Many great men made their appearance in the literary world, and although they did not make ſuch a ſhining figure as ſome have done in the preſent reign, yet they laid a foundation for the nobleſt improvements in every art or ſcience. Simpſon, Saunderſon, and McLaurin carried the knowledge of the mathematics to an height unknown before. Phyſic and natural hiſtory were cultivated by many learned gentlemen, among whom were Dr. Mead and Sir Hans Sloane, and the Doctors Warburton and Newton ſtood forth in defence of Divine Revelation. In a word, the reign of George II. produced many great men, ſome of whom are now bright ornaments to their country, while ſuch as are dead, have left behind them the moſt illuſtrious examples.

# BOOK XVI.

## From the death of George II.

# GEORGE III.

A. D. 1760. GEORGE III. ſucceeded his grandfather in the twenty-third year of his age, after having received a liberal education. The privy-council was immediately aſſembled, when his majeſty informed the members that he was determined to act on the ſame principles as his royal grandfather, and that he had no other intention but that of promoting the happineſs of his people. His majeſty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland as by law eſtabliſhed; and having ſigned two inſtruments for that purpoſe, one of them was depoſited among the archives of the council, and the other tranſmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of ſeſſion. The next thing done by his majeſty was to aſſemble both houſes of parliament, not to tranſact any buſineſs but that of ſwearing in the members, whoſe oaths of allegiance were become abſolved by the death of the late king. The duke of Rutland, being conſtituted high-ſteward, ſwore in all the commons; and the lord-keeper adminiſtered the oaths to the peers. It is almoſt impoſſible to conceive the ſatisfaction that the ſubjects, in general, expreſſed at the conduct of their young ſovereign, and his many virtues made them almoſt forget the loſs they had ſuſtained by the death of his royal predeceſſor.

On the eighteenth of November both houſes of parliament met, and the king was conducted to the houſe amidſt the acclamations of a brave and loyal people. In his ſpeech he told them, that he was ſenſible of their loſs in the death of his grandfather, but that it ſhould be the whole ſtudy of his life to make them happy, by promoting their intereſts both at home and abroad. He ſollicited the aſſiſtance of all his ſubjects in general, as he was determined to act in ſuch a manner as was conſiſtent with his duty both to God and men. He rejoiced that he was born and educated in this iſland, and that the name of a Briton was to him ſuperior to all others. The vaſt ſucceſs that had attended our army and navy were both attended to, and his majeſty requeſted that the commons would grant the neceſſary ſupplies.

Addreſſes from both houſes, full of the moſt loyal expreſſions, were preſented to his majeſty; and the commons granted the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to defray the expences of the civil liſt.

A. D. 1761. The firſt thing done by the parliament, after the holidays were over, was to paſs an act in favour of inſolvent debtors; who, in conſequence of giving up all their effects, were to be diſcharged by the juſtices at the quarter-ſeſſions. No act was ever brought into the houſe at a more ſeaſonable juncture; for the priſons were filled with poor unfortunate creatures, whoſe wives and children were ſtarving. This act, however, had in it a clauſe, attended with ſuch conſequences, that it was found neceſſary to repeal it. It was imagined that every creditor might compel a debtor to give up his effects, and if he concealed any of them, to the amount of twenty pounds, he was to ſuffer death as a felon. This clauſe was laid hold of by many of the lower ſorts of tradeſmen, who, in order to cheat their creditors, got one of their own relations to compel them to account; ſo that a door was opened for perjury, and many perſons were deprived of their property under the proſtituted authority of an act of parliament. Indeed, the abuſe became ſo glaring, that the city of London preſented a petition to have it repealed; but it did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament.

The king ſent a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the intereſts of the people, than that of rendering the judges independent, ſo he deſired they would grant him leave to advance their ſalaries, and that they ſhould hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of ſettlement, at the revolution, they were to expire within ſix months after the death of the king. In conſequence of this meſſage, the ſalaries of the nine puiſne judges in England were advanced from fifteen hundred, to two thouſand pounds and the three chiefs in proportion. In Scotland, the lord preſident, inſtead of one thouſand pounds a year, was allowed thirteen hundred; the lords of ſeſſion ſeven hundred inſtead of five; and the lords of juſticiary, one thouſand inſtead of ſeven hundred.

On the continent of Europe moſt of the powers engaged in the war, were deſirous to propoſe preliminaries for a laſting peace; but in Germany, the armies continued to fight in detached parties. For this purpoſe ſeveral ambaſſadors were ſent to different courts, and among the reſt, M. de Buſſy came over from Paris to London, in order to adjuſt matters concerning our diſputes in America, and Mr. Stanley went on the ſame errand to Paris. Some months were ſpent in negotiations, without coming to any concluſion; when the French, by deluſive promiſes, brought the king of Spain to concur with them in the proſecution of the war.

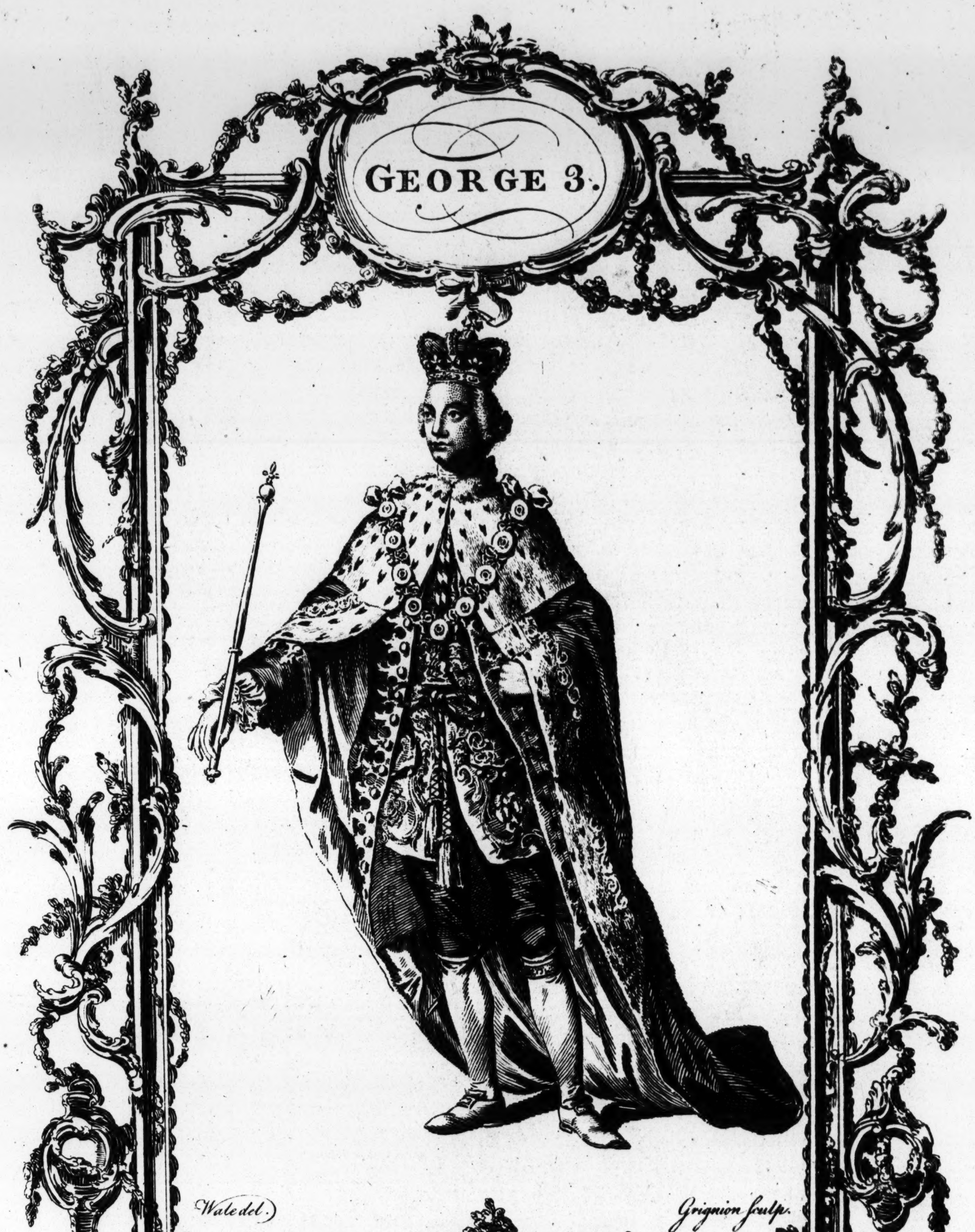
In the mean time the iſland of Belliſle was taken from the French by general Hodgſon, and a ſquadron of ſhips of the line, commanded by commodore Keppel; but this conqueſt was not obtained without great difficulties, for the Engliſh loſt near two thouſand men.

In Germany, prince Ferdinand with the allied army penetrated into Thuringia, and drove the French from ſeveral of their advanced poſts; but the duke de Broglio, having collected his army together, attacked the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, and made above two thouſand of his men priſoners of war.

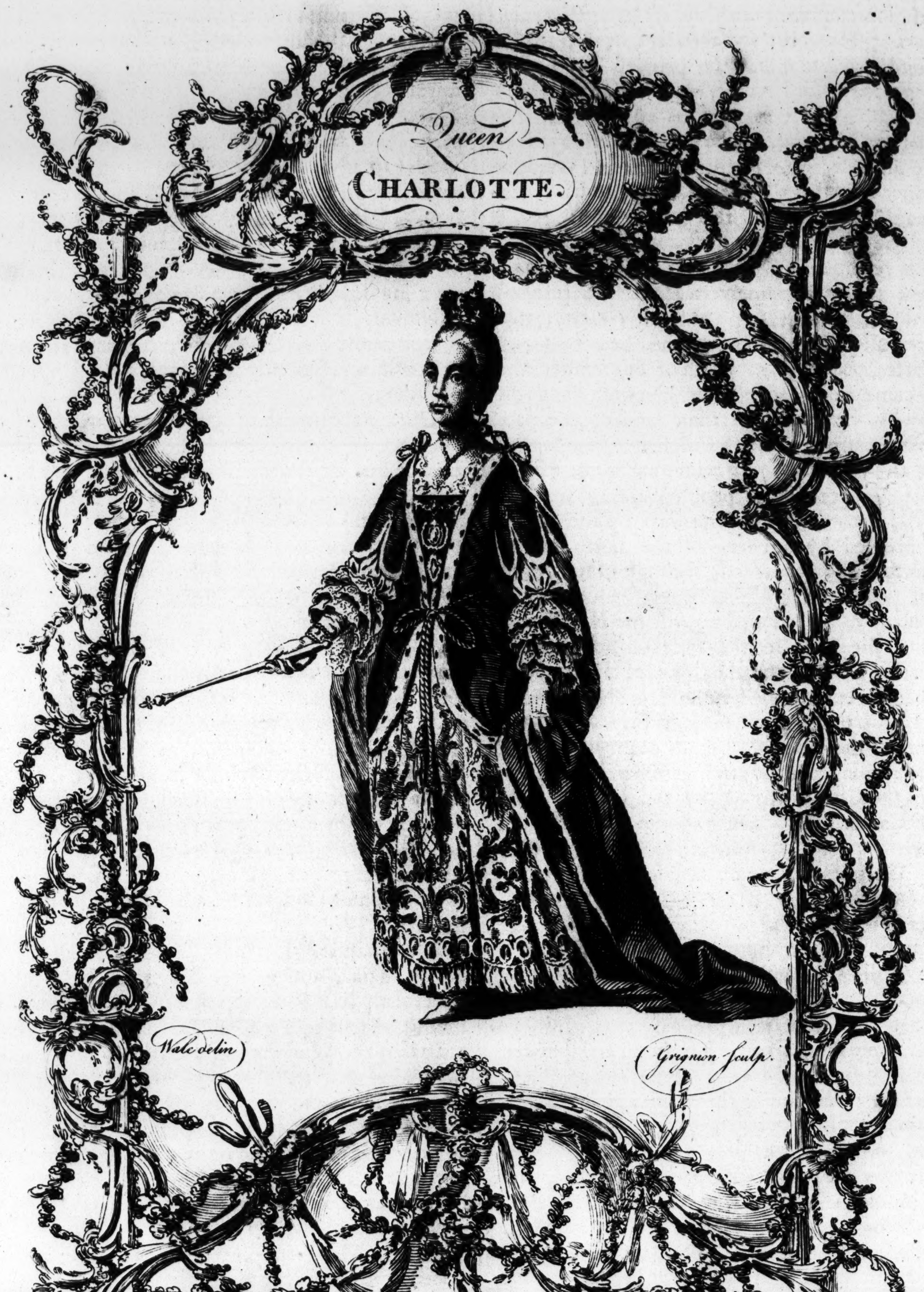
In the Eaſt-Indies, colonel Coote, in conjunction with admiral Stevens, took the French town of Pondicherry, by which the French loſt all their ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. This was a ſudden and moſt unexpected blow, which ruined the French commerce; for although they left nothing undone to ſtir up the mogul in their favour, yet the bravery of the Engliſh overcame all their attempts, and they were beaten in every quarter.

The Britiſh arms in America were ſtill triumphant, ſo that our miniſtry had it in their power to make peace on what conditions they pleaſed; but we muſt now turn our thoughts to another ſubject.

In the month of July his majeſty, having aſſembled the privy-council, declared to them his intention of marrying the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, a young lady poſſeſſed of every valuable accompliſhment,


GEORGE 3.
Wale del.
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England


Queen
CHARLOTTE.
Wale delin
Grignion sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England.

accompliſhment, and the admiration of all thoſe who had the pleaſure of being acquainted with her. The council were ſo well ſatisfied with his majeſty's choice, that they not only commended it, but at the ſame time deſired that he would make it public to all his ſubjects; and accordingly, a proclamation was inſerted in the Gazette, intimating, that the obligation he was under to his people, induced him to fix his mind on a princeſs, whom he intended to make his conſort, in order to promote the intereſt of the proteſtant religion conſiſtent with the act of ſettlement.

The earl of Harcourt was then ſent over ambaſſador extraordinary, to marry the princeſs by proxy, which being done, lord Anſon was diſpatched with the royal yachts, and a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips to convoy her to England. The ladies employed to attend the princeſs, were the dutcheſſes of Hamilton and Ancaſter; and on the eighth of Auguſt the fleet ſet ſail from Stade, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The wind, having ſhifted to the ſouth, the paſſage was very tedious, and moſt of the ladies on board were taken extremely ill; but the princeſs maintained ſuch a flow of ſpirits and vivacity, that ſhe charmed all thoſe who approached her.

In the afternoon of the ſeventh of September, the ſquadron came to an anchor at Harwich, and the princeſs, with her retinue, being landed, ſhe proceeded on her journey through Colcheſter, and lodged that night at Witham, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Abercorn. Vaſt crouds of people came to ſee her, and next day ſhe was met at Rumford by the king's coaches, eſcorted by a party of the horſe-guards. From Rumford ſhe proceeded, through innumerable crouds of people, to Whitechapel; and without entering the city, turned up towards the New Road, and ſo on till ſhe came to the gate of St. James's, where ſhe was received by the duke of Devonſhire, as lord-chamberlain of the houſhold. She was then conducted by the duke of York to the king, who received her in the moſt affectionate manner; and at nine in the evening the nuptial ceremony was performed in the Chapel Royal, by Dr. Secker, archbiſhop of Canterbury. On the twenty-ſecond of September their majeſty's were crowned in the abbey church of Weſtminſter, and addreſſes of congratulation were ſent up from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom.

In the mean time the war was carried on with great fury between the allies and the French, for the latter were ſo impoveriſhed, and all their funds ſo exhauſted, that they knew not what to do, unleſs by one bold ſtroke they ſhould force a way into Hanover. The duke de Broglio reſolved to attack the advanced poſts under the command of the marquis of Granby; but the prince of Brunſwick had notice of his intentions, and took his meaſures accordingly. The allied army was drawn up with great judgment, and ſtretched in one continued line over ſeveral riſing grounds; being flanked on one ſide by the river Aeſt, and on the other by a moraſs. Towards the evening of the ſixteenth of July, the French began the attack; but the allies, who behaved with the greateſt bravery, drove them back, and forced them to take ſhelter in the woods. In the mean time the allies, finding that the French intended to come to a general engagement, prepared to meet them; and next morning at three o'clock, both armies were drawn up. The firing continued about five hours, till the French, having taken poſſeſſion of a riſing ground on the flank of the Britiſh horſe, began to erect a battery upon it; but the prince of Brunſwick ſent a freſh body of foot to diſlodge them, and then they fell into confuſion. Vaſt numbers of the French were killed; but prince Ferdinand had drawn up his men in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that he did not loſe above five hundred.

This battle was fought near the village of Werle, and did great honour to the prince, as well as all the officers and ſoldiers in the allied army. It was not, however, deciſive; for the French ſtill ſeemed inexhauſtable in numbers. They were continually receiving new reinforcements, ſo that the prince was obliged to exert himſelf to the utmoſt to oppoſe them.

The prince de Soubiſe was detached towards Munſter, with a view of beſieging that city; and as the prince of Brunſwick was obliged to watch the motions of marſhal Broglio, ſeveral ſmart ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties; but the allies ſeemed, in general, to gain the advantage. The prince of Brunſwick was ſo well acquainted with the country, and had formed ſuch a proper judgment of the deſigns of the French, that he marched firſt towards Heſſe, and then, by a movement to the left, wheeled about towards Paderborn, by which he was prepared to meet marſhal Broglio whenever he thought proper to advance. The French, during this time, took ſeveral ſmall towns, and committed great cruelties, beſides demanding very heavy contributions. Prince Ferdinand found it abſolutely neceſſary to keep his army together, leſt they ſhould have been weakened by ſeparation; and although he could not act offenſively, yet the ſituation of his camp was ſuch, that it would have been dangerous for the enemy to attack him, eſpecially as he was well ſupplied with proviſions.

During the month of June this year, the iſland of Dominique, in the Weſt Indies, was taken from the French, by a party of Engliſh forces under the command of lord Rollo, and aſſiſted by commodore Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line. At firſt the inhabitants would have ſubmitted, but M. de Longprie, the governor, ſtirred them up to hold out, under pretence that ſome ſhips would ſoon arrive to their aſſiſtance.

Lord Rollo, finding him obſtinate, landed with a party of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Melville, and drove the enemy from their advanced poſts, after which they proceeded to the head quarters of the governor, whom they took priſoner with all his officers. Next day the magiſtrates, and indeed all the inhabitants of the iſland, except the ſoldiers, took the oaths to our government. The forts that had been damaged were repaired, and every thing ſettled in a proper manner; after which lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas ſet ſail for the iſland of Guadalupe.

The Spaniards had now, in ſome meaſure, pulled off the maſk; and as their deſigns could be no longer concealed, Mr. Pitt propoſed in council, that a fleet ſhould be ſent to intercept their flota, that was coming from the Weſt Indies, but this was oppoſed by the majority of members. This great miniſter, by whoſe wiſdom and integrity the Britiſh arms had become ſucceſsful in every part of the globe, was well convinced that his opinion was of too much importance to be ſlighted; and therefore he reſigned all his employments. Certain it is, that no man was ever better qualified to conduct the affairs of government than Mr. Pitt. To a liberal education, he had joined an extenſive reading; and his conduct in parliament convinced the Britiſh ſenate, that his memory was equal to his judgment and eloquence. His majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the vaſt abilities of this great man, that he ſettled on him a penſion of three thouſand pounds per annum, for life, and for the life of his ſon; his lady being, at the ſame time, created a peereſs in her own right.

On the third of November the new parliament aſſembled, and Mr. Onſlow, who had been ſpeaker thirty-three years, reſigned on account of his great age and infirmities. The commons having elected Sir John Cuſt in his room, the king approved of their choice; and then going to the houſe, delivered a ſpeech to the following import:

He told them, that the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms muſt give pleaſure to all his faithful ſubjects; and as the enemy ſtill refuſed to hearken to proper conditions of peace, he was determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour; and for that purpoſe doubted not but the commons would aſſiſt him with the proper ſupplies. He told them, that the proper eſtimates ſhould be laid before them, and that the utmoſt œconomy ſhould be obſerved by himſelf. He concluded by recommending to them the making a ſuitable proviſion for the queen, who was, in every reſpect, an ornament to her ſex: and, in anſwer to this ſpeech, both houſes preſented moſt loyal addreſſes.

The earl of Briſtol, who had been ſome time at the court of Spain, was ordered to demand why they committed depredations on our commercial navy; but the anſwers he received were no better than evaſions. The earl finding that no dependence could be placed on what the Spaniſh miniſtry ſaid, returned to England; and the count de Fuentes, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, left London, after having delivered a memorial to the ſecretary of ſtate, wherein he attempted to juſtify the conduct of his court.

A. D. 1762. The firſt thing of national importance undertaken this year, was the granting of letters to our captains of ſhips, to make repriſals on the Spaniards; and in two days afterwards, namely, on the fourth of January, war was declared. On the nineteenth the king went to the houſe of peers, and laid before the parliament the whole of his proceedings in this affair; upon which they promiſed to aſſiſt him in the war to the utmoſt, being convinced that his deſigns were juſt.

A large fleet had ſailed from Portſmouth in October the preceding year, in order to attack ſuch of the French ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies as had not been ſubdued; and the whole fleet, with the tranſports, were ordered to rendezvous at Barbadoes. There they were joined by ſome tranſports from North-America, having on board a conſiderable number of land-forces, their deſign being to attempt the conqueſt of the valuable iſland of Martinico. This was one of the moſt important objects the miniſtry had in view; for, beſides the intrinſic wealth of the iſland, it was the center of all the French trade and commerce in the Weſt-Indies. The towns and harbours were ſtrongly fortified; and the roads in the interior part of the iſland were guarded by militia, and defended by redoubts. The attempt was attended with every danger that could be imagined; for the climate was extremely hot; and the freſh water being ſcarce, there was reaſon to fear that both the ſeamen and ſoldiers would be thrown into fluxes, which would prove more detrimental to them than the force of the enemy.

The fleet was under the command of admiral Rodney; and general Monkton, who had ſo bravely diſtinguiſhed himſelf in North-America, conducted the land-forces, amounting to eighteen battalions, but many of the companies were not full. On the eighth of January, they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Ann, near the eaſtern part of the iſland, where the men of war ſilenced ſome batteries which had been erected by the French; but the general being of opinion that it was not a proper place to land the forces, the colonels Grant and Haviland were ſent, with two brigades, under a proper convoy, to the bay of Petiteanſe, where they took a ſtrong battery from the enemy. On the ſixteenth, the whole army on board the tranſports being come up, the general landed them without oppoſition, but found the roads almoſt impaſſable. On the twenty-fourth, the general attacked a fort that guarded one of the paſſes leading to Port-Royal, and took it, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, while colonel Grant ſtormed the advanced poſts.

The Britiſh forces marched on with ſuch rapidity, that, in two days, they were in poſſeſſion of all the out-works which defended the citadel: upon which the governor, finding himſelf unable to hold out the place any longer, conſented to capitulate. On the eighth of February, the Engliſh being in poſſeſſion of the gates, the garriſon, amounting to about eight hundred men, were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war; but the governor-general of the iſland, who reſided at St. Pierre, declared that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. This, however, was only a vain bravado; for the Engliſh, having made themſelves maſters of all the other parts of the iſland, prepared to attack that place, when deputies were ſent to the general, offering to capitulate. By theſe means, not only the valuable iſland of Martinico became the property of Great-Britain, but, at the ſame time, it opened a way for the conqueſt of the ſmaller iſlands and ſettlements adjoining to it.

An important object now preſented itſelf to the Britiſh miniſtry, namely, that of carrying the war againſt Spain into the Weſt-Indies, from whence all their riches are derived. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was at that time ſtrongly defended, and it was reckoned impoſſible to take it; but nothing was too difficult for the Britiſh forces to undertake. Nineteen ſhips of the line, with many ſmaller veſſels, were fitted out, under the command of admiral Pocock; and about ten thouſand land-forces, commanded by the earl of Albemarle.

Perhaps no expedition was ever attended with more dangerous conſequences, nor any conducted with greater prudence. At firſt, the admiral intended to have landed on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Cuba, where it was ſuppoſed he might fall in with the Spaniſh galleons; but that opinion was over-ruled in a council of war, and the fleet continued on a courſe of ſeven hundred miles, in a very dangerous ſea.

The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but being in poſſeſſion of an excellent chart of thoſe ſeas, taken by lord Anſon, he depended on his own judgment, and diſpatched a ſhip to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of paſſing. On the return of the ſhip, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and hoiſt ſail, continuing under way, in three diviſions, conſiſting of the ſhips of the line, the frigates, and the tranſports. On the ninth of June, they got out of theſe dangerous ſeas, and came within ſight of St. Jago, on the eaſtern extremity of the iſland of Cuba. St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of juſtice are held there, yet the Havannah is the ſeat of commerce, and, conſequently, of the utmoſt importance. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but when they arrived there, they found they had more difficulties to encounter than they had as yet imagined.

The paſſage to the harbour is extremely narrow, and above half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large baſon, in which a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety. On the one ſide of the narrow paſſage is the Moro Caſtle, a ſtrong fort built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ſhips from coming in but ſuch as have paſſports. To the weſtward of the harbour ſtands the town, ſtrongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts and baſtions; the whole being ſurrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed every where. Indeed, the difficulties they had to encounter ſeemed inſurmountable; and the admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet, to the weſtward, where he made as if he would have landed; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the eaſt of the harbour without the loſs of a man, although the Spaniards had a conſiderable fleet then lying at anchor, which might have done them great damage.

The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the town, and to cover the ſiege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diverſion on the weſt of the town; while the general, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Caſtle, that being the grand object in view, becauſe it defended the entrance to the harbour.

Thoſe who will compare the account of this famous ſiege with the retreat of Xenophon, or the paſſage of Hannibal over the Alps, will prefer the valour of the Britiſh troops to that of either the Greeks or Carthaginians. There was no freſh water to be had; and as the men were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, ſo many of them died on the ſpot through the heat of the climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the ſervice of their country. But courage and perſeverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the riſing grounds, to cover the approaches, and make way for the reduction of the place. To do juſtice to the Spaniards, it muſt be acknowledged that they defended the place with great bravery, and, for ſome time, the fire was, in a manner, equal on both ſides. On the twenty-ninth of June, in the evening, they made a ſally; but although they acted with great courage and reſolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of above three hundred men.

All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to ſail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and then a moſt dreadful firing began. The Spaniſh artillery was well conducted, and it would ſeem that the beſt officers under their government had been at that time in the Havannah. As the Moro Caſtle was ſituated on a high rock, the ſhips could not, after ſeven hours firing, make the leaſt impreſſion on it.

In this attack, the Engliſh loſt one hundred and fifty men; which is not to be wondered at, when we conſider that, beſides the Moro Caſtle, they had another battery playing upon them from an oppoſite fort, which galled them exceſſively; ſo that they were obliged to retire, otherwiſe they would have been deſtroyed. Among thoſe killed in this hazardous attempt, was captain Gooſtrey, a brave officer, who had, on many former occaſions, given the moſt ſignal proofs of his courage; but duty, and the love of glory, were the ſole objects he had in view.

No ſooner were the Engliſh men of war gone to rejoin the fleet, than the Spaniards turned their attention to the eaſtern part of the fort, and reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; ſo that the Engliſh officers found the reduction of the place would be a work of time. Indeed, an unforeſeen accident happened at this time, which tended, in a great meaſure, towards retarding their operations, namely, the deſtruction of a battery, which took fire by the exploſion of a mortar. Sickneſs likewiſe rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health were fatigued beyond deſcription. Add to this, the want of freſh proviſions, the heat of the climate, and the inſupportable fatigues which both officers and men underwent, by which many gave themſelves up to deſpair, and ſunk under the load of their miſery.

About this time, however, they received a very ſeaſonable ſupply; for a fleet arrived from New-York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of proviſions, which gave new life and ſpirits both to the army and navy.

It was now evident that no time was to be loſt, and that, unleſs an immediate attack was made, the men would become diſpirited, and the whole enterprize ſink into nothing. It was therefore agreed, that the miners ſhould be employed; but they had a deep ditch to croſs, ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they got over it, and entrenched themſelves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy.

The governor of the Havannah, ſenſible that the Engliſh would make themſelves maſters of the Moro Caſtle, unleſs he could ſend freſh reinforcements to it, ordered twelve hundred men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the Engliſh. Accordingly theſe men landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the ſpot; ſome were drowned, and the reſt, with much difficulty, ſaved themſelves, by getting into their boats.

On the thirtieth of July, the miners blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was ſmall, yet the engineers were of opinion that the army might attack it. The Engliſh troops now mounted the breach in ſuch good order, that the enemy became intimidated, after above four hundred of them had been killed, among whom was the marquis de Gonſales, the ſecond in command, a brave officer, who had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt during the ſiege, and died animating the ſoldiers to defend the place. The ſame fate happened to Don Lewis de Velaſco, the commander in chief, who diſdaining to aſk quarters, collected as many men as yet remained, and making a ſtand with them, received a mortal wound while holding out his ſword to the conquerors.

The Engliſh being now in poſſeſſion of the fort, which had coſt them the lives of many brave men, during a ſiege of forty-four days, turned the cannon againſt the town. Several batteries were, at the ſame time, erected on the riſing grounds near the town; and the earl of Albemarle being willing to ſave as many lives as poſſible, ſent a meſſage to the governor, deſiring him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor, though he returned a polite anſwer to the earl, yet refuſed to comply, declaring that he would hold it out to the laſt extremity.

Immediately the firing began on both ſides; but in little more than ſix hours, all the artillery belonging to the enemy were ſilenced, and a flag of truce hung out, to the great joy both of the army and navy, who were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions.

The garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war: and thus the whole iſland of Cuba was given up to Great-Britain on the fourteenth of Auguſt. The enemy loſt their whole fleet that was in the harbour; a ſum of money, amounting to three millions, was taken by the victors; and the commerce of Spain in the Weſt-Indies was, for ſome time, totally ruined.

About this time, two Engliſh frigates took a rich Spaniſh ſhip near Cadiz; and having carried her into Gibraltar, found her cargo to conſiſt of near twelve millions of money, beſides many valuable articles of merchandize. Theſe were mortifying ſtrokes to the Spaniards, who had been led into a war without any apparent neceſſity, merely by the intrigues of the French, whoſe commerce had been totally ruined by the Engliſh cruizers. It was therefore reſolved upon, in the court of Madrid, that the kingdom of Portugal, with whom we were in the ſtricteſt alliance, ſhould be invaded; and a body of forces marched towards the frontiers, in order to diſtreſs the inhabitants.

The parliament met on the twenty-fifth day of November; and his majeſty, going to the houſe of peers, opened the ſeſſion, by telling them, that nothing was more deſireable to him than a laſting peace, procured on ſuch honourable terms as would ſecure the happineſs of his people. For that purpoſe, he had once more condeſcended to renew the negotiation that had been broken off before; and he ſpoke of the conduct of his army and navy in the higheſt terms of applauſe. He took notice, that he had been obliged to ſend an armed force to ſupport his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spaniſh army, in conſequence of the intrigues of the French, who, notwithſtanding their numerous loſſes, ſeemed ſtill averſe to peace. He concluded by telling the commons, that nothing gave him ſo much unhappineſs as the conſideration that his ſubjects were burdened with taxes; but then there was a neceſſity for it, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have defeated the enemies ſchemes, and rendered their undertakings abortive.

At this time the duke of Bedford was ſent over to France in conſequence of the rage of party ſpirit at home, and preliminaries for a general peace were ſigned at Fontainbleau, and afterwards laid before the commons on the ninth of December. It was expected that theſe preliminaries would have been ſeverely cenſured; but they were approved of without much oppoſition, which encreaſed the public diſcontents more than ever.

On the twelfth of Auguſt, this year, the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was ſoon after created prince of Wales, and ſtill lives admired by the people, who expect that he will one day ſway the ſcepter of theſe kingdoms.

All Europe was now longing for peace; Spain had been brought into a ſnare, and Germany was drenched with blood; France was reduced to beggary, and the king of Pruſſia, who had weathered many ſtorms, and ſtill ſupported his ground againſt all his enemies, found his treaſury exhauſted, and his country in a manner depopulated. Britain alone was vigorous, for all oppoſition had given way to our arms, and therefore we had reaſon to expect peace upon whatever terms we thought proper to preſcribe.

A. D. 1763. The firſt thing of any importance that took place during the beginning of this year was the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, on the tenth day of February. By this treaty there was to be a general releaſe of priſoners not then exchanged, and they were to be ſent home to their reſpective countries, at the expence of the ſovereign who had them in cuſtody. Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the iſland of Cape Breton, were ceded to Great Britain; and it was ſtipulated, that the inhabitants ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion, in the ſame way as if they had been under the French government. All ſuch of the inhabitants as did not chuſe to live under the Britiſh government, were to have liberty to diſpoſe of their eſtates, and to remove with their families to any part they thought proper; only that they were obliged, conſiſtent with the principles of equity and common ſenſe, to pay ſuch debts as they had contracted.

The river Miſſiſippi was to be the boundary between the Britiſh and French colonies in North America; and in the Weſt-Indies, the king of Great Britain gave up to the French the conquered iſlands of Martinico and Guadalupe, with all the ſmaller ones depending on them. The iſland of Belliſle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with all the other iſlands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All our conqueſts on the river of Senegal, were confirmed to us; and in the Eaſt Indies part of the French ſettlements were reſtored, and part were retained. The French were obliged to give up ſuch places as they had taken poſſeſſion of in Germany; and in conſequence of the king of Spain's giving up all pretenſion to Florida, and ceding it to the Engliſh, the Havannah, with the whole iſland of Cuba, were to be reſtored. The king of Pruſſia was to remain in the ſame condition he was in before the commencement of the war; and the ſame was to take place with reſpect to the empreſs queen.

Such were the principal articles in this treaty of peace, and much has been ſaid both for and againſt it. On the one hand, it has been aſſerted, that as we had, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, reduced the French nation to a ſtate of beggary, ſo we ought, in order to keep them humble, to have retained all the conqueſts to ourſelves; for by ſo doing, their commerce being effectually ruined, they would not have been able for many years to give us the leaſt diſturbance. On the other hand, it was urged, by ſuch as were friends to the peace, that the advantage to Britain was very great, and that we had not only regained the iſland of Minorca, but that we had acquired the moſt extenſive territories in North America and the Weſt Indies, which, if cultivated in a proper manner, would turn out to the advantage of the mother-country. It was urged further, that had we inſiſted on retaining all we might have loſt all. The body would have been too large for the head, and the inhabitants being moſtly French, they would have been obliged to keep up a large ſtanding army to enforce the execution of the laws, and promote good order among the people.

Such were the arguments uſed by the parties who took place at that time, and the reader is left to judge for himſelf, eſpecially as the affair is too recent to be critically animadverted upon. Certain it is, that a great many arguments may be uſed on both ſides; but the buſineſs of an hiſtorian is to relate facts, and leave the public to draw from them what inferences they think proper.

On the nineteenth of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech from the throne, expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that they had approved of the treaty of peace; and that in conſequence thereof the horrors of war were now at an end. He added, that notwithſtanding the increaſe of his family, yet he would obſerve the ſtricteſt œconomy, and that his attention ſhould be placed on promoting the happineſs of his people.

As no men, whether ſoldiers or ſailors, had ever behaved better than the Engliſh during this war, ſo the firſt object the legiſlative power had in view was to beſtow upon them ſome marks of favour. Grants of lands were made to thoſe who choſe to ſettle in the conquered countries of North America; and by theſe prudent methods many perſons, who would otherwiſe have been an intolerable burthen to the nation, were decently provided for, and uſefully employed. This was moſt certainly an act of great humanity, and it is hoped will, in the end, be of the utmoſt ſervice to the mother-country; for the native French and civilized Indians in thoſe countries, will become familiarized to the Engliſh goverment, the freedom of enquiry in religious matters will deſtroy the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the Roman catholics, and gradually vaniſh away, while commerce will be cultivated as long as a good underſtanding ſubſiſts between the mother-country and the colonies.

With reſpect to the affairs of the continent during this year, moſt nations who had been engaged in the war, were employed in healing their bleeding wounds; or, in other words, they were endeavouring to repair ſuch loſſes as they had ſuſtained.

The empreſs of Ruſſia, who had ſucceeded her huſband Peter II. was eſtabliſhing ſchools and univerſities in her dominions, and learned men were invited from all parts of Europe to come and preſide over them. Nor was ſhe leſs attentive to commercial affairs; for ſhe eſtabliſhed factories at Aſtracan on the Walga, and Archangel on the White Sea. In Germany, the king of Pruſſia, ever attentive to the intereſts of his ſubjects, was employed in granting many immunities and privileges to the ſoldiers who had ſerved him during the war, and in promoting agriculture. He had eſtabliſhed a factory at Embden in Frieſland; but Hanover laying between that province and his hereditary dominions, it could not be improved in a proper manner.

The Dutch continued in their old tract of avarice, the drudges of all nations, and not friends to any. France, Spain, and Portugal, underwent no material changes, and in Italy every thing was quiet. In England party diſputes ran very high, as they had continued to do ever ſince Mr. Pitt had reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate. A political paper having made its appearance, great offence was taken at it; and a general warrant was iſſued to take the author, printers and publiſhers, into cuſtody. But the greateſt blunder was, that no name was inſerted in the body of the warrant, only that the meſſenger had verbal orders to take the perſon of Mr. Wilkes, at that time member for Ayleſbury, in Buckinghamſhire. However iniquitous and even ſtupid this action was, yet it had been long practiſed by miniſters of ſtate, and began to be conſidered as law. But notwithſtanding the practice ſeemed ſanctified by long cuſtom, yet no ſooner did Mr. Wilkes find himſelf injured, than he moved the court of Common-Pleas for a writ of Habeas-Corpus. The writ being ſerved on the deputy-governor of the Tower, where Mr. Wilkes was confined, he brought his priſoner to Weſtminſter-hall, where council was heard both for and againſt the legality of the commitment. Notice was taken in court, that Mr. Wilkes had been confined a cloſe priſoner, that his friends had been denied admittance to him, nor had he been ſo much as allowed the uſe of pen, ink or paper. Upon that the judges reprimanded the governor, and as they could not give judgment on that day, he was ordered back to the Tower, where his friends and lawyers were to have free acceſs to him.

On the ſixth of May, being again brought to the bar, the lord chief-juſtice delivered the opinion of the court; namely, that the priſoner muſt be diſcharged, and that as ſome illegal actions had been practiſed in the commitment, he was deſired to bring his action at common law for a treſpaſs, in order to recover damages.

A. D. 1764. This year naturally opens with the hiſtory of the then ſtate of America; for although peace had been concluded, yet the French, ever reſtleſs, had ſtirred up ſeveral of the Indian nations to murder ſuch of our people as reſided on the back ſettlements. Many of the innocent people were moſt barbarouſly murdered; and complaints thereof having been tranſmitted to general Gage, he reſolved to penetrate into thoſe remote countries inhabited by two fierce nations, called the Delawares and Shawaneſe. In conſequence of that ſpirited reſolution, colonel Bouquet was ſent from Fort Pitt, with a conſiderable number of forces; but it was ſo difficult to croſs the rivers, and ſo dangerous to march thro' the woods, that he did not arrive at Tuſcarowas, the place where the troops were to rendezvous.

No ſooner had the ſavages ſeen a body of armed men in poſſeſſion of their towns, than they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; for their chiefs had made them believe that their woods were inacceſſible; but now they found that they had been deceiving themſelves. Knowing that it was not in their power to engage with our forces, they had recourſe to negotiation; but the colonel was too well convinced of their want of ſincerity, to put any truſt or confidence in their promiſes. He inſiſted that all the priſoners ſhould be delivered up, and that they muſt ſend deputies to Sir William Johnſon to treat of a peace. Forty of their chief men were, at the ſame time, delivered up as hoſtages for the faithful performance of all the articles agreed on. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, colonel Bouquet had all the priſoners delivered up to him, amounting to near four hundred, who had been cruelly confined in a ſtate of ſlavery.

The Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris repreſented to the French court, that ſome injury had been done to our new ſettlers in the conquered iſlands in the Weſt Indies; upon which the French miniſtry referred the ſettlement of all diſputes of that nature to our governor of Jamaica. At the ſame time, and for reaſons of a ſimilar nature, a remonſtrance was preſented to the court of Madrid, complaining that ſome of the Spaniſh ſubjects had driven the Engliſh logwood cutters from the bay of Honduras; upon which an order was ſent by the king of Spain to the governor of Jucatan, commanding him, under the ſevereſt penalties, to ſee that juſtice was done to the Engliſh. This order had the deſired effect; for ſuch as had been diſpoſſeſſed, were again re-inſtated, and all of them permitted to carry on the trade of logwood cutting without any moleſtation whatever. Upon the whole, it appears that the governor had acted without orders; for the king of Spain expreſſed great reſentment at his conduct, declaring that he had no intention of infringing the articles of peace.

In Europe, during the former part of this year, an event took place that has been attended with as fatal conſequences as any thing we meet with, either in ancient or modern hiſtory.

Poland, with reſpect to territory, a large fertile nation, adhered to the feudal law in its utmoſt rigour. There the government was Ariſtocratical, for altho' they had a king, yet his power was ſo circumſcribed that the government was, in every ſenſe of the word, lodged in the hands of the nobles. No ſubjects can ever be happy under ſuch a government, unleſs we could change the nature of man; for the Poliſh nobles, like the barons of old in England and Scotland, and indeed like all thoſe barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, had the power of life and death; they could put their tenants to death without being obliged to give an account of their conduct; ſo that many innocent perſons were ſacrificed to the caprice of a little tyrant, who conſidered himſelf as above law.

Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, had been king of Poland about thirty years; but dying, it was neceſſary to look out for one to ſucceed him; for in that country the king is choſen by the nobles and the clergy. It ſeldom ever happens that there is an election of a king of Poland, without the other powers interfering in it; each endeavours to eſtabliſh ſome favourite of their own, and the conſequences often prove fatal to the unhappy ſubjects. The two candidates were the elector of Saxony, ſon of the late king of Poland, whoſe intereſt was ſupported by Spain, France and Auſtria; and the other was the prince Poniotowſki, a Poliſh nobleman of great fortune, univerſal learning, agreeable manner, and unſpotted morals. His cauſe was ſtrongly ſupported by the empreſs of Ruſſia, and the king of Pruſſia; but moſt of the biſhops and clergy were his enemies, becauſe he had travelled over moſt proteſtant countries in Europe, and ſeemed much addicted to a free and rational enquiry into every diſputed point in religion.

The prince, however, was elected, but not without great oppoſition; for the Roman catholic party entered a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the diet; and count Branitzki, who was at the head of the proteſters, finding the danger he was in, raiſed a large body of forces in order to protect himſelf. He was aſſiſted by ſome of the national troops, who had been rendered mad by the ſuggeſtions of the prieſts, and were now become real enthuſiaſts.

In the mean time a Ruſſian army entered Poland, and on the third of July the proteſters were defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Turky. At the ſame time the king, who, in conſequence of a cuſtom of the country, had changed his name to that of Staniſlaus, ſet himſelf about correcting ſuch abuſes as had crept into the government during the preceding reign; for ſo juſt were his notions of natural rights, and ſo enlarged was his mind by reading, ſtudy, and converſation, that like Agis, king of Sparta, he ſought to leſſen rather than enlarge the regal power.

In the Eaſt-Indies things began to have a very ſerious appearance, particularly, with reſpect to the ſettlements of the Engliſh company. Mir Jaffier Aly Cawn, who had murdered his maſter, and had been made nabob in his room, began his reign in the moſt cruel manner, by ordering all thoſe who were related to the late prince to be murdered; and, at the ſame time, becauſe he was threatened to be chaſtized by the Engliſh, entered into a league with ſeveral princes, who promiſed him their aſſiſtance.

This extravagance had reduced him to ſuch a wretched ſtate of poverty, that regardleſs of the obligations he was under to the Engliſh, he robbed ſeveral of their ſettlements; upon which the council at Calcutta, formed a deſign to dethrone him. It is evident, however, that the crimes with which they charged him, were ſuch as did not come under their cognizance; for whatever injury he had done to his own ſubjects, yet it ſhould be remembered, that he was a prince who had no right to give an account of his conduct to any but the Great Mogul, who was his abſolute ſovereign.

The company, however, proceeded in the execution of their ſcheme; and the nabob truſting to their humanity, reſigned the government, and went to reſide at Calcutta, while Meer Coſſim was placed on the throne in his room. This young prince, who was ſon-in-law to the former, was of a bold, enterpriſing diſpoſition; and being impatient of reſtraint, reſolved to throw off all dependence on the Engliſh. Accordingly he ſtrengthened himſelf by every meaſure he could think of, and began to exert that authority of which he conſidered himſelf legally poſſeſſed. He knew that the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company acted from motives of avarice; and as they had been indulged with many privileges by his predeceſſor, he reſolved to ſtrip them of them, and circumſcribe their power within narrower bounds. This alarmed the company; and Mr. Vanſittart, the governor, having concluded a treaty with him on diſadvantageous terms, the council at Calcutta were ſo much offended, that they entered a proteſt againſt it. They affirmed, that he had gone beyond the bounds of his commiſſion, and had aſſumed to himſelf a power with which the company had never inveſted him; and therefore they refuſed to abide by the treaty.

The event of theſe things was, that war was declared by the nabob againſt the Eaſt-India company; and ſome of his forces ſurprized, and cruelly murdered a party of the Engliſh troops. Such as were taken priſoners they immediately put to death. But this barbarity did not long remain unpuniſhed; for major Adams having marched againſt them, took Patna, a ſtrong city; while the nabob, who found it impracticable to carry on the war, fled to the dominions of Sujah Dowla, a neighbouring nabob, who acted as grand vizier to the Great Mogul. But although that prince granted him an aſylum in his territories, yet he refuſed to give him any farther aſſiſtance, leſt he ſhould have brought upon himſelf the reſentment of the Engliſh.

Such was the general ſtate of public affairs at the end of this year: and although the flames of civil war had been lighted up in Poland, yet there was little reaſon to imagine that Great-Britain would be concerned in it.

A. D. 1765. On the tenth of January, the parliament of Great-Britain was opened at Weſtminſter by his majeſty, who, in his ſpeech, informed the members, that there was not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect that the peace of Europe would, in the leaſt, be diſturbed; for all the powers on the continent ſeemed intent on cultivating the friendſhip of Great-Britain, and adhering to the articles of the peace. To the commons his majeſty recommended the cultivation of thoſe provinces which had been taken during the war; and, above all things, to preſerve among themſelves harmony and unanimity, as the only means of promoting the public good. He concluded by telling the members of both houſes, that every ſcheme propoſed or undertaken by them for the happineſs of his ſubjects, ſhould receive his hearty concurrence; and that in all things where it was neceſſary to impoſe taxes, he deſired them to make them as eaſy as poſſible, that the people might not be too much burthened.

Both houſes preſented loyal addreſſes: and the houſe of commons, in order to raiſe the ſupplies for the current year, reſolved to put the Americans on the ſame footing as the inhabitants of Great-Britain, by obliging them to pay ſtamp-duties. Great oppoſition was made to this bill, but at laſt it paſſed, and received the royal aſſent. At the ſame time, ſurveyors were ſent over to the new ceded iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, to divide them into pariſhes, and make ſuch other regulations as were neceſſary.

The only buſineſs of any importance that came before the parliament this ſeſſion, beſides the raiſing the ſupplies, was the conſideration of a propoſal made by his majeſty for eſtabliſhing a regency, in caſe of his being taken off by death. The members of both houſes were ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure, that they preſented addreſſes to his majeſty; and an act paſſed, by which his majeſty was enabled to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood, and all the great officers of ſtate jointly, regents during the minority of the prince; and that his majeſty ſhould further be allowed to add to the number of regents ſuch perſons as he thought proper, whoſe names ſhould be left, in caſe of his death, ſealed up in a deed, to be opened by the privy-council. This affair being ſettled, his majeſty, being indiſpoſed, on the eleventh of May prorogued the parliament, by commiſſion, after ſuch bills as had paſſed both houſes received the royal aſſent.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt this year, Francis, emperor of Germany, died ſuddenly at Inſpruck, whither he had gone to take leave of his ſecond ſon, to whom he had given the dutchy of Tuſcany. Much blood and treaſure had been expended by Great-Britain in raiſing this prince to the Imperial throne; and, in juſtice to him, it muſt be acknowledged, that although his conſort took part with the French during the late war, and involved her huſband in the quarrel, yet he was, in ſentiments, to the laſt, a friend to England, and grateful for the kindneſs they had ſhewn him. Francis was ſucceeded by his ſon Joſeph, who had been previouſly elected king of the Romans; a prince of great abilities, inflexible virtue, ſtrict integrity, and honoured and beloved by his ſubjects.

While the French continued to ſupport the Genoeſe againſt the oppreſſed Corſicans, other nations were employed in promoting agriculture and commerce, particularly Denmark, where great encouragement was given to all ſuch as invented any new machine that could be of ſervice to the public.

In the Eaſt-Indies, all the petty princes look upon the Europeans as invaders; and, perhaps, the conduct of ſome of them has given too much reaſon for the uſe of ſuch an appellation. Whatever diſputes theſe eaſtern princes have among themſelves, yet no ſooner is one of them oppreſſed by any of the Europeans, than his cauſe becomes that of the whole, and they are ready to join in ſupport of their neighbour.

We have already ſeen how deſperate the affairs of the nabob, Meer Coſſim, were at the concluſion of the laſt year: and, much about the ſame time, died the brave major Adams, whoſe courage and conduct had long ſupported the affairs of the company. This event gave life to Meer Coſſim, who having received a powerful reinforcement, took the field: but major Monro, who ſucceeded to the command in chief of the company's forces, a brave officer, who, from his youth, had been brought up to arms, marched out to attack him.

The Indian troops, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, were extremely numerous; but then they were but little acquainted with military diſcipline, and only fit to fight in detached parties, where they could have an opportunity of attacking the Engliſh by ſurprize. They were, however, ſtrongly encamped, when major Monro came up with them on the twenty-ſecond of October; ſo that not thinking it prudent to engage for the preſent, he halted within ſight of them, but ſtill out of the reach of their cannon. Next day, about nine in the morning, the major finding, that if he remained any longer inactive, the troops would be diſpirited, reſolved to form the line of battle, and attack the enemy in flank, for he could not do it in front, there being a deep moraſs before them. This movement had the deſired effect; for, in about three hours, the enemy began to give way, and left on the field of battle ſix thouſand killed, beſides one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with their military cheſt, arms and ammunition.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in the Eaſt-Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's ſervice, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as ſoon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the river Ganges, where he attacked ſeveral of the enemy's forts, and made the garriſons priſoners of war.

In America, great diſturbances happened on account of the ſtamp-act: for although the mother-country had expended great ſums of money in ſupporting the colonies, yet the inhabitants refuſed to be taxed by any beſides their own repreſentatives in their provincial aſſemblies. Scurrilous papers were publiſhed in moſt of the capital towns, reflecting on the adminiſtration; and, in general, mobs and tumults took place every where. The gentlemen who had been ſent over from England to act as officers of the ſtamp-duties, were ſeized by the populace, and obliged to ſwear that they would for ever renounce all connection with thoſe employments to which they had been appointed. Such of the natives in Boſton as were ſuſpected to have countenanced the act, had their houſes burnt down. The magiſtrates were treated in the moſt ignominious manner; and one gentleman, more obnoxious to them than the reſt, was forced to deliver up all his papers, ſo as to give evidence againſt himſelf; a circumſtance the more cruel, becauſe he only acted in a public character.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe riots were carried on altogether by the populace, for undoubtedly many perſons of the higheſt rank in thoſe parts ſecretly fomented the diſturbances. This appeared evident ſoon after; for no ſooner had theſe diſaffected perſons ſeen the ſucceſs of the rioters, than they pulled off the maſk, and joined with them.

In the mean time, the governors of the provinces convened the aſſemblies, and propoſed that they ſhould, by ſome public act, make good the loſs of the ſufferers; but this they refuſed to do, although they condemned the conduct of the rioters, and offered rewards for apprehending them. This behaviour of the aſſemblies was approved of by their conſtituents, the freeholders, who gave them directions to oppoſe every meaſure that ſhould tend towards promoting the execution of the ſtamp-act, and to leave nothing undone in order to get it repealed; all which they promiſed to comply with, ſo that the governors knew not in what manner to act.

At laſt the aſſemblies went ſo far as to avow and acknowledge, that every thing done by the populace was conſiſtent with that duty they owed to their country. That a general union might be formed between the colonies, committees were eſtabliſhed to carry on a correſpondence with the leading members, and ſupport the common cauſe. Indeed, there was ſuch harmony among all the members of the different aſſemblies, that their eſtabliſhing committees was only a matter of form. The magiſtrates refuſed to act under a ſtatute that ſeemed injurious to their country, and the gentlemen of the law refuſed to plead unleſs the act was repealed. All public buſineſs was now at a ſtand; the courts of law were ſhut; and the merchants were afraid to ſend their goods to America, leſt they ſhould be deſtroyed: ſo that trade ſeemed at an end; and the total extinction of commerce, the only ſupport of the colonies, was on the point of being totally extinguiſhed.

Such was the diſtracted ſtate of our colonies in North-America, when, to the inexpreſſible regret of all thoſe who wiſhed well to their country, his royal highneſs William, duke of Cumberland, departed this life, at his houſe in Upper Groſvenor-ſtreet, on the laſt day of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age. This prince had been, from his moſt early youth, deſigned for the command of the army; and, while only a boy, he formed a company of noblemen and gentlemen's ſons, who, along with himſelf, were trained up in military exerciſes. Being properly qualified, he accepted of an enſign's commiſſion in the guards, and roſe from one ſtation to another, till at laſt he became the commander in chief. Ever attentive to the intereſts of his royal father's ſubjects, he freely expoſed his perſon in the moſt hazardous enterprizes during the war in Germany and Flanders; and, at the battle of Dettingen, when only arrived to the rank of a colonel, he commanded his own regiment, and received a wound on the thigh while advancing upon the enemy. His prudence and valour in ſuppreſſing an unnatural rebellion, are well known to the nation in general; ſo that nothing need be ſaid of it in this place. As a friend to merit in diſtreſs, he never neglected any opportunity of rewarding either officers or ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. During the interval that took place between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the breaking out of the war 1756, he conſtantly aſſiſted in the privy-council; and when ordered to take upon him the command of the allied army in Hanover, he chearfully obeyed, although he knew that the French forces were double his number. If his ſucceſs was not equal to his wiſhes, it was owing to the inferiority of his army; and when he thought proper to reſign all his public employments, he retired to a private ſtation, and ſpent the remainder of his life in giving proper encouragement to induſtry. Upon the whole, his highneſs was a wiſe counſellor, an able general, and indulgent maſter; and, what is ſtill more than any of theſe, he was a good man.

On the ſeventeenth of December, the parliament aſſembled; when his majeſty informed them of the diſturbances which had ariſen in America; and recommended to them to take it into their ſerious conſideration, by laying down ſome plan for ſupporting the dignity of government, without injuring the rights of the people. Addreſſes were preſented by both houſes; and the year cloſed with the death of prince Frederick William, his majeſty's youngeſt brother, who had been long in a declining way, and at laſt departed this life at Carleton-houſe on the twenty-ninth of December, in the ſixteenth year of his age.

A. D. 1766. This year opened with accounts from many parts of the world of people who had been long confined in chains of ſlavery, beginning to aſſert thoſe rights which belonged to them as men. The Georgians, a body of people who inhabit a vaſt tract of land near the Caſpian ſea, and are members of the Greek church, had been long oppreſſed by the Turks; and as their women are extremely handſome, they were obliged to ſend ſome of the moſt beautiful to Conſtantinople every year, to repleniſh the ſeraglio of the Grand Signior, as well as thoſe of the great officers of ſtate.

This was certainly a moſt ſhameful and unnatural tax, and therefore theſe people reſolved to ſhake it off. They were conducted in this undertaking by prince Heraclius, the deſcendant of one of their ſovereigns, a brave commander, and he defeated the Turks in ſeveral engagements; but not being properly ſupported by the Ruſſians, who were jealous of his power, he was obliged to drop the whole, and take ſhelter in the northern parts of Perſia.

In Egypt, and in the iſland of Cyprus, ſeveral inſurrections happened, in conſequence of the cruelties exerciſed on the inhabitants by the Turkiſh baſhaws, who ſeemed as if they had been ſent to thoſe countries, not to govern, but to deſtroy the people, by depriving them of the few privileges they had left. But an army of janiſaries being ſent againſt them, they were ſubdued, and once more obliged to ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery.

In Poland, where the proteſtants, and thoſe of the Greek church, are called Diſſidents, a ſcheme was gradually opening to deluge that fertile country in blood. The pope had ſent a bull or order to the clergy, commanding them to procure an act, that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to live in Poland who did not believe and profeſs the Roman Catholic religion, although both Greeks and proteſtants had been, by the moſt ſolemn treaties, endowed with thoſe privileges.

Remonſtrances in favour of thoſe diſſidents had been preſented by ſeveral courts, particularly that of Peterſburgh; but no regard having been paid to them by the diet or ſenate of Poland, an army of Ruſſians approached within a few miles of Warſaw. The Ruſſian general publiſhed a declaration, which was ſupported by another from Mr. Wroughton, the Engliſh ambaſſador; but the diet, inſtead of complying, declared, that they would adhere to the pope's bull, which had been publiſhed in all the churches by order of the prince primate.

The king ſaid all he could in favour of the diſſidents; and when he found that he could not prevail, he left the diet, thinking thereby to diſſolve it; but the prince primate, in virtue of his office as ſecond preſident, continued ſitting ſeveral days, till the debates ran ſo high, that all the members retired. In the mean time, the king, bleſſed with an open, enlarged mind, looked with abhorrence on all manner of perſecution: and although he made no attempt to change the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, yet he hated every thing that tended towards preventing a free inquiry into diſputed points.

During the month of March this year, great diſturbances happened in Spain, particularly in Madrid, Barcelona, and ſome other cities. The king of Spain had, from his early youth, been much addicted to French cuſtoms; and having introduced their dreſs into his court, he publiſhed an edict, commanding all his ſubjects to have their cloaths made in the ſame manner. Nothing is more inveterate than prejudice, or the long uſe of one faſhion in dreſs; and as the Spaniards had been, time immemorial, accuſtomed to their long cloaks, they looked upon the order as an infringement of their liberty. A ſignal having been given, ſome thouſands of men, all citizens, ſurrounded the palace, and were fired upon by the guards, who killed ſeveral of them. Their numbers, however, continued to increaſe, till towards evening, when a meſſenger was ſent to demand their reaſons for acting in ſuch a manner; upon which they cried out, that they meant no harm to the king, but that they would have the blood of the marquis of Squillacci. That nobleman, by birth an Italian, had been long prime miniſter to the king, and to him the people aſcribed all the innovations which had been made in their dreſs. The marquis was too ſenſible of his danger to remain any longer among a people who ſought his life; and therefore, having obtained permiſſion, he ſet out, with his lady and family, for Italy. His departure quieted the populace, who immediately diſperſed; but the king was ſo much offended at the loſs of his favourite, that he left Madrid, and reſided, during the remainder of the year, in the Eſcurial, about thirty miles diſtant.

The Engliſh affairs in the Eaſt-Indies were in a flouriſhing ſtate; for general Carnac, who commanded the company's forces, obtained a compleat victory over the Murrattas, a fierce people, whom Sujah Dowla had brought into the field. Sujah Dowla, with a ſpirit which would have done honour to an ancient Roman, reſolved to throw himſelf on the mercy of the conqueror; but firſt aſſiſted his friends in making their eſcape, being regardleſs of himſelf while they were ſafe. Accordingly, he ſurrendered to general Carnac, relying ſolely on his generoſity.

During theſe tranſactions, lord Clive arrived at Bengal, in the quality of governor of all the company's forts and ſettlements, with an unlimited power to act in what manner he pleaſed. This was, perhaps, the moſt flouriſhing year for the Eaſt-India company, for they acquired an immenſe treaſure; but that has proved fatal to this nation; for the riches in the Eaſt being brought into England, has extended luxury throughout every part of the nation. The rents of landed eſtates have been raiſed to ſupport it, by which the prices of all the neceſſaries of life have increaſed ſo faſt, that although no ſcarcity has taken place, yet many of out induſtrious poor are reduced to the greateſt hardſhips.

In England, the great object of national concern was the conduct of the Americans. On the fourteenth of January, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, where, in a long ſpeech, he adviſed the members to haſten their proceedings, leſt commerce ſhould ſuffer, and the public credit ſhould be injured. Petitions were, at the ſame time, preſented to parliament by the merchants of London, and almoſt all the trading towns in the nation, ſetting forth, that the ſtamp-act had done great injury to the Britiſh manufactures; and humbly praying, that they would take the whole into their conſideration, and grant ſuch relief as, in their wiſdom, ſhould appear reaſonable.

Great debates aroſe concerning the matter contained in theſe petitions, and two parties in the houſe of commons were extremely violent againſt each other. It is neceſſary to take notice, that this famous ſtamp-act had been ſtrongly ſupported by Mr. Grenville, firſt lord of the treaſury; but that gentleman having reſigned all his employments the preceding year, the marquis of Rockingham was appointed in his room.

Mr. Grenville, with all his friends, ſtood up in defence of the act: they urged, that nothing could be more reaſonable, than that thoſe who were the natural ſubjects of Great-Britain, nouriſhed by its manufactures, and protected by its armies and navies, ſhould contribute towards the ſupport of government, as well as thoſe who live in the mother-country. They added, that it was beneath the dignity of government to repeal laws, in order to pleaſe a factious people: and concluded by remarking, that if once ſuch an indulgence was granted, no laws would ever, for the future, become binding upon them; ſo that a ſtep of ſuch a nature would be an introduction to many evils, and, in the end, encourage the Americans to attempt to throw off all ſubjection to the Britiſh empire.

The ſame party dwelt long on the conceſſions which had been made by ſome of our princes to their ſubjects, and the fatal conſequences which flowed from them. They ſaid, that it had been acknowledged by the oppoſite party, that Britain had a legiſlative authority over the American colonies, and therefore, taxation being only a part of legiſlation, no man of common ſenſe, acquainted with the firſt principles of logic, could ſtand up in defence of the conduct of thoſe who had oppoſed the act.

On the other hand, the great principle contended for was, that all bodies corporate, eſtabliſhed by charters, writs, or patents from the crown, were never taxed but in their own aſſemblies: that the counties-palatine of Durham and Cheſter, which are held by preſcription, had never been taxed but in their own aſſemblies, till they were, by ſtatute, incorporated with the Engliſh parliament. Nay, they went farther, and inſiſted, that Wales, long after the reign of Edward I. was not taxed, nor did that practice commence till they were repreſented in parliament: that the dutchy of Lancaſter, although eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, had never been taxed till it ſent members; and the clergy, as a collective body, had continued to tax themſelves in their own convocations till the reign of Charles II. when they voluntarily gave up that privilege, and ſubmitted to be taxed with the other freeholders: that all the charters granted to the colonies are ſo many grants from the crown; and, conſidered in that light, all the rights and privileges of free-born ſubjects flowed down to them: that, in the interpretation of any diſpute concerning right, it was an invariable maxim in law to keep to that ſide where there were feweſt doubts remaining. Thus it was evident that the counties palatine, &c. had never been taxed till they were firſt repreſented; and as they held their privileges by grants from the crown, ſo the Americans were on the ſame footing, and ought to be conſidered in the ſame light.

Precedents were quoted from many paſſages in hiſtory, both ancient and modern; ſuch as the conduct of the Tyrians to the Carthaginians, who emigrated from them, and from a ſmall colony with a charter, they became a moſt flouriſhing commonwealth. That the colonies in America had been peopled by thoſe oppreſſed Britiſh ſubjects, who preferred liberty to ſlavery, even in the unhoſpitable deſerts of America. That as they were ſtill extremely poor, and as they had gone into thoſe parts to enjoy liberty, ſo nothing could be more unreaſonable than to attempt to deprive them of it. Many arguments were made uſe of out of Lock, Puffendorf, Harrington, Monteſquieu, and ſeveral other writers on natural law.

To all this it was replied by thoſe who oppoſed the repeal of the act, that the arguments brought in defence of the Americans, did not apply to any given propoſition that had been advanced in the debate. That the precedents brought from hiſtory actually defeated their own intention; for as to Wales, a conquered province, it was conſidered a great and valuable privilege, to ſuffer them to ſend repreſentatives to parliament, nor had they obtained till they firſt ſollicited for it, in the moſt earneſt manner. That they had been long cruelly oppreſſed by the lords of the marches, who under pretence of demanding ſubſidies for the crown, enriched themſelves while the poor inhabitants were ſtarving. That the counties palatine of Cheſter and Durham, ought not to be brought in as precedents; for inſtead of being held by charters, they were ſo by preſcription; and the earl of the one, with the biſhop of the other, although exempted from being taxed, either in the Wittenagemote, before the conqueſt, or the parliament after it, always contributed their quota towards ſupporting the government. That the dutchy of Lancaſter was entirely out of the queſtion; for it was a regality conſtituted in favour of John of Gaunt, fourth ſon of Edward III. according to the principles of the feudal law. That it was extremely diverting to hear men of learning, produce the account of Carthage, and mention a charter, while it remains a doubt whether letters were ſo much as known in the age that thoſe emigrants left Tyre, and as to the Americans being poor, it was confuted by daily experience.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by both parties, and the reader is left to judge for himſelf; for as long as there are prejudices remaining in the minds of men, the impartial hiſtorian will only relate facts without drawing inferences from them. The debates being finiſhed, a bill was brought in, which paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition, to ſecure the ſole dependence of the colonies on Great Britain, and then another bill was brought in for the repeal of the ſtamp-act, which alſo paſſed into a law.

On the ſixth of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and put an end to the ſeſſions of parliament in a ſpeech, wherein he informed them, that with reſpect to his connection with foreign powers, every thing wore a peaceable aſpect; for as to the diſtractions in Poland, we were but very remotely concerned with, though he had done all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties.

He told them, that the public buſineſs ſettled by them, had been of a very intricate, as well as an accumulated nature, and applauded their conduct in being ſo aſſiduous in the diſcharge of it. He added, that nothing could give him greater pleaſure than to hear that all his ſubjects, whether at home or abroad, were united in principles of harmony, ſo as to promote the good of each other, and concluded by telling them, that notwithſtanding the encreaſe of his family, he would attend to the ſtricteſt œconomy, in order to make the public expences as little as poſſible.

The miniſtry, at the head of whom was the marquis of Rockingham, were now in the height of glory; every ſcheme propoſed by them had been carried into execution; and (what perhaps will ſurprize all future ages) they were beloved by the people. No changes were ſuppoſed to take place, and none were wiſhed for; but the minds of ſovereigns, as well as private perſons, are equally ſubject to changes, and even for the ſame trifling reaſons.

For reaſons, that may be diſcovered by every ſenſible reader, the king, on the thirtieth of July, made the following changes in the miniſtry; changes that not only ſurpriſed the ſubjects of Britain, but likewiſe all the courts in Europe. The duke of Grafton was conſtituted firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; lord Cambden was ſent for from Northampton, where he was on the circuit, and created lord high-chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington, made preſident of the council; the earl of Shelburne was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the duke of Richmond; Mr. Pitt was created earl of Chatham, and made lord privy-ſeal; and Mr. Townſhend was appointed chanchancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Dowdeſwell. With reſpect to theſe changes it muſt be remembered, that for ſome years the miniſtry had been ſo often changed, that ſome ſuppoſed the people were not to be acquainted with any thing tranſacted at the helm of affairs; but the political writers brought every thing to light; for the diſcontented parties vented their ſpleen on each other.

Such was the ſtate of political affairs in England, when, on the firſt of October, the princeſs Caroline Matilda, youngeſt daughter of the late prince of Wales, and ſiſter to his majeſty, was married by proxy at St. James's, to the king of Denmark, and next day ſet out for Harwich. She was accompanied by her royal brother the duke of Glouceſter, and on the eighteenth of the ſame month ſhe arrived in ſafety at Altena, where ſhe was met by the king, and the nuptials were ſolemnized according to the form of the Lutheran church.

The parliament met on the eleventh of November, and there having been great complaints concerning the high price of proviſions and inſurrections in different parts of the country, his majeſty recommended the ſtate of the nations to both houſes, and deſired that they would, in their deliberations, fix on ſome plan for the relief of his diſtreſſed ſubjects.

He told them, that the diſcontents among the people had led them to commit many acts of violence on the reſt of their fellow ſubjects, from miſtaken notions that they had been the voluntary cauſe of all their ſufferings. That contrary to his own inclinations, but conſiſtent with the neceſſity he was under to ſupport the dignity of government, he had iſſued ſpecial commiſſions for the trials of the rioters, that the public peace might be preſerved, and the minds of the lower claſſes of people ſo much intimidated, that they would be afraid to offend. He added, that he had concluded a commercial treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he hoped would be of great benefit to his ſubjects; and took notice of the marriage of his ſiſter to the king of Denmark, a circumſtance that would ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt. He concluded, by telling the commons that he confided in their wiſdom and fidelity for raiſing the ſupplies, and recommended unanimity to all the members.

As the miniſtry had been recently changed, great oppoſition was made in the houſe to every thing propoſed by adminiſtration. Nay ſome of the diſcarded adherents went ſo far as to attempt to paliate, and even excuſe the rioters, who had riſen in different parts of the country. However, it was agreed upon by the greateſt majority in both houſes, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, and then they adjourned till after the holidays.

A. D. 1767. The firſt object that attracted the notice of parliament this ſeſſions, was the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company, which was now become extremely rich, and actually exerciſed a ſovereign authority over their ſettlements. To all wiſe miniſters ſuch a circumſtance muſt have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of every thing relating to their tranſactions, they were obliged to deliver up to the houſe the originals of ſuch treaties as they had entered into with the princes in the Eaſt-Indies; and alſo an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the ſupport of the company.

This was a moſt mortifying affair for the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock; and what was ſtill worſe, all theſe papers were printed and publiſhed. The queſtion ſtated by adminiſtration was, "What right "had the Eaſt-India company to territorial juriſ"diction?"

By their charter they were even excluded from making any conqueſts; and yet it was certain that they had ſubdued ſeveral of the princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own ſettlements. It was urged further, that ſuch powers veſted in a corporate body of merchants was inconſiſtent with the nature of government, derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the generality of the ſubjects. That if the government was to ſupport them, then all thoſe acquiſitions of territory became the property of the crown, otherwiſe a principle would take place ſimilar to that in the feudal law, where regalities were eſtabliſhed, and the chief enjoyed a commutative juriſdiction with the ſovereign. That ſuch practices would contribute towards the promoting confuſion among all ranks of ſubjects, and might in the end lead us back to a ſtate of barbarity, equal to that in which our predeceſſors were five hundred years ago.

On the other hand, thoſe who contended for the rights of the company, argued in the following manner. They ſaid, that the words of the charter were general, and therefore the notion of acquiſitions was implied by inferences drawn from conſequences, without an aſſigned ſpecification. That by ſuch a chain of reaſoning, all the new ſettlements made in America, beyond thoſe that were ſpecified in the charters, might be claimed by the crown, although it was evident, that they were private property. That people who went to ſettle in foreign parts, eſpecially among uncultivated ſavages, were obliged, for their own ſafety, to extend the bounds of their territories; and if the government is at ſome trifling expence in ſupporting them, it is no more than what they owe to the ſubjects in general. It was further urged, that if the crown had any claim on the company, the courts of law were open, where there was not the leaſt doubt but juſtice would be done to all parties; and as the houſe of commons was not a court of judicature, ſo it had no right to meddle with points of law, nor could it decide on any legal privileges. That if ever ſuch an event ſhould take place, as that of the commons aſſuming a power to judge in matters of law, it would prove fatal to the ſubjects in general, who would chuſe that their reſpective properties ſhould be intruſted in other hands.

The diſputes were carried on with great warmth by both parties, and the reſult was, that the company ſhould, during the ſpace of two years enſuing, pay a certain ſum to the government; and that no dividend of their ſtock ſhould be made without the conſent of a general court of proprietors.

On the twenty-fourth of June his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſions of parliament, and on the ſeventeenth of September following, his royal highneſs the duke of York, who had gone abroad in order to make the tour of Italy, died at Monaco, a ſmall diſtrict a little beyond Provence.

With reſpect to public affairs on the continent of Europe, an event took place little expected, and which ſurprized moſt people. It is well known that Italy, once the ſeat of learning, has been for many ages the mother and nurſe of ſuperſtition; and from thence originated all thoſe ridiculous ceremonies that debaſed the chriſtian religion, and made it reſemble the groſſeſt paganiſm, for ſuch is the nominal worſhip performed in popiſh churches, that a ſtranger would conſider it in much the ſame light as the idolatry of the antient heathens.

For ſome time popery had been loſing ground in thoſe countries where it is by law eſtabliſhed, and encreaſing where it was prohibited, owing to the diſgrace into which the jeſuits had brought themſelves. That ſociety had been eſtabliſhed above two hundred years, and in that time had riſen to ſuch fame, that they became objects of jealouſy, and even reſentment to the other orders. It is true, they were become ſo affluent that even princes might have looked upon them as dangerous rivals; but that was not the ſole cauſe of their ruin. It had been a conſtant practice with princes, and other great men, to make them their confeſſors; and it is well known, that he who acts the part of a confeſſor to a prince, may, with propriety, be conſidered as his prime miniſter. All ſecrets had been truſted with them, and as ſome of them were, at the ſame time, confeſſors to thoſe in oppoſite intereſts, jealouſies took place; and the king of Portugal, having been attacked in his carriage in conſequence of a plan laid by theſe fathers, reſolved to baniſh them out of his dominions. This happened ſeveral years before the period we are now treating off, and Spain followed the example of Portugal, by baniſhing them out of all their dominions, whether in Europe or America.

One would have imagined that they would have found an aſylum in Italy, and it is true, they did ſo for ſome time; but during the former part of this year, they were baniſhed from Naples and Parma, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Under various characters, ſuch as thoſe of tutors, clerks, ſurgeons, &c. many of them have ſettled in proteſtant countries; but it is to be hoped, that parents and guardians will take care to prevent youth from being ſeduced by them.

In Ruſſia, the empreſs had ſummoned all the learned men in her empire to aſſemble at Moſcow, in order to compile a code of laws, which was the more neceſſary, as many of the provinces conſiſted of ſubjects governed by different laws, and theſe frequently claſhing with each other contributed towards injuring claimants to private property, and retarded the regular courſe of diſtributive juſtice.

In Poland, the diet once more aſſembled, but as it was impoſſible to bring the contending parties to an agreement, the nobles, who were at the head of the diſſidents, formed themſelves into a ſeparate body for their own preſervation.

The attention of all the people in Europe was, this year, directed to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean, almoſt adjoining to the iſland of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and ſome centuries ago, had been given by the pope to the republic of Piſa; but the Genoeſe took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. The ſpirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it; and ſuch a one was found in the perſon of the famous Paoli, a native of the iſland, but had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero will be tranſmitted to the lateſt ages, but we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent part of this work, that overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the iſland.

On the twenty-fourth of November the parliament met, and was opened by his majeſty, who told the members that he had aſſembled them at ſo early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with ſteadineſs and judgment; and, in particular, he recommended to them the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the price of proviſions.

The firſt, and indeed the principal ſubject engaged the attention of both houſes was of ſuch a nature, that nothing equal to it happened ſince the revolution.

tion. The dreadful hardſhips to which the poor had been reduced by the exorbitant price of proviſions, became matter of ſerious conſideration; and petitions having been preſented to his majeſty during the receſs of parliament, a proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting the exportation of corn for a limited time. It is certain, that as there was an act of parliament, allowing the free exportation of corn, while at or under a certain price, the diſpenſing with it by proclamation was unconſtitutional, eſpecially as the parlialiament might have been aſſembled, and a bill brought in to ſet aſide the former act. But if the diſpenſing power was this once exerciſed, certainly it was to promote the moſt benevolent of all purpoſes, namely, that of alleviating the diſtreſſes of the poor. However, as ſuch a practice had been ſolemnly condemned at the revolution, and leſt it ſhould ſet a moſt dangerous precedent for ſucceeding princes to copy after, a bill was brought in and paſſed into a law, declaring the meaſure illegal; but at the ſame time to indemnify all thoſe who had acted either in making or obeying the proclamation. The debates on this bill ran very high, and happy was it for the miniſtry that their intention in iſſuing the proclamation was good; for it was inſiſted on by the adverſe party, that no excuſe, not even abſolute neceſſity could be pleaded in favour of thoſe who promoted the diſpenſing with an act of parliament.

Thoſe who ſpoke in defence of the miniſtry, urged the opinion of Mr. Locke, who ſays, it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that there ſhould be a ſingle ſtate in the world, where the prince had not, on extraordinary occaſions, a right to provide for his diſtreſſed ſubjects: nay that it was his duty to do ſo, for otherwiſe he could not, with any degree of propriety, be called the father of his people. They maintained, that this doctrine was not contrary to the ſecurity of the civil conſtitution, or to the ſpirit of liberty, ſince they admitted that it could be legally exerted only in caſes of the greateſt neceſſity during the receſs of parliament, and when parliament cannot conveniently be aſſembled.

To this it was anſwered, that the doctrine of neceſſity was the foundation of all the troubles in the reign of Charles I. eſpecially in the affair of ſhip-money, when it was pretended there was a ſtate neceſſity for it. That no diſcretionary power was left in the crown, but what was at the ſame time limited by ſome act of parliament; ſo that the crown could never diſpenſe with poſitive laws. They urged farther, that to ſuſpend an act, was but another name for a temporary repeal, and if the king could repeal acts, then he could make them. But the parliament did not allow this diſpenſing power to lodge any where but in the three branches; namely, king, lords and commons; becauſe, though it might be once exerciſed for the good of the ſubjects, yet ſuch were the paſſions of men, that it would more frequently be proſtituted to the baſeſt purpoſes. That if the exigences of the caſe required it, let the parliament be immediately aſſembled, and the matter laid before them, for if the king can break through one law, he can break through all. Upon the whole, it was ſaid, that if the doctrine of ſuſpenſion, on the plea of ſtate neceſſity, was admitted as conſtitutional, the revolution could be called nothing but a ſucceſsful rebellion, a lawleſs and wicked invaſion of the rights of the crown, and James II. was actually robbed.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by both parties, and certain it is, that the miniſtry had no right to diſpenſe with a ſtatute, ſeeing they might have aſſembled the parliament for that purpoſe. But candour will draw a veil where the action aroſe from motives of benevolence, although the means made uſe of might not be altogether conſtitutional.

A. D. 1768. The public buſineſs having been diſpatched in parliament, the king went to the houſe on the tenth of March, and having thanked the commons for their generouſly granting the ſupplies for the year, deſired them to preſerve peace among their neighbours in their counties and towns, eſpecially during the next general election. He then prorogued the parliament to the laſt day of March; but on the twelfth a proclamation was iſſued, whereby they were diſſolved. At the ſame time writs were iſſued for electing new members, and in many parts of the country the conteſts between the different candidates ran ſo high, that many ſcandalous actions were committed.

The new parliament met on the eleventh of May, and the commons having choſen Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker, the lord chancellor Cambden opened the ſeſſion by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Both houſes preſented loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, beſeeching him to put the laws in execution againſt all thoſe concerned in riots or tumults. The growing price of proviſions had driven many of the lower claſſes of people to a ſtate of diſtraction, and ſeveral irregularities had been committed, eſpecially in Spital-fields; where many poor families did not only ſtruggle under the dearth of proviſions, but were alſo deſtitute of work. Undoubtedly the keeping the price of proviſions as low as poſſible, is the grand object that all government ought to have in view; for by attending to that, commerce is encouraged, and the people are kept in proper ſubjection to the laws; but when ſuch things are neglected, all runs into the utmoſt confuſion, which forbodes the ruin of a ſtate.

Nothing further was done this ſeſſion, beſides chuſing the proper committees, and then the parliament was prorogued. The affairs in England being not very intereſting, we muſt now conſider ſuch tranſactions as happened on the continent of Europe, eſpecially the north and eaſt, where war had broke out between the great empires of Turky and Ruſſia. The Ruſſians, who a century ago, were no better than barbarians, are now become a moſt powerful people; and in many parts of that vaſt empire, learning is cultivated, and commerce encouraged. So rapidly indeed have the people in Ruſſia proceeded in the cultivation of their intellectual faculties, that there are but two things wanting to make them the moſt powerful people in the world, namely, a ſettlement on the Black Sea, and the reſignation of all claims to thoſe extenſive countries in Aſia, which border on China, and over which they have no more than a nominal ſovereignty. By the former, they would be able to extend their commerce with great facility along the ſhores of the Mediterranean; and by the latter, they would be relieved from the neceſſity of keeping up too great an army to govern barbarous nations not worthy of their notice, and unable to repay the expence. Like the Roman empire at the death of Trojan, Ruſſia is too large to be governed by one head; and however willing ſovereigns may be to give up their claims to nominal territories, yet we are aſſured from hiſtory, and convinced by daily experience, that an empire too large is never well governed. The empreſs of Ruſſia was ſenſible of this, and as ſhe had nothing more at heart than the civilizing of her people, by compleating the great plan laid down by the Czar Peter, ſo ſhe conſidered the diſtreſſes in Poland, and the conduct of the French in ſtirring up the Turks againſt that unhappy country, as a favourable opportunity for her to extend her conqueſts to the Black Sea, and from thence to Conſtantinople.

What gave great countenance to this ſcheme, was the religion of the Ruſſian empire. From the times of the emperor Juſtinian, who flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixth century, down to the middle of the fourteenth, the chriſtians called Greeks, had ſettled themſelves and propagated their religion from the eaſtern extremity of Dalmatia to the Helleſpont, and in all the iſlands of the Mediterranean that lay eaſtward of Malta. They were likewiſe very numerous in the Leſſer Aſia; and from Armenia and Georgia, their ſentiments had been inculcated among the Ruſſians, ſo that the inhabitants of that vaſt empire were of the ſame religion with the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Turky in Europe. The Greeks, throughout every part of the Turkiſh empire, had been long conſidered in the ſame light as if they had been ſlaves; and the oppreſſions they groaned under, from the tyranny of their inhuman governors, the baſhaws of the provinces, made them wiſh for any change, eſpecially ſuch a one as might be in their favour.

All theſe things being duly conſidered by the empreſs of Ruſſia and her miniſtry, it was agreed upon that her army ſhould march into Poland, under pretence of aſſiſting the diſſidents. The regular troops of Poland were then under the command of count Branicki, maſter of the ordnance; but many regiments deſerted, and joined the diſſidents, who were now become ſo ſtrong, that they took the field. Scarce a day paſſed without ſkirmiſhes between the contending parties; and while the diet of Poland was ſitting, the Ruſſians entered the ſenate-houſe, and carried off ſuch of the members as were moſt averſe to their meaſures. Confederacies were formed every where, according to the inclinations of the parties; but a body of them, under the marſhal Potochi, was defeated by a party of the Ruſſians, and obliged to ſeek ſhelter in Turky. The Ruſſians purſued the fugitives into Moldavia; which ſo exaſperated the baſhaw of that province, that he ſent an expreſs to the Grand Signior, who returned for anſwer, that the Ruſſian general had infringed the faith of treaties, and inſiſted upon his making ſatisfaction. This, however, he would by no means comply with, and contented himſelf with pleading ignorance of the bounds of the Turkiſh empire; after which he retired, while Potochi haraſſed his rear, and cut off many of his men. Potochi ſoon after having gathered together the remains of his army, marched through Moldavia, and from thence into Poland, where he was joyfully received by his friends, and invited to join a ſtrong confederacy that had been formed at Bar. There they were attacked by the Ruſſians, and a moſt bloody battle enſued, in which the confederates came off conquerors, though not without conſiderable loſs.

But this was a victory from which the confederates reaped but few advantages; for the Ruſſian army, under general Apraxin, having attacked them, they were defeated, and above four thouſand killed on the ſpot. The town and caſtle of Bar were then given up to the Ruſſians, who ſeized all the arms and ammunition; and ſo vaſt were the riches depoſited in theſe places, that the prizes to the private ſoldiers were near a thouſand pounds ſterling each.

At Cracovia, an ancient city in Poland, the confederates made a moſt vigorous defence, which was owing to the king having ſent a moſt ſupplicating letter to the Ruſſian general, not to demoliſh the houſes of the inhabitants. However, a train of heavy artillery was ſent from Warſaw, upon which the place was taken by ſtorm, and many of the inhabitants put to the ſword.

It might reaſonably have been thought, that theſe diſtreſſes in Poland would have brought their great nobles to hearken to the voice of reaſon; but they were all to no purpoſe; for they ſeldom met together to tranſact public affairs, without coming to blows, and, on ſuch occaſions, much blood was ſpilt. The Greeks in the Morea having taken up arms, were defeated by a party of the Turks; and ſuch as were taken priſoners ſuffered the moſt cruel tortures; all which furniſhed an excuſe for the Ruſſians to act with more vigour againſt the confederates in Poland, who had not only been inſtigated to take up arms by the Turks, but were alſo ſecretly ſupported by them, otherways they could never have been able to hold out ſo long as they did.

The connection which Great-Britain hath long had with Ruſſia, of a commercial nature, makes us more than ordinarily concerned in every thing relating to that extenſive empire. It is certain that the Ruſſians could not long conceal their real intentions; and therefore the divan, or council of the Grand Signior, propoſed that the ambaſſador from Peterſburg ſhould be impriſoned. This was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, which grants protection to the perſons of ambaſſadors: but the Turks are either too ignorant, or too obſtinate to pay any regard to ſuch ſacred rights. This occaſioned an open declaration of war by the empreſs of Ruſſia; and, from a maniſeſto which was tranſmitted to her ambaſſadors at foreign courts, it appears that ſhe imagined all thoſe in alliance with her would give her every aſſiſtance ſhe ſhould require; but this was what they would by no means comply with.

In the mean time, the empreſs raiſed a great army from all the different parts of the empire; and one out of ten of the regular troops was draughted, to teach the new recruits military diſcipline; for ſome of them had been brought from the banks of the Wolga, where fire-arms had ſcarce ever been ſeen.

While theſe preparations were making in Ruſſia, hoſtilities were renewed between the Ruſſians and the confederates in Poland, and many bloody battles were fought; but the latter not being united, and leſs numerous than the former, were moſt commonly defeated with great loſs. In one of theſe engagements, the Ruſſians purſued a party of the confederates to the other ſide of the Boryſtenes, a river which divides Poland from the Turkiſh dominions; and the fugitives having taken ſhelter in the town of Balta, in Leſſer Tartary, the Ruſſians took it by ſtorm, and indiſcriminately put all to the ſword whom they found in arms, without ſo much as enquiring whether they were Turks, Tartars, or confederates. Nay, it is even aſſerted, that near a thouſand women and children were barbarouſly murdered, which is not to be wondered at, when we conſider what numbers of ſavage irregulars always attend the Ruſſian armies.

This act of hoſtility enraged the Turks to the higheſt degree; and as their grand vizier, or prime miniſter, was of a very pacific diſpoſition, he was depoſed, and another appointed in his room. At the ſame time, a maniſeſto was given to ſuch of the European ambaſſadors as were then at Conſtantinople. But it was one of the moſt fooliſh that ever was read: it ſets forth, that the king of Poland was not fit to reign, becauſe he was not of a royal family; altho' it is well known that the Poles had, time immemorial, elected one of their own nobles to be their king, nor had that practice been ever ſet aſide till the death of the famous Sobieſki, in 1697, when Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, was, by his intrigues, elected in his room.

The preparations made by the Turks for war, was, in ſome meaſure, ſimilar to the conduct of Darius, when he went to meet Alexander the Great. The officers ſeemed to vie with each other in making the grandeſt proviſion of tents and equipages, and furniſhing themſelves with large ſums of money: all which was joyful news to the Ruſſians, who doubted not but they ſhould be able to ſhare in the ſpoils. Great bodies of troops from Egypt, Syria, and all parts of the Leſſer Aſia, were daily brought over the Helleſpont; but many diſorders having been committed by them in the neighbourhood of Conſtantinople, an order was iſſued, commanding all the new Aſiatic troops to croſs at the Dardanelles, where veſſels would be ready to carry them to Gallipoly, on the oppoſite ſhore of the Black Sea. All the Greeks throughout the empire were ordered to deliver up their arms; but ſome of them having refuſed to comply, the janiſaries attacked them with their ſwords, and ſome on both ſides were killed.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed on the emperor of Germany, to ſee what part he would take in the war: for although there had been long a natural enmity between his family and the Turks, yet he knew that the Ruſſians were already too powerful to need any aſſiſtance, nor did he deſire that they ſhould ever ſettle on the Black Sea. However, the young emperor attended ſo ſtrictly to the raiſing recruits to fill up his regiments, that many began to imagine that he intended to take the field; and it was even given out, that he was greatly offended becauſe the Ruſſians did not depart from Poland.

The king of Pruſſia, ever attentive to his own intereſt, did not remain idle; for his regiments were all completed, that he might be ready, on the firſt emergency, to take the field. He enliſted as many foreigners in his ſervice as he could procure, leſt agriculture ſhould be neglected in his dominions. Nor was he leſs attentive to the domeſtic ſafety of his country; for he gave encouragement to all thoſe who promoted manufactures; and rewards were beſtowed on the widows and children of ſuch as had been killed during the war.

The French, although profeſſed Roman Catholics, pay but little regard to the pope; for this year they took from him the province of Vanaiſſan, with the fine city of Avignon. It is true, the pope thundered out his bulls and curſes; but however terrible they might have been in former times, they were now very little regarded.

During the month of Auguſt this year, the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa, of a very extraordinary nature, and ſuch as ought to have been oppoſed by all the maritime ſtates in Europe. The brave Corſicans ſtill continued to defend thoſe rights which the Genoeſe ſought to deprive them of; and the latter deſpairing of ever bringing them into ſubjection, agreed to give up that valuable iſland to the French king, upon condition of his ſending an army thither to ſubdue the people. It was really ſurpriſing that other nations ſhould have ſuffered ſuch a treaty to be put in execution; for if a war ſhould break out, the French will have an opportunity of ſending a ſwarm of privateers from Corſica, and to this iſland they could bring their prizes without being obliged to ſail to Marſeilles; ſo that the trade along the ſouth and weſt coaſt of Italy would be wholly their own.

Such was the ſtate of affairs on the continent, when the attention of the Engliſh miniſtry was directed to America, where ſeveral diſturbances had happened on account of ſome duties having been laid on glaſs, ſalt, and ſome other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the ſtamp-act would have given ſome ſatisfaction to theſe people, but they ſtill inſiſted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themſelves.

At Boſton, the people met in a large body, and entered into ſeveral reſolutions not to import any goods of a ſuperfluous nature, but to attend to the ſtricteſt œconomy, both in dreſs and furniture. A ſubſcription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. This was done to elude the payment of the duties upon ſuch articles as ſhould be ſent from England; and, at the ſame time, an aſſociation of gentlemen from all the old colonies was formed, in order to propoſe the moſt likely means to be uſed in preventing Engliſh acts of parliament from being put in force there, or in any other of the American provinces, or the Weſt-Indies.

The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay, had placed the greateſt confidence in their repreſentatives, and there was a continual conteſt between them and their governor. The earl of Shelburne had ſent over a letter to the governor, complaining of theſe abuſes, and it was read in the open aſſembly of the repreſentatives. This occaſioned moſt violent debates; and ſome of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the governor had miſrepreſented their conduct to the miniſtry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on that ſubject, vindicating themſelves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the ſame time, the merchants of Boſton ordered their agent to repreſent to the lords of the treaſury, that unleſs theſe duties, which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be deſtroyed, as they ſeemed to them contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with their charter. Theſe repreſentations occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a new officer, who was to act as ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies in America; and the firſt perſon made choice of was the earl of Hillſborough, at that time firſt lord of trade. The firſt thing done by his lordſhip, was to ſend circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majeſty was highly diſpleaſed at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confuſion, and throw every thing into the utmoſt diſorder. He ſaid, that their conduct in oppoſing the legiſlative power of Great-Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to ſuch practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preſerve the public peace, by puniſhing all diſorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere oppoſition in words, or in ſcandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

Governor Barnard had diſſolved the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and new ones being choſen, it was inſiſted on by him, that they ſhould make a public act to diſapprove of the conduct of the late aſſembly. This was going too far; becauſe, unleſs repreſentatives are left free to act according to the will and orders of their conſtituents, they do not deſerve the name. They deſired to ſee a copy of the governor's inſtructions, which was granted them, and, to their ſurprize, they found, that in caſe they refuſed to comply, they were to be diſſolved, and an account of their conduct ſent to England, in order to be laid before the next ſeſſions of parliament.

This ſet the whole aſſembly in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to paſs a cenſure on the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, ninety-two voted againſt it, and no more than ſeventeen for it. The reſt of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almoſt every where not to take any goods from England, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary.

The diſcontents among the people of Boſton now broke out into open violence: for a ſhip having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new cuſtoms were to be regulated, the officers made a ſignal to the Romney man of war, who ſent her boats; and having cut down the maſts of the trading veſſel, hawled her along-ſide of the king's ſhip. This was ſo ſeverely reſented by the populace, that they roſe in great numbers, demoliſhed the houſes of the cuſtom-houſe officers, and laying hold of the commiſſioner's boat, dragged it on ſhore, and then ſet it on fire.

While theſe diſorders continued in the town, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly; but that had not the deſired effect, for the diſturbances increaſed every day, ſo that two regiments were ſent over from Ireland to ſupport the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Hallifax, in Nova-Scotia; and no ſooner had the people of Boſton received news that they were landed at that place, than they met, and choſe a preſident among themſelves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reaſon, or with what view, his majeſty's forces were to be ſent among them. They deſired, at the ſame time, that a general aſſembly might be ſummoned to meet; but he refuſed to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and ſubmit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they ſeemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he muſt freely tell them, that unleſs they ſubmitted to the government, he ſhould be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refuſed to receive any meſſages from them; upon which they ſent a long detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the miniſtry. In the mean time, the tranſports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houſes of townſmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they ſhould have barrack proviſions, ſo as to be as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general ſatisfaction to ſuch of the people as were moderate in their ſentiments; but notwithſtanding, a great majority were ſtill diſcontented. They could not behold without jealouſy an armed force quartered amongſt them in time of peace; for, with reſpect to their late combinations, they conſidered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

The domeſtic peace of England, during this ſummer, which was not interrupted by any incident but one, which will hereafter be taken notice of, induced the king of Denmark to viſit his royal brother-in-law, our ſovereign. He was attended by moſt of his great officers of ſtate, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to him by all ranks of people. But nothing leſs than the moſt unbounded diſſipation ſeemed to have taken place. His Daniſh majeſty gave orders for a maſquerade, which was one of the moſt magnificent ever ſeen in England; and while the preparations for it were going on, he viſited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Mancheſter; and, on his return to London, coming through Oxford, he was met by the whole univerſity in proceſſion. When he came to the ſenate-houſe, the public orator complimented him in a moſt elegant Latin ſpeech, to which his majeſty replied in the ſame language. He was then preſented with a diploma, as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in his honorary robes along with the doctors and regents. In the beginning of October, his majeſty left England; and, much about the ſame time, ſeveral changes took place in the Engliſh miniſtry; for certain it is, that the political ſtate of this country had, for ſeveral years, been of a very fluctuating nature.

In the Eaſt-Indies, during the latter end of the laſt, and the beginning of this year, things began to aſſume a new form; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place much to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, whoſe ſtock was now advanced to a ſurpriſing height. Hyder Ally, a perſon who had ſerved ſome time as a common ſoldier, having received ſome affront from his officers, left the army, and raiſed a choſen band of followers, with a view of driving the Engliſh out of all their ſettlements in that part of the world. Although brought up in the moſt humble ſtation, yet, like Tamerlane, or Caius Marius, he had all the qualities of a great general, which were only obſcured for want of a proper opportunity of diſplaying them to public view.

Such was the character of the man with whom the Engliſh had now to contend, and it muſt be acknowledged, that it required the greateſt ſkill to oppoſe him. He had conquered ſeveral provinces on the coaſt of Malabar, and, upon the whole, was conſidered as one of the moſt formidable princes in the eaſt. He was ſenſible, however, that the Eaſt-India company would be ſo powerfully ſupported, that policy muſt be added to force, otherwiſe he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his ſchemes. Accordingly, he brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his intereſt; and having raiſed a large body of forces, prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's ſervice, was ſent to oppoſe this formidable alliance; and a moſt deſperate engagement enſued, in which Hyder Ally diſcovered all the courage and conduct of the braveſt general. He made his diſpoſitions with ſo much prudence, that it was no eaſy matter to attack him; ſo that colonel Smith, in order to avoid the force of his cannon, which galled the company's troops on the right, marched to a riſing ground on the left, and ſo turned his lines. The Aſiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at laſt they gave way, and the Engliſh continued purſuing them with great ſlaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the Engliſh, beſides a vaſt quantity of treaſure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, made peace with the company. This, however, did not put an end to the war; for Hyder Ally finding himſelf deſerted by the Nizam, transferred the ſeat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was well acquainted with all the paſſages and defiles, and could defend himſelf even againſt ſuperiority of numbers.

During the latter part of this year, the war was carried on with great violence in Corſica: for altho' the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave iſlanders diſputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli had ſome hopes of aſſiſtance from England, and, for that purpoſe, ſent notice of his diſtreſs to our miniſtry by one Mr. Boſwell, a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted while on his travels: but no aſſiſtance being given him, he had nothing to depend on beſides the juſtice of his cauſe and the bravery of his countrymen. At firſt, the French obtained ſome conſiderable advantages; but the Corſicans killed ſuch vaſt numbers of them in ſtraggling parties, that had they not been reinforced by freſh ſuccours continually ſent to them, the whole army that firſt landed would have been totally cut off. The Corſicans concealed themſelves in buſhes and caves near the roads where the enemy were to paſs, and galled them ſo much, that many of them deſerted, while ſuch as fell into the hands of the Corſicans as priſoners were inſtantly put to death. Some perſons may be apt to blame the conduct of the Corſicans on this occaſion, as inconſiſtent with the law of nations; but whoever does ſo, muſt be unacquainted with the peculiarity of their circumſtances. They had been ſo much oppreſſed by the Genoeſe, that they had, conſiſtent with the opinions of the beſt writers on natural law, aſſerted their own freedom; and when the republic of Genoa found that they could not again reduce them to a ſtate of ſubjection, they gave them up to the French, as if they had been a parcel of ſheep or oxen. The French, upon their landing in the iſland, commanded all the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and take an oath of allegiance to their ſovereign, otherwiſe they were to be treated as rebels. Thus theſe innocent people, knowing that no mercy was to be ſhewn to ſuch of themſelves as were taken priſoners, reſolved to treat the French in the ſame manner, and ſell their lives and liberty as dear as poſſible. Such was the ſtate of the Corſicans; and their putting the French priſoners to death was no more than an act of retaliation, which ſtands juſtified by Grotius, Budin, Locke, and Puffendorff.

Paoli, who ſtill hoped for aſſiſtance from England, as well as from ſome of the other European powers, called an aſſembly of the Corſican chiefs, and aſked their opinion concerning the moſt proper methods to be uſed in the proſecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had cauſed to be diſtributed throughout the iſland; but no ſooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vaſſals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thouſand pieces.

Although this campaign was but ſhort, yet ſo great was the loſs the French ſuſtained, that, notwithſtanding the new reinforcements which were daily ſent them, they were on the point of being totally routed. Adjoining to Corſica are ſome ſmall iſlands; and as the harbours of them were ſafe and commodious, ſo the Corſican privateers prevented, in a great meaſure, the enemy from receiving ſuch ſupplies as had been ſent them from France. This induced the French, in the month of November this year, to embark a conſiderable body of forces on board thirteen tranſports, in order to attack theſe ſmall iſlands.

Their firſt attack was made on the iſland of Pietra; but although they made good their landing, they were repulſed with great loſs by a few Corſicans, who, animated by the love of liberty, fought like lions. From thence the French proceeded to Iſola Roſſa, another iſland, where the Corſicans kept their magazines, and attacked it with great fury. At firſt the Corſicans were driven from their poſts; but no ſooner had they recollected themſelves, and recovered from their firſt ſurprize, than they faced about, and not only recovered the poſts they had loſt, but drove the enemy, with great ſlaughter, back to their ſhips. Above nine hundred of the French were killed in this fruitleſs expedition, and their general began to deſpair of ever taking the iſland. But we muſt now return to Britain.

The Engliſh miniſtry were thrown into a little confuſion by the death of Mr. Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, a gentleman of great natural parts, univerſal erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the conſtitution. Indeed, the miniſtry were far from being popular, and ſome parts of their conduct ſeemed to border on weakneſs; ſo that it was neceſſary that ſome perſon ſhould be made choice of, who would be able, by a firmneſs of temper, to add ſome luſtre to their fading characters.

In conſequence of that reſolution, lord North was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townſhend paymaſter of the forces, earl Gower preſident of the council, lord Weymouth one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland. Several other changes took place; but as they were all of an inferior nature, and dependent on the above, they do not deſerve a place in a work that only treats of general things, without deſcending to trifling particulars.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the parliament met, which, although their ſecond ſeſſions, was the firſt one in which they did any buſineſs of a national concern. In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty told the members of both houſes, that his reaſons for calling them together at ſo early a period, was to give them time for their public deliberations; and, in particular, it was recommended to them to promote our commercial intereſts in America, and other parts of the world, as the ſole baſis of all our riches. He told them, that it gave him no ſmall concern to conſider that the other powers in Europe had not attended to the articles of peace ſo ſtrictly as was conſiſtent with the faith of treaties; by which his majeſty meant the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, in meddling with the affairs of Poland. He added, that other ſovereigns might do as they pleaſed, but, for his part, he would take care that none ſhould ever accuſe him for the breach of treaties, theſe being of ſo ſacred a nature, that they ought to be religiouſly adhered to. His majeſty laid great ſtreſs on the conduct of the Americans; and it was even ſaid that Boſton was in an actual ſtate of diſobedience to all manner of government; that they had proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and attended with circumſtances which manifeſted a diſpoſition to throw off their dependence on Great-Britain. He concluded by recommending harmony among the members, as the only ſure way of promoting the national intereſt, both at home and abroad.

When the addreſſes were moved for, great debates aroſe in both houſes, and many ſevere strictures were thrown out on the conduct of adminiſtration. The miniſtry were cenſured for ſuffering the French to take poſſeſſion of Corſica, by which the commercial intereſts of Great-Britain would be much injured in the Mediterranean. It was likewiſe inſinuated by the ſame party, that our commerce in Portugal had not been properly attended to; that our merchants had been injured in their property, and that many of our ambaſſadors at foreign courts ſpent the greateſt part of their time in England.

To this it was anſwered by the partizans for the miniſtry, that addreſſes to the throne were no more than compliments of loyalty; that the leaſt notice of ſuch a meaſure as that of refuſing to thank his majeſty, would be circulated throughout all Europe, and give foreign courts a wrong impreſſion of the Britiſh nation: that there was time enough, during the ſeſſions, to enquire into the conduct of adminiſtration, and to cenſure ſuch parts of it as ſhould appear, in the leaſt, exceptionable.

At laſt the addreſſes were preſented in the ſame form as drawn up by the miniſtry; and his majeſty was thanked, in the moſt grateful manner, for his attention to the ſtate of Europe in general, and the commerce of Britain in particular. They told his majeſty, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts to eſtabliſh the ſovereign power of Britain over the colonies. The firſt thing done this ſeſſion of parliament, was to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn for a limited time, which, after long debates in both houſes, paſſed into an act, to the great ſatisfaction of the poor in general.

A. D. 1769. On the nineteenth of January, the parliament met, after their adjournment during the holidays; and the firſt thing taken into conſideration was the ſtate of public affairs in America. A petition was preſented, ſigned by Mr. Danforth, preſident of the council at Boſton, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the moſt modeſt manner, with a promiſe, that if theſe acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compenſation, by taxing themſelves. Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the petition, thoſe of the antiminiſterial party making uſe of the ſame arguments which had been urged in the debate concerning the ſtamp-act.

The lords agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the American affairs; and their reſolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. By theſe reſolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, were illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majeſty. It was farther reſolved, that the town of Boſton was in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed in the diſcharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magiſtrates, had exerted their authority for ſuppreſſing theſe riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the aſſiſtance of a military force to ſupport the civil power, and protect the officers of the cuſtoms: that the reſolutions of the town meetings in Boſton were unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection againſt the government. It was alſo agreed to by both houſes, that all thoſe who had written circular letters to the other colonies, were guilty of a high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring inſult on the legiſlative power of Great-Britain. In the end, his majeſty was deſired to iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſorders, according to the ſtatute 30th of Henry VIII. The debates on this occaſion, with reſpect to his majeſty granting writs of habeas corpus, to bring over the perſons concerned in the riots, to be tried in England by virtue of ſpecial commiſſions, was ſtrongly and learnedly oppoſed in both houſes. It was ſaid by thoſe who oppoſed the bill, that the laws already made for the preſervation of the Britiſh rights over the colonies, were ſo complete, that there was no reaſon for an amendment: that the miniſtry, having loſt all credit with the people, wanted to make the cauſe of the Americans their own, by eſtabliſhing their authority on the ruin of the colonies: that, with reſpect to bringing priſoners over from America, to be tried here for crimes ſuppoſed to have been committed there, was contrary to the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution. A man charged with a crime in England, is uſually tried in the county where it is ſaid to have been committed; for this reaſon, that thoſe who carry on the proſecution may have it in their power to produce proper evidence, and that the accuſed perſon may likewiſe be able to vindicate himſelf, if innocent. But if an American was brought over here to be tried, it would be next to impoſſible for him to produce one ſingle witneſs, although he might be entirely innocent. If an American has committed any breach of the laws, let him be tried there, where juſtice can be done to both parties. It was farther urged, and repreſented as a ſtrange meaſure on this occaſion, to drag out of obſcurity an obſolete law, which was a diſhonour to the ſtatute-books: that it was made during the reign of a tyrant, to ſerve the moſt arbitrary purpoſes, becauſe our conſtitution of government had not then arrived at a ſtate of perfection: that when the above act was made, we had not one colony in America, for it had then only been recently diſcovered; and that it would be much to the honour of the legiſlative power, to expunge from the records all ſuch iniquitous ſtatutes as that already mentioned: that it was the duty of all thoſe in power to promote the intereſts of the people, both at home and abroad; but if the above meaſure was carried into execution, it would increaſe the ſeditions complained of in the colonies, and, conſequently, injure the trade of the mother-country. They concluded by calling upon the miniſtry to produce the perſon who had adviſed his majeſty to put the above act in force.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who oppoſed adminiſtration, and certainly they were very rational, and conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our moſt excellent conſtitution. The miniſtry were ſo ſenſible of the error they had committed, that they became weak and languid in their anſwers. They referred back to the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and imputed all the troubles which had happened in America to the ill-judged lenity ſhewn on that occaſion: that nothing but the vigorous uſe of coercive authority could ever reduce them to obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity of their dependence on the mother-country: that unleſs this meaſure was adopted, the moſt flagrant acts of treaſon and rebellion, with all other public crimes, might be committed with impunity: that ſuch crimes had already been committed, and being attended with ſeveral circumſtances of an aggravating nature, the perpetrators were not objects of compaſſion: that, with reſpect to there being no colonies in America when the act of Henry VIII. was made, it did not in the leaſt apply to the argument in hand, for the act was made for the trial of all his majeſty's ſubjects who ſhould happen to commit crimes in any part of the world. For example; ſuppoſing a ſhip lying at anchor near an iſland not belonging to Britain, and two perſons go on ſhore, fight, and one of them is killed; then, by the above act, a ſpecial commiſſion is granted by the king for the trial of the offender, in whatever country he pleaſes. And, in proof of this doctrine, they mentioned an inſtance of a man of war lying at anchor in the Baltic, in 1720; and a quarrel happening between the lieutenant and the ſurgeon, they went on ſhore, fought, and the former was killed. Upon the ſhip's arrival in England, a ſpecial commiſſion was granted for the trial of the ſurgeon, who being found guilty, was executed at Tyburn. They concluded by taking notice, that the revival of the act was not to promote puniſhment, but to preſerve peace; and that the coloniſts, ſeeing the vigorous meaſures which the government intended to purſue, might be brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. Such were the hopes of adminiſtration at that time; but experience, as will appear in the ſequel, has convinced us, that they were wrong in their conjectures.

It is now neceſſary that we ſhould attend to an affair that has made a conſiderable buſtle, and, perhaps, will be looked upon by foreigners as a proof that our conſtitution is very much on the decline. We have already ſeen, that Mr. Wilkes retired to France, where he had not reſided long, when a writ of outlawry was iſſued againſt him, while the commons expelled him from their houſe. This gentleman, who had acquired a large ſhare of popularity, in conſequence of the miniſtry's having ſingled him out as an object of their vengeance, and impriſoning him illegally, was accuſed of being the author of a poem of ſo blaſphemous a nature, that no virtuous perſon would repeat a ſingle line of it; but although it had the moſt dangerous tendency towards corrupting the morals of youth, yet the means made uſe of in procuring copies of it were ſo baſe, mean, and illegal, that thoſe who hated the vices of the man abhorred the manner in which their fellow-ſubject had been treated.

Mr. Wilkes had, for ſome time, kept a printing-preſs in his own houſe; and having employed a poor, needy fellow, as a compoſitor, one of the under-ſecretaries of the treaſury prevailed on him, for a trifling conſideration, to ſteal one of the printed ſheets of the poem in queſtion. This was ſuch a flagrant act of injuſtice, that almoſt all ranks of people condemned it, except thoſe who were the perpetrators; for no man of honour or generoſity will attempt to corrupt the ſervant of another perſon, for the mean purpoſe of being revenged for a ſuppoſed affront. The miniſtry did not fail to blaſt his character as much as poſſible; and, under ſuch circumſtances, an exile from his country, diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, and, in a great meaſure, abandoned by his friends, Mr. Wilkes ſeemed not only ruined, but alſo forgotten: but when he found the parliament was diſſolved, and that there might yet be ſome hopes of his getting the outlawry reverſed, he came over to England, and offered himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London in parliament. There, however, he did not ſucceed; but ſeeming to riſe ſuperior to every misfortune, he addreſſed himſelf to the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, and was choſen their repreſentative by a very great majority. Having ſucceeded thus far, he ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's-bench, where, after many learned arguments by council on both ſides, the court reverſed the writ of outlawry, but, at the ſame time, committed him to priſon for two years, as the author of a political paper called the North-Britain, and a poem intituled, An Eſſay on Woman. This ſeemed to be the laſt effort of miniſterial vengeance; and the populace, who, though irregular, on many occaſions, in their conduct, yet are generally compaſſionate, aſſembled in a body in St. George's Fields, to ſee the unfortunate priſoner. Whether they intended to reſcue Mr. Wilkes, or whether they only went there to ſignify their reſentment of the treatment he had received, certain it is, he gave them no encouragement; for he had not only voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, but likewiſe, when he ſaw them at the gate of the priſon, he adviſed them to diſperſe in a peaceable manner. This conduct of the populace was juſt what the miniſtry wiſhed for, and therefore a detachment of the guards was ſent to diſperſe them; but, as it commonly happens in ſuch caſes, ſeveral innocent perſons loſt their lives, among whom was a young man, the ſon of an inn-keeper, who had come there only from motives of curioſity.

As the parliament was not then ſitting, Mr. Wilkes remained ſilent till the winter following, when happening to lay hold of a copy of the letter ſent by the ſecretary of ſtate to the chairman of the Surry juſtices, he cauſed it to be publiſhed, together with an introduction written by himſelf. This gave great offence to thoſe in power, and therefore Mr. Wilkes was brought to the bar of the houſe of commons, where he freely acknowledged that he had cauſed the letter to be publiſhed; upon which he was expelled the houſe, and a new writ iſſued for the election of a member to repreſent the county of Middleſex in his room.

But ſtill the majority of the freeholders adhered to this man, whoſe cauſe was conſidered as that of the public. He was re-elected a ſecond time by a majority greater than before; but that election being declared void, he was a third time elected, and again expelled. Thoſe who wiſhed well to the conſtitution, expected that this mode of election and expulſion would be continued till the end of the parliament; but a new and unheard of one was adopted.

A gentleman in the army was made choice of to offer himſelf a candidate for the county; and altho' Mr. Wilkes had a great majority, the houſe voted the military gentleman the ſitting member, which moſt people conſidered as a ſubverſion of the conſtitution. It was urged by thoſe who oppoſed the meaſure, that the right of electors to chuſe their own repreſentatives was an eſſential and an inherent part of the conſtitution; that the houſe of commons, being compoſed of perſons intruſted with delegated powers, they had no right to act in a judicative capacity; that the law of the land had regulated the qualifications of members to ſerve in parliament, and that Mr. Wilkes was not, by thoſe laws, diſqualified: that the houſe of commons has the right incidental to its judicative authority of declaring what incapacities are legal; but, at the ſame time, the houſe muſt take care in what manner it exerciſes that power, leſt it ſhould ſwell to an enormous height, and one branch of the legiſlative power aſſume to itſelf the privileges of the courts of law. It was further inſiſted on, that the power granted to the houſe in expelling members was already ſufficiently great, for none called in queſtion their privilege of expulſion; but then they had no right to hinder the electors to make choice of the expelled perſon as often as they pleaſed; nor was it conſiſtent with the firſt and fundamental principles of our conſtitution, that the houſe ſhould ſuper-add to expulſion diſqualification, becauſe that would be an encroachment on the rights of freeholders, which they had enjoyed time immemorial: that reaſon cries aloud againſt ſuch a power being lodged in any body of people whatever; and precedents were produced from the journals, to ſhew, that, till this time, the houſe had never aſſumed ſuch a prerogative, nor was it believed they would ſuffer the preſent to take place after it had been duly conſidered.

Theſe arguments were anſwered by the adherents of the miniſtry in the following manner. They ſaid, that the houſe of commons had, time immemorial, a preſcriptive right to expel their members; and that, unleſs the perſon expelled was, at the ſame time, rendered incapable of ſerving, expulſion would be no more than an open farce, by repreſenting powers to have exiſted where they never had a being: that the right claimed by the freeholders of Middleſex ſtood reprobated in the eye of common ſenſe and right reaſon, for they claimed a privilege to do wrong, by making choice of a perſon to repreſent them who had been declared incapable by the houſe, notwithſtanding his being otherwiſe in the eye of the law: that if the houſe was obliged to receive all thoſe who were returned by a majority, then the freeholders were equally obliged to return perſons properly qualified, and not throw the drudgery upon the houſe of expelling members: that the law could not foreſee every poſſible event, nor could it have been ſuppoſed that the freeholders would have acted in the manner they did, otherwiſe a law would have been provided: that our anceſtors never imagined, or never intended, that blaſphemers and infidels ſhould be the guardians of our holy religion, nor beggars the protectors of thoſe properties by which individuals ſubſiſted: that the houſe of commons was, to all intents and purpoſes, a court of judicature with reſpect to controverted elections, and that this authority was derived from the firſt principles of our conſtitution. Did any other court poſſeſs this power, members might be obtruded upon the houſe who had no right to ſit: that if the houſe did any thing which ſeemed to injure an individual, or even a collective body of people, then there could not be any other method of obtaining redreſs, than that of petitioning for a new ſtatute to regulate all future elections.

If it is aſked, Under what head of legal diſability is the preſent expulſion to be found? The anſwer is eaſy; the records of parliament will inform thoſe who have any doubts on their minds. Neither judges nor clergymen can ſit in the houſe of commons, and for this reaſon, that, by an order of the houſe, they are rendered incapable. It was ſaid, that a very extraordinary principle had been adopted in the courſe of this debate, as if the commons wanted to infringe on the liberties of the people, without recollecting that the commons and the people are virtually the ſame, and that any endeavour to make them ſeparate bodies is no leſs dangerous than it is prepoſterous. If the commons, in their repreſentative capacity, have privileges which render them important, that importance increaſes the conſequence of the people in their capacity of delegation: the people cannot be ſecure, unleſs the commons are ſecure; they are inſeparably connected, both in intereſt and freedom: and though, upon ſome occaſions, the privilege of parliament may be a ſeeming oppreſſion to individuals, the loſs of it would be attended with very fatal effects to the whole community: that if the houſe of commons had not, in their collective capacity, a title to peculiar privileges, no member of the community could claim them with any degree of propriety; and yet individuals not only claimed ſuch privileges, but were protected in the enjoyment of them by the laws of the land. That nothing could be more miſrepreſented, than by ſaying that this meaſure was an injury to the freeholders of the county of Middleſex; for, on the contrary, the injury was attempted by themſelves, who would obtrude an improper perſon on the houſe as a member, and obſtinately perſevere in the attempt, though all England was open for them to make a proper choice: that the ſuppoſed violation of right, of returning a perſon with a manifeſt inferiority of votes, will vaniſh, if the ſubject is properly conſidered, and a liberal conſtruction put upon the law: that thoſe who obſtinately perſevere in voting for an unqualified perſon, are to be conſidered as not voting at all; their right of ſuffrage is acknowledged; but if the elector obſtinately refuſes to exerciſe this right according to law, he wantonly ſuſpends his own right for the time, and his act being illegal, is, conſequently, void: he ſuffers no injury, becauſe he knows the conſequence of what he does; and if he will indulge himſelf ſo far, it can never be called a hardſhip: that an unqualified, incapacitated perſon, can be no candidate, and therefore all votes given in favour of ſuch a perſon muſt be null and void. Such were the arguments made uſe of by the miniſtry; and they, as well as the oppoſite party, ſheltered themſelves under precedents in former parliaments.

On the ninth of May, his majeſty prorogued the parliament; and, in his ſpeech, told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction. He applauded them in the warmeſt manner for having attended with ſo much care to the intereſts of the people, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which had been ſo frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country. He added, that he had done all he could to bring about a negotiation between the Turks and Ruſſians, to no purpoſe; but he hoped the calamities of war would not extend to any other parts of Europe. He thanked the commons for having ſo generouſly contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government; and promiſed, that, in the whole of his conduct, he would attend to the moſt regular œconomy. Finally, he concluded by recommending to them to promote peace among their neighbours, ſo that public juſtice might not be obſtructed, and that a proper regard ſhould be paid to the laws.

Such was the internal ſtate of Great Britain during the former part of the year, which naturally leads us to take notice of the affairs of the continent.

In Poland, the inclemency of the ſeaſon had, for ſome time, prevented the contending parties from coming to action, by which the poor diſtreſſed inhabitants, who were all divided againſt each other, had time for a ſmall reſpite.

The Turks had poſted an army of ſix thouſand men near Bender, to prevent the Ruſſians from making incurſions beyond the Ukraine, while their grand army was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; from whence parties were diſpatched to guard the coaſts of the Black Sea. The Turkiſh troops, many of whom had come from the warmer climates of Aſia, were extremely ſickly; and as their commanders doubted not but the Ruſſians would avail themſelves of ſuch a circumſtance, by attempting to bring on a winter campaign, they ordered all the bridges to be broken down, and the proviſions to be removed. This was a moſt fatal ſtroke for the Ruſſians; who, in conſequence thereof, were deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence, and reduced to the greateſt hardſhips. The kan of the Tartars having broken through the Ruſſian lines, entered the province of New Servia, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants; but the fatigues he underwent put an end to his life, which was a great loſs to the Turks; for he was a man who had a perfect knowledge of military diſcipline, and was capable of conducting the greateſt army whatever.

About this time the confederates of Bar in Poland took the field, aſſiſted by ſeveral regiments of Turkiſh janizaries, and the whole began to make a very formidable appearance; but the Ruſſians, who had the advantage of diſcipline, attacked them with ſuch order and regularity, that they were defeated with great ſlaughter, and obliged to croſs the Nieſter with the loſs of their cannon, and ſuch magazines as they had formed.

In Conſtantinople, the greateſt preparations were making for opening the campaign, and as the grand viſier was to take the field, the ſtandard of Mahomet was to be diſplayed. Previous to this ceremony, a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all Chriſtians, under pain of death, not to look at this celebrated banner. But notwithſtanding this violent prohibition, yet it was impoſſible to prevent every one from ſeeing it; for it is a common obſervation, that curioſity is ſtimulated by reſtraint.

The wife and daughter of the ſieur Bronyard, ambaſſador from Vienna, diſdained the thoughts of giving up their Chriſtian freedom to Mahometan bigotry, and thereforce placed themſelves at a window oppoſite to where the proceſſion was to paſs. They were ſoon taken notice of by the Turks, who flew into the moſt violent rage, and in an inſtant the ambaſſador's houſe was ſurrounded. The ſervants, who were well provided with fire-arms, made a moſt vigorous defence; and a dreadful fray enſued, in which ſeveral perſons were killed; but the mob being numerous, they broke into the houſe, and laying hold of the ambaſſador's lady, were going to ſtrangle her, had not a party of Janizaries arrived to aſſiſt her.

The grand vizier, who was a man of knowledge and generoſity, expreſſed great ſorrow for the inſult that had been offered to the lady, and told the ambaſſador that he hoped he would impute it to the real cauſe, namely, the blind fury of an ignorant rabble, who could not be brought under proper reſtraints.

He aſſured him, at the ſame time, that he ſhould have all the reparation that was poſſible, and ſoon after the vizier ſent a preſent of jewels to his lady with a bag, containing the heads of the three principal rioters. Nor was the grand ſeignior himſelf leſs complaiſant to the ambaſſador, for he ſent his own interpreter to make an apology for the indignity offered him; and, at the ſame time, delivered him a rich preſent. This part of the conduct of the viſier and ſeignior does great honour to their good ſenſe, and may ſerve to convince us in this iſland, where we eſteem ourſelves for our politeneſs, that generoſity, benevolence, and all the other virtues are to be found among thoſe, whom we are too apt to conſider in the ſame light as barbarians.

The Turkiſh army had been long incumbered with women, a practice that has exiſted time immemorial in the eaſtern countries; but the grand-viſier, who had the moſt enlarged ſentiments concerning the duty incumbent upon him as a vice-roy, ordered them all to be ſent home, well knowing that they would, in a great meaſure retard the military operations.

In the mean time prince Gallitzin, who commanded the Ruſſian army on the banks of the Neiſter, thought this a proper time to attempt ſomething deciſive, before the Turkiſh army ſhould arrive. Accordingly having croſſed that river, he marched to Choczim, where he encamped in ſight of a body of thirty thouſand Turks, under the command of Caraman Pacha, who were ſtrongly entrenched under the cannon of that town. In the beginning of April the prince made the neceſſary diſpoſition for attacking the Turks in their entrenchments; and notwithſtanding a moſt vigorous defence, he drove them from all their advanced poſts, and obliged them to take ſhelter within the palliſadoes of the fortreſs. The fire was ſo violent from the Ruſſian artillery, that the greateſt part of the town was reduced to aſhes; while the Jews and Chriſtians, who lived in it, having abandoned their moſt valuable effects, made their eſcape out of one of the poſterns, and took refuge among the Ruſſians, rather than give themſelves up to the inhuman barbarity of the Turks.

The Ruſſians began to form great hopes from this ſucceſsful event; but in the midſt of their rapid progreſs, they were obliged to retreat and croſs the Neiſter, while the Turks harraſſed them in the rear with unremitting fury. The circumſtances of this retreat were ſo extraordinary, that the Ruſſians did not ſo much as attempt to guard the paſſages of the river, and the Turkiſh cavalry over-run the neighbouring provinces, burning and deſtroying all the houſes where the Ruſſians had depoſited their ſtores and proviſions. A moſt pompous account of this affair was publiſhed at Conſtantinople, and the grand ſeignior went in public proceſſion to the moſque to return thanks to heaven, where the mufti or chief prieſt beſtowed upon him his ſolemn benediction, and inveſted him with the title of conqueror. It is true, hyperbole, or an extravagant uſe of words, has long been the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, and conſiſtent with ſound policy it may, in ſome meaſure, be juſtified; for ſuch exaggerated accounts fill the minds of the vulgar with ſurprize, and keep them in proper ſubjection to government.

In the mean time, general Romanzow, who commanded a part of the Ruſſian army, made an attempt on the important fortreſs of Oczakow, the capital of the Budziac Tartary, where the great river Boriſthenes falls into the Black Sea; a place of great importance, becauſe it opens a communication with the mouth of the Danube, and with ſeveral Turkiſh European provinces. The place was ſtrong both by nature and art, and in it was a garriſon of about twenty thouſand Turks, ſo that notwithſtanding the Ruſſian general attacked it with great fury, yet he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and in his retreat was ſo much harraſſed by the Turks, that he loſt a great number of men. This action, though no way very conſiderable, was repreſented at Conſtantinople as a moſt ſignal victory, and great rejoicings were made upon it. The common people were told that the Ruſſians were almoſt totally defeated; which had ſuch an-

an effect upon their minds, that had they not been reſtrained by the civil power, they would have put to death all the Chriſtians in that city.

In the mean time, the grand Turkiſh army moved ſlowly, and the grand vizier had many difficulties to encounter, for it was no eaſy matter to bring an army under proper rules of diſcipline, that had been collected from above fifty different nations. In general they either hated or deſpiſed each other, ſome valuing themſelves on the courage that their anceſtors had diſplayed in the field of battle, while others had nothing to boaſt beſides that of their being born in the fertile plains of Syria, or the romantic mountains near the Caſpian ſea. Nor was it much better with the officers, for they were continually quarrelling among themſelves, and on many occaſions refuſed to obey their orders. The Janizaries, a ſort of militia, though the ſtanding army of the Turkiſh empire, had been always accuſtomed to ſet the example to the other troops of obeying their officers and fighting in defence of their court; but now they became ſo licentious, that diſcipline was trampled under foot, and the whole army exhibited one ſcene of riot and diſorder.

During the continuance of theſe diſorders, the grand vizier acted like a man of wiſdom and prudence; for confiding in the power that was repoſed in him, he inſiſted that every ſoldier in the army ſhould attend to his duty, or be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. In the mean time, he knew that nothing would be more dangerous than to ſuffer an irregular undiſciplined army to engage with the veteran forces of Ruſſia; and therefore he ordered ſeveral detachments to advance in the front, that they might learn the art of war by ſkirmiſhing with the enemy. Such was the conduct of the grand vizer, and thoſe who have read the Roman hiſtory muſt acknowledge, that it was not inferior to any thing performed by the great Fabius, when he was ſent to oppoſe Hannibal. Great abilities are often concealed under the covert of ſuppoſed ignorance; but all mankind being by nature the ſame, the latent ſeeds of knowledge will break forth nothwithſtanding every oppoſition.

While the Turkiſh vizier was going on in this prudent manner, prince Gallitzen was making preparations for croſſing the Neiſter; and for that purpoſe he detached general Rennecamp with a conſiderable body of forces to divert the attention of the enemy on the other ſide of the river. This meaſure had the deſired effect; for the Ruſſian army having marched a few miles to the ſouth, croſſed the river without the leaſt moleſtation.

Before the Turks were aware, the Ruſſians attacked them with great fury, while the Turkiſh army did all they could to defend themſelves; but diſcipline overcame numbers, and the Ruſſians drove them once more to their entrenchments under the walls of Choczim. This victory was owing to the bravery of the Ruſſian infantry, who ſtood immoveable, and proceeded gradually as the Turks retreated, killing them in great numbers. During all theſe misfortunes the grand vizier did not deſpair; he knew that his army was, for the moſt part, an undiſciplined rabble; but he knew that action would bring them into exerciſe, and therefore he reſolved to perſevere in his duty.

Whenever the Turkiſh arms are not ſucceſsful, thoſe who command them are ſure to be diſgraced, if not executed, and the more elevated their rank, the greater their danger. Thus the grand vizier, who had hitherto acted with great prudence, and gone great lengths in eſtabliſhing military diſcipline, fell a ſacrifice to miſguided fury, and Ali Pacha Moldavini, a man of a moſt violent temper, was appointed his ſucceſſor. Many other changes took place both at court and in the army; and while the vizier Carman Pacha went to meet him in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner, but for ſome ſecret grudge that the vizier had againſt him, his head was ordered to be cut off. The unfortunate baſſaw endeavoured to retire, and for his own ſafety drew his ſword, but he was ſoon ſurrounded by numbers and cut in pieces.

In the mean time his ſelictar or ſword-bearer, fired with indignation at the fate of his maſter, drew out a piſtol and aimed the ſhot at the head of the vizier, who would have been ſhot, had not one of his faithful domeſtics ſaved his life at the expence of his own. The ſelictar was ſoon overpowered and cut in pieces, and both their heads cut off and expoſed, according to the Turkiſh cuſtom, on the front of the grand vizier's tent. From the fate of theſe two brave men, we may learn that the Turks, although not ſuch barbarians as they were when they conquered that extenſive empire, yet they are ſtill far from being a poliſhed people.

General Romanzow committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Bender, where he burnt and plundered ſeveral towns and villages, defeated a detachment of Turks, and drove off a great booty of cattle. The Tartars alſo committed great ravages in Poland, where they almoſt totally deſtroyed the palatinate of Bricklaw, beſides doing much miſchief in other places. In the beginning of September the Ruſſians lay encamped on the banks of the Nieſter, and defended the paſſage of that river againſt the Turks, whoſe whole army, under the new vizier, arrived on the oppoſite banks.

The vizier next night ordered a detachment of his beſt troops, conſiſting of eight thouſand, to croſs the river, a few miles below, and attack the Ruſſians in flank. This they did, and for ſome time the battle was extremely furious; but at laſt the Turks were obliged to retreat acroſs the river, after loſing four thouſand of their beſt troops.

The ſending detachments acroſs rivers where a great army is encamped, is a ſtrong proof that the vizier was utterly deſtitute of ſkill in military affairs; for how could he expect that they would be able either to oppoſe the Ruſſians, or to retreat, ſeeing there was no communication between them and the main army but by croſſing the river. Indeed the vizier was too raſh and obſtinate to hearken to the advice of his officers; for as his predeceſſor had been diſplaced for being too cautious, he reſolved to ſucceed by an oppoſite extreme.

In conſequence of a reſolution bordering on madneſs, the vizier ordered three bridges to be laid acroſs the Neiſter, and began to croſs that river in ſight of the whole Ruſſian army. Prince Gallitzin ſuffered a conſiderable number of them to croſs, and then about ſeven o'clock on the morning of the ninth of September, he attacked them with his infantry in three ſquare columns, and the battle was obſtinately diſputed till noon, when the Ruſſians puſhed on ſo furiouſly, with their bayonets fixed, that the Turks were obliged to give way.

It muſt be acknowledged that the Turks behaved with great bravery, but ſuch was the ignorance and obſtinacy of the vizier, that he never conſidered the nature of the ground, ſo that his men were taken in both flanks before they could poſſibly form, and in the battle and retreating acroſs the bridges, the flower of their beſt troops were deſtroyed. Seven thouſand Turks were left dead on the field, beſides thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners, and a great number were drowned in croſſing the river.

This dreadful carnage, the ſignal and immediate puniſhment of folly and raſhneſs, would have ſtruck any mind, except that of the vizier's. It ſeems unaccountable that the ſoldiers, who were ſo turbulent and ungovernable under the late vizier, ſhould now bear the continual deſtruction that attended this extravagant conduct, without flying into any act of extremity. It may, however, ſerve to ſhew that there is nothing an army will not attempt or endure for a general who keeps the ſoldiers warm in continual action; if, at the ſame, he directs his conduct in ſuch a manner as ſeems conſiſtent with real courage, though ſome degree of prudence may be wanting.

The vizier, not in the leaſt diſpirited by his loſs, laid one bridge only acroſs the river, and had the precaution to cover it with ſeveral batteries of cannon, his reſolution being to croſs the river with the whole army, let the conſequences be what they would. This was ſuch a bold attempt, that we ſcarce find an inſtance in hiſtory parallel to it; and had it been mixed with prudence, the name of this vizier would have been much more reſpectable than it is.

Four thouſand cavalry, with eight thouſand janizaries, had already croſſed the river, and with them was a large train of artillery; and the reſt of the army was in motion to follow them, when a ſudden ſwell of the river carried away the bridge. Thus were twelve thouſand brave men incloſed by the Ruſſian army in the front, and the river now rendered impaſſable in the rear, without time or an opportunity of entrenching themſelves.

The Ruſſians ſeeing them in ſuch a deplorable ſituation, reſolved to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity. An engagement, truly deſperate, enſued, in which the Ruſſians fought like men who were aſſured of ſucceſs, while the Turks reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. The ſeverity of the Turkiſh manners, which has not admitted of the civilized and humane cuſtom of exchanging priſoners, prevented a capitulation from being deſired, or any propoſals for laying down their arms. The battle was ſevere, and the ſlaughter prodigious. About three hundred, out of twelve thouſand, eſcaped by ſwimming, the reſt being either killed in the field, drowned in the river, or taken priſoners. Sixty-four pieces of cannon were taken, with one hundred and fifty ſtandards; and, for ſeveral miles, nothing was to be ſeen but dead bodies.

The agitation of mind which the Turkiſh forces muſt ſuffer, who were the unhappy ſpectators, on the oppoſite ſhore of the river, of the cruel ſlaughter of their friends, may poſſibly be conceived, but cannot be deſcribed. Perhaps, to a feeling, tender mind, the momentary agony was more ſevere to him who was the looker on, than to the immediate ſufferer. While the bloody conteſt continued, the whole army was buried in ſilence; but when the ſlaughter was finiſhed, and all hopes loſt, they expreſſed their rage and grief in the bittereſt cries and lamentations; at the ſame time, imprecating the moſt bitter curſes on the vizier.

In the midſt of their rage and deſpair, they broke up the camp; and throwing off all obedience to their leaders, abandoned the ſtrong fort of Choczim, and retired, in a tumultuous manner, towards the Danube. Immediately prince Gallitzin ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the place, and there they found the whole of the ſtores and ammunition belonging to the Turks; for ſuch was the terror they were thrown into, that they never once thought of ſecuring or deſtroying them.

Prince Gallitzin having placed a garriſon of four regiments in the fort, under the command of count Romanzow, who, at the ſame time, was to remain commander in chief of the army till his return, ſet out for the court of Peterſburgh, to receive the thanks of his royal miſtreſs. Another army of Ruſſians over-ran the province of Moldavia, and took poſſeſſion of the capital of Jaſſy, ſituated on the river Pruth, about one hundred miles eaſtward of Choczim.

While the war was carried on in this manner between the Turks and Ruſſians, the pope died at Rome in a very advanced age, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Ganganelli, who aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. He had been brought up, from his moſt early youth, for the church; and, to an univerſal acquaintance with learning in general, he had added moderation in his conduct; and was an enemy to all combinations among princes, which tend to prolong civil diſturbances. He endeared himſelf to the people of Rome, by iſſuing orders for lowering the prices of proviſions; and he ſuppreſſed the cuſtom, ſo long in uſe with his predeceſſors, to oblige all foreign ambaſſadors to kiſs their toe.

A. D. 1770. In England, during the preceding ſummer, ſeveral remonſtrances had been preſented to the throne, complaining of an undue election of a member for the county of Middleſex; but all the anſwer the remonſtrance received was, that his majeſty would do nothing without the conſent of his parliament. That the miniſtry might be ſupported effectually, it was reſolved on in council to adhere to their grand ſcheme, the Middleſex election, as a perpetual rule of policy. "Beſides, (ſaid they) if the ſubjects are permitted to go on in this manner, remonſtrating againſt the conduct of their own repreſentatives, we ſhall be ſure of a majority in parliament."

While the minds of the people in general were agitated in conſidering what would be the event of theſe things, both houſes of parliament met; but not the leaſt notice was taken of the remonſtrances in the ſpeech from the throne, which ſurpriſed people ſtill more; but then it was conſidered, that the miniſtry had determined to add fortitude to their conduct, whether it were right or wrong.

Some notice was taken of foreign affairs, particularly the ſtate of the war between the Turks and the Ruſſians: but the principal things inſiſted on by his majeſty, were the following, namely, the diſtracted ſtate of America, and the diſtemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to their ſerious attention, as a thing of the utmoſt importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a moſt dreadful calamity to the nation in general; and it was recommended to every one to exert themſelves in endeavouring to put a ſtop to the infection, before it ſhould ſpread any farther.

This ſpeech was ſeverely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing ſhould have been ſo much touched on as the petitions and remonſtrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, eſpecially as the exiſtence of the diſtemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of ſo univerſal a nature as had been inſinuated and repreſented.

It was immediately moved by the miniſtry, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the throne; upon which a moſt violent debate aroſe, and it was carried on with a heat of temper and ſeverity of expreſſion ſcarce ever known in the houſe before.

It was inſiſted by thoſe who oppoſed the miniſtry, that, in the addreſs, it ſhould be recommended to his majeſty to take into conſideration the grievances of the people. On the other hand, the exiſtence of thoſe pretended was denied, and all the diſcontents among the people were aſcribed to the conduct of thoſe gentlemen who had been diſappointed in their ambitious views. It was farther urged, that even allowing grievances to exiſt, as ſtated in the remonſtrances, yet the methods uſed in ſeeking redreſs had been very indecent and unbecoming: that not one tenth of the freeholders, and but very few of the clergy or juſtices of the peace, had ſigned theſe petitions; and although there might be ſome reſpectable names found to them, yet the whole could be conſidered in no other light than as the act of a rabble.

Such were the outlines of the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who ſtood up in defence of adminiſtration; and many virulent epithets were thrown out on the other party, whom, in deriſion, they called Petition-hunters. Theſe charges drew from the gentlemen in the oppoſition a ſpirited avowal of the part they had taken in reſpect to the petitions, and of the ſentiments they delivered to their conſtituents. They inſiſted, that they were under obligations to give an account of their conduct in parliament to their conſtituents, and to give them the moſt early notice of every meaſure adopted by the court, that might, in the leaſt, threaten the ſubverſion of their rights and privileges;

privileges. That in the preſent inſtance, they had not hunted after petitions, for the petitioners had ſought them, and had charged them with their commands, which they were bound to deliver. It had been inſinuated by ſome of the miniſtry, that theſe meetings were ſeditious; but thoſe in the oppoſition treated the expreſſion with every term of ridicule, and threw back the charge, by calling every meeting of the miniſtry theſe two years, no better than a ſeditious one; becauſe in them were laid ſchemes for trampling on the rights of the ſubjects. Theſe debates, which were carried on with too much heat by both parties to bring any honour to the ſpeakers, being ended, the addreſs was voted for and carried by a great majority.

Before any buſineſs of importance was undertaken, ſome very remarkable changes took place in the miniſtry. The ſeals were taken from lord Camden, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commiſſion, the ſeals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the juſtices Bathurſt and Aſton. The marquis of Granby reſigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort reſigned the place of maſter of the horſe to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the ſtole; and the duke of Mancheſter, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bedchamber. Mr. Dunning, the ſollicitor-general, and Mr. Grenville, one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland, reſigned at the ſame time. The whole of the adminiſtration ſeemed to be falling in pieces, a general panic prevailed; but the court, reſolute to its purpoſe, was determined to fight the battle notwithſtanding the deſertion of ſo many of its principal commanders. Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, reſigned at the ſame time; but that was owing to his age and infirm ſtate of health. In his room was elected Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very diſtinguiſhing figure at the bar, and who had lately been advanced to a moſt valuable ſinecure.

Within a week after theſe changes had taken place, the duke of Grafton, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole nation, reſigned the place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by lord North, who had been ſome time chancellor of the exchequer. Various were the cauſes aſſigned by the public for this act of the duke's, ſome attributing it to fear, and others to treachery; but as he ſtill continued to ſupport all the meaſures of government, it appeared evident that the ſole reaſon was, the neceſſity of having one of the members of the houſe of commons to be at the head of public affairs.

The firſt thing that came before the commons was an enquiry into the validity of the Middleſex election; but after warm debates it was held, by a conſiderable majority, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This meaſure aſtoniſhed the whole nation, and many perſons began to look upon the houſe of commons as a ſtanding council for the crown. Nor was this important ſubject agitated with leſs heat in the houſe of lords. The earl of Chatham with lord Camden, and many other peers, oppoſed it with great ſtrength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books and parliamentary journals, that no ſuch ſtep had ever been taken, not even in the moſt deſpotic reigns. But notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, miniſterial intereſt prevailed, and the proceeding of the houſe of commons, in the affair of the Middleſex election, were all juſt and equitable.

A motion was made to bring in a bill to diſqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament. It was ſaid by thoſe who ſupported the motion, that at the revolution the produce of the cuſtoms and exciſe were both extremely ſmall, nor was there at that time any probability that they would ever amount to the enormous ſum of ſix millions ſterling, as they then actually did. To this they attributed the inattention of the patriots of that age, who, if they had foreſeen the unconſtitutional weight that muſt have been thrown into the ſcale on the ſide of the crown, by the appointment of officers to collect ſo vaſt a revenue, they would undoubtedly have taken proper and effectual meaſures to prevent the dangerous influence which it muſt afford, in the election of repreſentatives for the people.

On the other ſide it was urged, that the bill was altogether unneceſſary, and in its own nature extremely cruel. That it was no leſs than the diſfranchiſing a great number of men who had long enjoyed that privilege; and as the motion then ſtood, it might extend to all the officers under the crown. It was added, that no evidence had been ſo much as ſuggeſted of any undue influence uſed by the crown, and therefore the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

The popular party, having loſt this motion, deſired that all the papers, containing a liſt of the expences of government, ſhould be laid before them. It was ſaid in ſupport of the motion, that the civil-liſt revenue if miſapplied, inſtead of maintaining the dignity of the crown, ſerved only to beſiege it with paraſites; and in the place of promoting arts and induſtry, to ſubvert the liberties of the people. That though the funds allotted for this purpoſe were fully adequate, not only to every neceſſary, but to every liberal expence, that was neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the regal character; yet neither the greatneſs of the fund, nor the confeſſed œconomy of the times, were ſufficient to prevent an enormous debt from being contracted, and the people from being applied to for more money, at a time when men in the kingdom were of opinion that too much had been granted already.

That neceſſary expences had been much more conſiderable in the latter reign than the preſent, becauſe the branches of the royal family were then grown up, and conſequently demanded larger allowances. The journies to the continent, however expedient, were frequent, and at all times expenſive; and none would pretend to ſay, that magnificence was not as well underſtood, and perhaps better ſupported, than at preſent; yet his late majeſty not only lived within the bounds of the civil-liſt, but a ſum of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds wholly ſaved from that revenue.

That it was neither intended nor wiſhed, to limit the crown to a ſalary inadequate to its real dignity and greatneſs; for if it ſhould appear that the money had been ſpent in promoting uſeful purpoſes, thoſe who made the motion will be the firſt to give their approbation. But if on the contrary, it ſhould appear that the money had been ſquandered away among time-ſerving wretches, who ſought to ruin their country, then thoſe who adviſed ſuch meaſures ſhould be called to a ſevere account.

To this it was anſwered by thoſe who ſtood up for the miniſtry, that if an application had been now made for an additional ſum to make good any deficiency in the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, an enquiry into the cauſes of it would be natural and juſtifiable; and it would be but reaſonable, that the miniſtry, in ſuch a circumſtance, ſhould give the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the people; nay, that it was even their duty to do ſo, and ſhew the reaſons why the proviſion already made was not ſufficient; but till ſuch a requiſition was made, it would be improper and very diſreſpectful to the crown, to ſcrutinize into the manner in which the money for the ſupport of the royal family had been expended. It was urged farther, that a certain ſum of money was allowed annually for the ſupport of the civil-liſt, and while the expences do not exceed that ſum, there can be no reaſon for making any enquiry. They concluded by taking notice, that as the civil-liſt was the property of the crown, his majeſty had a right to diſpoſe of it in whatever manner he pleaſed. At laſt, the vote being put, the motion, like all others oppoſed by the miniſtry, was rejected by a great majority.

This affair, which had made no ſmall noiſe out of doors, being over, the next thing was to take into conſideration the ſtate of the colonies in America. A petition had been preſented by the merchants trading to North-America, ſetting forth the great hardſhips they laboured under in conſequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on ſome trifling articles exported from Great-Britain; and this had ſo much enraged the people, that they refuſed to purchaſe the goods, after they had been ſent there at a conſiderable expence. This affair being of a very ſerious nature, the houſe took it into conſideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was ſtill continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed by great force of argument on both ſides, for the popular party ſought a repeal of the whole, while the miniſtry inſiſted, that the Americans, inſtead of deſerving any ſuch indulgence, ought to have had more ſevere laws binding upon them.

While the greateſt part of the nation was agitated by reflecting on the conſequences that would reſult from theſe meaſures; while individuals were ſeeking to promote their private intereſts, and the government to eſtabliſh its authority, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by one of the leading men in the oppoſition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally juſt and popular, and which all the ſubjects of Great-Britain were more or leſs concerned. It will be proper to make the reader acquainted with the nature of this bill, that he may be the better able to judge of its utility, and how far ſuch a law was, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary.

It had been the cuſtom formerly in all conteſted elections, to refer the matter to a ſelect committee of the moſt learned and upright members in the houſe; and, in general, their opinion was ſeldom called in queſtion; but in time the committees had been enlarged, and all who came in having votes, a ſhameful partiality prevailed, which in the end induced thoſe, who thought themſelves injured, to apply for remedy at the bar of the houſe.

This method, however, was found to be very defective, and attended with many inconveniences, owing principally to the vaſt number of thoſe who were to try the cauſe in diſpute; and who, beſides being biaſſed by the ties of private friendſhip, were not bound by any oath to prevent ſuch influence from operating on their minds.

At the ſame time, the method of trying theſe cauſes at the bar became an obſtacle to many branches of public buſineſs, eſpecially in the laſt ſeſſions of a new parliament, when there was ſcarce time to attend to any thing elſe. It was at the ſame time very diſagreeable to the members themſelves, who were continually teazed with applications in favour of both candidates, that they would give their attendance, and although it was not ſaid that they were to vote contrary to truth and equity, yet their attendance was conſidered as equivalent to their approbation. To all this it may be added, that as the miniſtry have always a majority on their ſide to ſupport them in all their meaſures, ſo if they chuſe to ſtand up in defence of any one of the candidates, they can, by promiſes and threatenings, get a ſufficient number to vote him the ſitting member.

To remedy theſe defects this bill was brought in, and the plan of it was conſiſtent with the firſt principles of the conſtitution. When a petition was to be preſented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witneſſes and council; and if one hundred members were not preſent, then they were to wait till ſuch time as ſo many were preſent; when the names of the whole, altho' they ſhould exceed that number, were to be put into ſix boxes or glaſſes, to be drawn alternately and read by the ſpeaker, till forty-nine are choſen; the ſitting member and the petitioner being allowed to chuſe one each. Liſts were then to be given to the ſitting member, the petitioner, councils, witneſſes, &c. who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and ſtrike off one alternately till the number ſhould be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the affair in diſpute, Such was the nature of this new bill, and it muſt be acknowledged that nothing could be more juſt or equitable for the freedom of elections, and every meaſure uſed to prevent corruption and bribery muſt at all times be the life of the Britiſh conſtitution.

While the houſe of commons were engaged on this grand ſubject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, addreſs and remonſtrance, for redreſs of their pretended grievances in the affair of the Middleſex election. In this addreſs it was expreſsly declared, that the houſe of commons had acted in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be diſſolved; that the people might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In anſwer to this, his majeſty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and conſent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt.

Violent diſputes aroſe in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expreſſions were made uſe of on both ſides. It was ſaid that the citizens of London were the ſupport of the government on every occaſion; that it had been the cuſtom, time immemorial, to conſult them on the moſt important matters; to which the miniſtry anſwered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except ſuch as was in its own nature improper to be granted.

It is now neceſſary that we ſhould take ſome view of the affairs of Ireland, which for ſome time had been thrown into great confuſion, in conſequence of a bill being brought in and paſſed, by which a new parliament is to be elected every eight years. From the Revolution down to the year 1769, the parliaments of Ireland continued till the death of the king; ſo that the members became a ſtanding council to adminiſtration. while the people were deprived of their privileges. One would have thought that an act of ſo popular a nature as that of having frequent parliaments, would have met with the approbation of all ranks of people; but in many inſtances the reverſe took place.

Many of thoſe who had been long in parliament conſidered themſelves as injured, becauſe they had been made to believe, that they ſhould not vacate their ſeats till the death of the king. Theſe brought over all their dependents to ſecond them, but their reſentment was concealed for ſome time. When the new parliament met nothing but harmony was to be ſeen among the members, and the lord-lieutenant was treated with every mark of reſpect: but this good humour was of ſhort continuance.

The lord-lieutenant, according to orders received from the miniſtry, thought this a fair opportunity for bringing in a bill for the augmentation of the forces, which had failed of ſucceſs at the breaking up of the laſt parliament. Accordingly a meſſage was ſent, recommending this meaſure in the ſtrongeſt terms from the throne, as a matter his majeſty had much at heart, for the honour of the crown and the ſafety of the kingdom.

This augmentation was to conſiſt of private men only, without any additional officers; and it was propoſed further, that as ſoon as the old ſtaff officers died, no more new ones ſhould be appointed, except one commander in chief, and five generals. Great oppoſition was made to this bill, for it was alledged that ſuch a requiſition was unneceſſary in time of profound peace; that the military eſtabliſhment in that kingdom was already too expenſive, while the nation was loaded with taxes to ſupport them; that although the nation paid for twelve thouſand effective men for the ſecurity of the ſtate, yet above four thouſand of theſe were abroad in different garriſons. It is impoſſible to expreſs the warmth of contention that aroſe between the court and the popular party.

It was conſidered as a moſt odious meaſure, that a bill brought into the houſe of commons in Ireland ſhould have been framed by the privy-council in England. It is true, there is a law for that purpoſe, commonly called Poyning's act; but as it was made in the arbitrary and tyrannical reign of Henry VII. ſo all ſober men thought that in this enlightened age, it ought to have been ſet aſide.

It was urged further, that this was a money bill, with which the privy-council of England had nothing to do. Nay, they could not meddle with ſuch things, even in their own country. That money could only be raiſed by the repreſentatives of the people, and it was known to every one that no body of men were repreſented by the privy-council, they themſelves being taxed in parliament by every new bill, which becomes binding on them as well as on the reſt of the ſubjects.

Thoſe who ſtood up for the miniſtry in ſupport of the bill had very little to ſay, for they ſaw that they had begun the bill in a very improper manner. Had it originated in the Iriſh houſe of commons, there is reaſon to imagine that the bill would have paſſed; but the clamour was ſo great that it was rejected by a very great majority.

But notwithſtanding the bill was rejected, yet the commons voted the moſt liberal ſupply for the ſupport of the civil-liſt, and all other expences attending the government. The lord-lieutenant was ſo much diſappointed at the loſs of his favourite bill, that he went to the houſe of peers and entered a formal proteſt againſt it, as an act of diſobedience to the privy-council. He then made a long ſpeech from the throne, after which he prorogued the parliament. Some ſuſpicions that the lord-lieutenant was going to prorogue the parliament had taken place a week before, and thoſe lords who had oppoſed his meaſures, made a motion, that no proteſt ſhould be entered in the journals, unleſs ſigned by a lord of parliament. This occaſioned a moſt violent debate; but the motion being rejected by a ſmall majority, the minority entered a proteſt againſt it. The houſe of commons, previous to their breaking up, forbid the lord-lieutenant's ſpeech from being entered in the journals.

Such were the proceedings in this firſt ſeſſions of the firſt limited parliament. No buſineſs had paſſed, except that of granting the common ſupplies. All the national buſineſs was left undone; the temporary acts, which are either altered or reverſed every year, whether relative to agriculture, trade, the preſervation of the public ſafety, the ſupplying the capital with proviſions, and the ſupport of public charities, were now at an end. The whole kingdom was filled with the utmoſt conſternation, diſcontents took place every where, and nothing but confuſion was to be ſeen.

This affair being of the utmoſt importance, a motion was made in the Engliſh houſe of commons, that all the inſtructions ſent to the lord-lieutenant ſhould be laid before the houſe. In the debates on this ſubject, the conduct of the lord-lieutenant was treated with particular marks of ſeverity; for it was ſaid, that he had cajoled the parliament of Ireland out of a conſiderable ſum, and then prorogued them before they had time to enter on the national buſineſs. It was added further, that the Engliſh parliament was called upon by every motive of juſtice and humanity, to enquire into the ſtate of our ſiſter kingdom, and to grant them that redreſs which their own parliament could not.

On the other hand it was urged, that a controuling power muſt be lodged ſomewhere. That Poyning's law had lodged that controuling power in the king and council, and as the Iriſh houſe of commons had refuſed to obey that law, the lord-lieutenant was under the neceſſity of proroguing them. That they had, by their conduct, ſtruck at the root of the conſtitution; and that if the lord-lieutenant had not prorogued them, he would have been liable to an impeachment. However, this motion, like others brought in by the miniſtry, was over-ruled, and Ireland was left, for ſome time, in a ſtate of confuſion and diſtreſs.

Near the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſeveral propoſals were made in the houſe of lords relating to the ſtate affairs in America; and theſe were chiefly ſupported by the duke of Richmond. Theſe were introduced by ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration. He ſaid, that the ſtate of America had been recommended from the throne in a ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, and yet the ſeſſion was near ſpent without any thing being done, though the buſineſs was of the utmoſt importance. The miniſtry were now ſenſible that they had been too raſh in recommending the care of America before any ſettled plan had been laid down; and therefore, perplexed to the utmoſt, they ſaw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the nineteenth of May his majeſty went to the houſe, and, in a ſpeech from the throne, applauded them for the zeal they had ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation. He aſſured them, that he ſhould, on all occaſions, ſeek the happineſs of his people; and that it ſhould be the ſole object of his care, to watch over their intereſts. He concluded, by recommending to them the preſervation of public peace, and the diſcountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, muſt end in general confuſion.

Before we return to take notice of the ſtate of affairs on the continent, we ſhall here obſerve, that on the twenty-ſeventh of July, about four o'clock in the morning, a moſt dreadful fire broke out, or was diſcovered in the great dock-yard at Portſmouth. It burnt with the moſt rapid fury, and communicating itſelf with the hemp-houſe, and other offices, conſumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of ſome vile wretch and incendiary, has not yet been diſcovered, and perhaps never will. Some impoſtors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who has ſince that time been tranſported for perjury; and the other, whoſe name was Britain, has been ſince executed for forgery. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this fatal affair was, the fire was diſcovered in five different places at once, which gave ſtrong ſuſpicions that more than one perſon muſt have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only. Had this accident, or whatever it was, happened during the heat of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loſs, amounting to one hundred and forty-nine thouſand, eight hundred and eighty-eight pounds, could not have been made good without great difficulty, till ſuch time as the parliament met. But even ſuppoſing one individual could have advanced it, yet the time neceſſary for replacing the ſtores, might have given the enemy an opportunity of doing great injury to the place.

While the Ruſſians ſeemed to triumph on the Danube and Neiſter, a large fleet of men of war was fitted out, by order of the empreſs, to paſs the Sound, and from thence proceed up the ſtreights to attack the Turks by ſea as well as land. It will appear evident to thoſe perſons converſant with hiſtory, that extraordinary events are ſeldom brought about but by a concurrence of circumſtances to facilitate their execution; and it may perhaps be aſſerted, that all the great revolutions of which we read in hiſtory, would have failed had they not been attempted at one particular period; namely, that in which they took place.

The efforts of Peter the Great to create a navy, and bring up ſailors, had been looked upon as the extraordinary attempt of a great man, and it was imagined the project would die with him, but the reverſe took place; for although Ruſſia has been, almoſt ſince his death, governed by women, yet their empire has been advancing gradually to a ſtate of perfection. Her navy is now as reſpectable as can be imagined; and her ſailors, naturally robuſt and hardy, think no dangers too great.

The laſt vizier, who had acted in ſo raſh and unguarded a manner, was depoſed, and baniſhed to one of the Greek iſlands; and that honour was conferred on Hiliel Bey, a man of great abilities and unſhaken integrity. He knew that the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia were the grand objects the Ruſſians had in view; and therefore, contrary to the cuſtom of the Turks, he reſolved to venture on a winter campaign. This was a deſign worthy of a great commander; for he imagined that the Ruſſians would be too much fluſhed with their late ſucceſſes, to think of any attack being made upon them. In that, however, the vizier was miſtaken; for the Ruſſians were too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, and both armies continued ſkirmiſhing, in ſmall parties, during the winter and ſpring. In general, the Ruſſians were ſucceſsful in theſe engagements, ſo that the grand vizier's plan did not ſucceed in its full extent; but ſtill, by keeping his men in continual action, they became more and more acquainted with the art of war.

In the mean time, the country where the ſeat of war lay preſented a ſcene of the moſt dreadful deſolation; almoſt every thing had been deſtroyed; and ſuch of the miſerable inhabitants as had not time to eſcape to the neighbouring countries, were either made ſlaves by the Tartars, or butchered, to ſatisfy the rage and fury of the Turks.

The army under the command of general Romanzow having croſſed the Neiſter, and marched on ſlowly towards the Pruth, a river which riſes in Poland, croſſes Moldavia, and falls into the Danube. From thence he continued his march to Jaſſy, the capital of Moldavia, about two hundred miles eaſt of Choczim. Great part of the country through which he paſſed was little better than a deſart, being totally deſtitute of water; ſo that they were obliged to carry that neceſſary article along with them. Such impediments may eaſily account for the ſlowneſs of general Romanzow, who ſeemed to move in a ſimilar direction with count Panin, who was at the head of an army on the banks of the Neiſter, his deſign being to lay ſiege to the important fortreſs of Bender.

Every thing ſeemed now to give way to the Ruſſian power; and ſeveral detachments of the Turks having been cut off, the grand vizier reſolved to venture on an engagement. About eight o'clock in the evening, both armies came in ſight of each other, near the banks of the Pruth, and the Tartars were drawn up on the left of the Ruſſians; but ſoon afterwards, they ſpread themſelves out into ſmall parties, in order to cut off a convoy of waggons, containing the proviſions for the Ruſſian army.

In ſome ſituations, and under ſeveral circumſtances, boldneſs is prudence, and then it is that great minds are diſcovered, by their actions, from mere common abilities. General Romanzow was one of thoſe great men; for had a leſs experienced commander been at the head of the Ruſſian army, they might have been totally cut off. The Ruſſians had been very much weakened by ſending out detached parties, and therefore it ſeemed little better than madneſs to venture on an engagement. The general, however, confiding in the goodneſs of his troops, and the confidence they had in him, from a long ſeries of ſucceſſes, reſolved to attack the enemy next morning. Accordingly they began to move, in order of battle, about day-break; and, as ſoon as it was light, the general found, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, the Turks had thrown up ſtrong entrenchments before their camp. This did not in the leaſt damp the ſpirits of the Ruſſian general, for he had formed a reſolution, and, let the conſequences be what they would, he perſiſted in going through with it. His ſituation, indeed, was truly critical; for, had he been defeated, the army under the command of general Panin would have been taken in the rear, and the heavy artillery muſt have fallen into the hands of the Turks.

The Turks, notwithſtanding their having thrown up entrenchments, no ſooner ſaw the Ruſſians advancing, than they marched out to meet them; but the good order and regular diſcipline of the Ruſſians bore down all oppoſition, and they drove the Turks back to their entrenchments. The battle now became dreadful; for the grand vizier ſeeing the critical ſituation he was in, made a ſally at the head of his beſt troops; but the Ruſſians, with their bayonets, forced them back, and took poſſeſſion of the firſt entrenchment. The battle now became more bloody than ever; and, after the Turks had uſed every effort to retrieve the honour of the day, the Ruſſian diſcipline overcame, and all the entrenchments were taken.

The route now became general; the Turks fled on every ſide; while the grand vizier, ſeeing the battle totally loſt, made the beſt of his way for the Danube, which was diſtant about twenty-four miles.

This was one of the completeſt victories that we read of in hiſtory; for the whole camp equipage, with the tents, one hundred and forty-three pieces of cannon, and above ſeven thouſand carriages loaded with proviſions, fell into the hands of the Ruſſians. Seven thouſand Turks were left dead on the field; many were made priſoners; while the reſt were purſued as far as the Danube, in which ſome thouſands of them were drowned.

While the Ruſſians, under general Romanzow, were gaining victories every day in Moldavia, count Panin laid ſiege to Bender, which the Turks had fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner. The garriſon made a moſt vigorous defence; and, in the compaſs of fourteen days from the opening of the trenches, they ſallied out ſeven different times upon the Ruſſians. The governor was ſo overcome with grief and deſpair when he heard that the grand vizier had been defeated, that he took poiſon, and ſo put an end to his own life. The garriſon, determined to hold out to the laſt, made choice of another in his room, who behaved with great bravery; for the ſiege was carried on with unremitted fury, and the place as gallantly defended, till the Ruſſians, tired out with delays, reſolved to make one vigorous effort, which was done by three different columns in the night of the ſeventh of September.

The walls had been undermined, and a vaſt quantity of gunpowder put into the aperture; which being ſet fire to, blew up in the moſt dreadful manner; while the different columns having joined each other, entered the breach ſword in hand, and carried deſtruction along with them. A moſt dreadful carnage enſued; for the Ruſſians ſpared none who came in their way, and the greateſt part of the town was reduced to aſhes.

The misfortunes of the Turks were not confined to the Danube or the Neiſter; for the moſt northerly, as well as the moſt ſoutherly parts of their dominions in Europe, ſeemed doomed to all the calamities of war. The time ſeemed to be arrived, when the moſt wretched ſtate of their government, which, for many years, had ſuffered their military, as well as their naval force, to fall into decay and ruin, ſhould be puniſhed both by ſea and land. The conduct of the Turks, in ſuffering themſelves to ſleep into a ſtupid ſecurity, is ſimilar to an error which all great empires have fallen into at one time or other. For the truth of this, we have no more to do than to turn to the hiſtories of thoſe great empires which once made ſuch diſtinguiſhing figures, but are now only known by name. They grew up to a ſtate of maturity by virtue and valour; their middle ages were diſtinguiſhed by well regulated inſtitutions; but ſloth, effeminacy, and the relaxation of every moral obligation, undermined their foundations, and brought on their ruin.

The Ruſſian fleet, the firſt belonging to that empire that ever paſſed the Sound, ſailed from England, and paſſing tne ſtreights of Gibraltar, arrived at Port-Mahon, in the iſland of Minorca, in a very ſhattered and ſickly cendition. There they received all that friendly aſſiſtance for which the Engliſh are ſo juſtly celebrated; and the ſalutary air, with the uſe of freſh proviſions, ſoon reſtored the men to health; ſo that the fleet was enabled to weigh anchor, and proceed on its voyage. In the mean time, application was made to the maritime ſtates of Italy, to know on what terms they would act with reſpect to the Ruſſians; and whether, in caſe of their being reduced to diſtreſs, they would allow them ſhelter in their harbours. Thoſe ſtates gave but a very reſerved and equivocal anſwer, till at laſt preſſed to it, they promiſed to allow ſome of them to come in, under certain reſtrictions.

During the latter part of the laſt year, ſome Ruſſian officers had been employed in carrying on a negociation with the Greeks, which was no difficult matter to bring about, ſeeing they were both of the ſame religion, and had been long oppreſſed by the Turks. They now hoped to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery; and their hopes roſe to a pitch of extravagance equal to that of the Jews, when they imagined the Meſſiah was come among them.

Count Orlow, who commanded the Ruſſian fleet, ſet ſail from Minorca in the beginning of February; and, after a very dangerous and tedious voyage, arrived at Cape Metapan, the ancient promontory of Tenarus. This country, the ancient and famous Peloponneſſus, once the ſeat of philoſophers and poets, being all claſſical ground, is too well known to require any deſcription. Indeed, if it did, modern travellers can ſupply that defect, though their accounts are far inferior to thoſe of the ancients.

The Ruſſian admiral having landed the forces which he had on board, at Maina, the capital of the ancient Sparta, the people of the country, the deſcendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, who ſtill retained ſome of the ſpirit of their anceſtors, flocked in great numbers to join his ſtandard. The other Greeks in general followed their example; for, in general, the inhabitants of the Morea only waited for an opportunity of aſſerting their freedom.

Arcadia, Miſitra, and many other places, were ſoon taken; and the Greeks maſſacred every Turk whom they laid hold of, without regard to age or ſex. From this we may infer, that although the Greeks aſſume to themſelves the name of Chriſtians, they are deſtitute of the firſt principles of humanity; for whatever cruelty had been inflicted on them by the Turkiſh government, yet that did not warrant their murdering individuals.

The Turkiſh governor of Meſſalougi finding himſelf unable to defend the place any longer, and expecting no mercy from the Ruſſians, put his perſon under the protection of the Greek Syndic, the chief magiſtrate of the town; but no ſooner had the villainous Syndic got him in his power, than he cauſed him to be put to death.

Nor was this unnatural fury confined to the continent; for revenge, novelty, and the hope of plunder, operated every where, and even extended to the iſlands, where the moſt horrid murders were committed, with circumſtances of the moſt ſavage barbarity. Three Turkiſh ſhips, with ſome recruits on board, for the ſervice of the army on the continent, having put into the iſland of Milone, one of the ancient Cyclades, the greateſt part of the crew going on ſhore, were all barbarouſly murdered. At Maina, count Orlow publiſhed a manifeſto in the name of the empreſs of Ruſſia, wherein, among other things, it is expreſsly declared, that ſhe looked upon herſelf as under a religious obligation to ſet the Greeks at liberty from the Turkiſh ſlavery, promiſing, at the ſame time, protection to all thoſe who would join her army, and threatening military execution to ſuch as refuſed: for it is remarkable in the Ruſſians, that they ſeldom publiſh a proclamation that is not clogged with ſome oppreſſive mark or condition.

From Maina count Orlow ſailed for Corom, a ſtrong town at the extremity of the peninſula; but the fortifications of it had been long neglected, like moſt other towns in the Turkiſh empire, ſo that it was ſoon taken. The harbour was good, and capable of admitting a great number of ſhips; and therefore the Ruſſian admiral ordered that it ſhould be their place of general rendezvous.

Petras was taken in the latter end of March, it being one of the moſt important places in the Morea. It is celebrated in hiſtory for being the metropolitan city of Claventia, and is ſituated on that arm of the gulph which ſeparates it from the ancient Livadia, about ſixty miles weſt of Corinth, and one hundred and twenty north-weſt of Miſitra. This great and once flouriſhing city was not able to make any defence; and the Greeks, who accompanied the Ruſſian army, no ſooner made a breach in the walls, than they broke in, and murdered the innocent inhabitants, without any diſtinction of age or ſex. Such as could make their eſcape from the hands of the murderers, (for they merit no better name) took ſhelter in the caſtle, which the Ruſſians and Greeks inſtantly beſieged. The Greeks, however, were but of little ſervice to the Ruſſians, for they minded plunder more than military diſcipline.

In the mean time, a body of Albanians and Turks having paſſed the Iſthmus, marched to its relief, and engaged the Ruſſians in the moſt furious manner. At the ſame time, the governor made a ſally, and a mine burſting, the city was ſet on fire, and burnt down to the ground. The Turks took a ſevere revenge on the Greeks for their cruelties, for they put every one to the ſword, not even ſparing their prieſts at the altar. All the foreign conſuls had made their eſcape, except the ſon of the Engliſh conſul, who, on this memorable occaſion, acted with ſuch ſpirit and humanity, as will ever do honour to his memory. This young gentleman had ſhut himſelf up in his father's houſe, which he looked upon as a ſanctuary, conſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed laws of nations; and took under his protection ſeventy perſons, ſome of whom were ladies of diſtinction. In the heighth of the confuſion, a body of Albanians, armed with axes, came to break open the door; but he repreſenting to them that he belonged to a nation that was in alliance with the Grand Seignior, they, in the moſt generous and humane manner, carried him, with all thoſe under his protection, to the caſtle. There, however, their fears were redoubled, for the firſt ſcene which preſented itſelf to their eyes, was a heap of mangled bodies, and ſeveral Turkiſh executioners, according to their forms, employed in cutting off the heads of all the Greek priſoners as faſt as they were brought in. The Engliſh gentleman, with his companions, would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the governor, who knew him, arrived at that inſtant, and taken him, with all his companions, under his protection. The ſame night they got on board a veſſel in the harbour, which conveyed them ſafely to Zante, to the great joy of the Engliſh conſul, who imagined that he had been killed.

From this time forward the Greeks began to ſuffer in their turn, for thoſe cruelties which, in their rage, they had inflicted on the Turks. A large body of them having advanced to the iſthmus of Corinth, in order to croſs over into Achaia, the Turks came up with them, killed above two thouſand, and took a great number of them priſoners, whoſe heads were inſtantly cut off. All Greece, now called the Morea, exhibited murder, famine, and putrified bodies in every place. The Greeks and Turks were equally cruel to each other, nor could two meet together without one being killed.

Indeed, it is, in many ſtriking inſtances, painful to treat of theſe cruelties, or even of this war in general, which has, through all its different parts, been ſullied and diſgraced by acts of ferocity, oppreſſion, and cruelty, which are happily but little known in the middle or weſtern parts of Europe. The enmities of theſe poliſhed nations are tempered with a generoſity and humanity which alleviate, and, in a great meaſure, conceal the deformity and horrors of war; and a liſt of the killed and wounded after an engagement, cauſes little more emotion than the ſight of an adjutant's roll would before it.

Soon after the Greeks had been defeated in the Iſthmus of Corinth, the baſſaw of Boſnia arrived in the Morea, at the head of thirty thouſand men, moſtly Albanians; and he ordered all the Greeks who were found in arms, or any way diſtant from their villages, to be inſtantly put to death. The Greek archbiſhop of Trippolizza, with many other perſons of great diſtinction, ſhared the ſame fate, under pretence that they had ſtirred up the people to revolt.

The chief force of the Ruſſians was now, in concert with ſome Greeks, engaged in the ſiege of Modon, about one hundred miles weſt of Corinth. It is a place of great ſtrength, with a caſtle, and an exceeding good harbour; ſo that, while the Ruſſian army attacked it by land, the fleet ſeconded their operations by ſea. Had they taken this important place, they would have been able to maintain a footing in the peninſula, at leaſt till ſome reinforcements came to their aſſiſtance. But a body of Turks and Albanians having croſſed the peninſula, attacked the beſiegers with great fury, and were ſeconded by a vigorous ſally made by the governor. It now appeared evident that the ſpirit of the ancient Spartans had forſaken theſe their degenerate deſcendants; for the Greeks, diſpirited by their late overthrow, which taught them the difference between maſſacring an innocent multitude of people, and engaging in battle with an enemy, abandoned their poſts as ſoon as they were attacked, and were cut in pieces without reſiſtance. The Ruſſians, however, made a noble ſtand, and fought in the moſt courageous manner, to protect the cowardly Greeks, who, if they had acted with only a common degree of reſolution, a complete victory might have been obtained. But at laſt the Ruſſians were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat to the ſhore, under the protection of their ſhips.

The Albanians and Turks, now fluſhed with the thoughts of ſucceſs, gave themſelves up to plundering the camp; which the Ruſſians obſerving, turned upon them, and routed them with great ſlaughter; ſo that they once more got poſſeſſion of their camp and battery. This ſucceſs brought ſome more of the Greeks to their aſſiſtance, and now the ſiege was renewed with redoubled vigour. The Ruſſians were now convinced that no time was to be loſt, and that they muſt endeavour to take it before any freſh forces could come up. Accordingly, an attack was made; but the Greeks, who were quite diſpirited, ſeparated themſelves from the Ruſſians, who were again obliged to abandon the place.

During theſe tranſactions in the Morea, the Ruſſian fleet was reinforced by more ſhips, which had ſailed from England in the beginning of the year; and both being joined, they came up with the Turkiſh fleet in the channel of Scio, which divides Natolia, in the Leſſer Aſia, from Europe. The Turkiſh fleet was conſiderably ſuperior to that of the Ruſſians, and the engagement began with great fury. A Turkiſh and a Ruſſian ſhip got faſtened together, and both blew up with a dreadful exploſion, ſo that only a few of the hands on board were ſaved. The dreadful fate of theſe ſhips occaſioned a panic on both ſides for ſome time; but the engagement being again renewed, it continued till night ſeparated them, without any material advantage on either ſide.

As ſoon as it was dark, the Turkiſh admiral, contrary to the advice of his braveſt officers, ordered the cables to be cut, and then ſailed into a ſmall bay on the coaſt of Natolia. This was a moſt imprudent ſtep, for the Ruſſian fleet ſurrounded them in the morning, and came to an anchor beſide them. Admiral Elphinſton then began to make preparations to ſend in four fire-ſhips among them; but this being a piece of ſervice with which the Ruſſians were but little acquainted, they ſeemed very unwilling to engage in it. An Engliſh lieutenant then undertook the dangerous expedient, and commodore Greig, another officer of the ſame nation, undertook to conduct the ſhips that were to cover them. At twelve at night commodore Greig, with four ſhips of the line and two frigates, approached the mouth of the harbour, and engaged the enemy within four hundred yards. A moſt dreadful cannonade begun and laſted an hour, when, about one o'clock, a ſignal was given for Mr. Dugdale, the Engliſh lieutenant, to run in with the fire-ſhips, which he inſtantly performed, and bore down upon the Turkiſh fleet. At the ſame time a ſhot having ſet the rigging of one of the Turkiſh ſhips on fire, it added greatly to the confuſion, in a place where they had ſcarce room to act. It was impoſſible for the brave lieutenant to keep the Ruſſians in order, and at laſt they flung themſelves into the boat, and left him on board alone. Preſence of mind, and that courage by which the Britiſh ſeamen have been ſo long diſtinguiſhed, enabled him to ſurmount every difficulty; for having laſhed the helm, he ſet fire to the ſhip, and then threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to one of the Ruſſian ſhips.

The three other ſhips took fire at the ſame time, and ruſhing into the center of the Turkiſh fleet, the whole was conſumed, except one ſhip the Ruſſians towed off. They then bombarded the town, in which was a ſtrong caſtle; but a ſhot from one of the Ruſſian ſhips having ſet fire to the powder magazine, the whole blew up, and the place was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Thus through the obſtinacy of the Turkiſh admiral of a fleet, a caſtle and a town that exiſted at one o'clock in the morning, was, in eight hours after, reduced to a heap of rubbiſh! It is ſaid, that the Turks loſt ſix thouſand men on this memorable occaſion, and ſuch of the ſailors as had the good fortune to make their eſcape, murdered all the Greeks that came in their way, and even attempted to ſet fire to their cities.

Theſe ruffians, to whoſe rage nothing could ſet bounds, marched as far as Smyrna, where they murdered three hundred Greeks; and had it not been for the interpoſition of the Janizaries, they would have ſerved all the European merchants in the ſame barbarous manner, and even ſet fire to the city. In the mean time, the Turkiſh admiral was beheaded, by order of the grand-ſeignior, for having run his ſhips into a place where they became an eaſy prey to the Ruſſians. Indeed it would ſeem, that he had been no way acquainted with naval affairs, for no admiral ought ever to come near land till he is in a manner ſure of victory.

The Ruſſians, who were now triumphant at ſea, blocked up the paſſage to the Dardanelles, and interrupted every ſhip that attempted to paſs them, without any regard to the nations to which they belonged; but when they found that they had no intention of aſſiſting the Turks, they ſuffered them to proceed to ſome other port. Count Orlow, the Ruſſian admiral, preferred the brave lieutenant Dugdale to the command of the Turkiſh ſhip that had been ſaved, and which carried ſixty-two braſs guns; and commodore Greig was made an admiral. The Greeks, filled with revenge againſt their cruel maſters the Turks, murdered the people in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles; ſo that the whole Archipelago was filled with their barbarities.

The ancient and once famous city of Smyrna, where many great men have been born, and which, for two centuries, has been a place of great trade, was now in a very critical ſituation. The inhabitants expected to be attacked by the Ruſſians every day, and the foreign European merchants, who had factories there, gave up all for loſt. It was a moſt dangerous expedient for them to apply to the Ruſſian admiral, leſt the Turks ſhould have been jealous of them; but at laſt the common danger cemented them together for their mutual ſafety, and the Turks joined with them in the application. Accordingly, an Engliſh merchant was ſent to count Orlow, whom he found engaged in the ſiege of Lemmos, and by whom he was told, that he had ſtrict orders to protect the Chriſtians of all nations, but more particularly the Engliſh; becauſe there was a treaty of peace and commerce at that time ſubſiſting between them and the Engliſh. He diſmiſſed him with marks of the greateſt politeneſs, and told him, that he and the other gentlemen in the factories might make themſelves quite eaſy, as no harm would happen to them.

During the whole of this year, France was torn with inteſtine diviſions. The arbitrary proceedings at court were ſuch, that the parliaments in the provinces refuſed to regiſter the edicts. The king wanted money to ſupport his extravagance, and the moſt illegal taxes were impoſed on the people, at a time when the neceſſaries of life were ſo ſcarce that the people were, in a manner, ſtarving. The parliaments, on this occaſion, acted with integrity and firmneſs, and nothing could force them to give a ſanction to what was both unjuſt and oppreſſive. Dragoons, however, extorted that which faithful magiſtrates refuſed to grant; the taxes were raiſed by force, and the members of the different parliaments were ſent to different priſons, where they were not ſuffered to converſe with their friends or relations. In a word, the ſtate of France, during this year, was the moſt miſerable that could have been imagined. Juſtice was obſtructed, the decrees of the courts, that ſeemed to affect the payment of the oppreſſive taxes, were all ordered to be erazed, ſoldiers were quartered on ſuch of the counſellors as had ſpoken boldly in defence of the people; and it may juſtly be ſaid, that all France was groaning under military power.

Italy, which has often been the theatre of war, now enjoyed perfect tranquillity; and the different ſtates ſeemed to vie with each other in promoting commerce and agriculture. Several regulations were made with reſpect to the clergy, for the Italians are far from being ſuch bigots as they were formerly. Indeed, they have in that inſtance acted with moderation and prudence, ſo as not to do any thing violently; and there is no doubt but that will in the end bring about a general reformation.

The pope, by his good ſenſe and the peculiar happineſs of his temper, acted with ſuch moderation that theſe ſtates, who were on bad terms with his predeceſſor, freely acknowledged his power in all things of a ſpiritual nature. By theſe means enmity died away, and the bleſſings of peace were diffuſed from Sicily to the Alps.

Portugal, that had long been at enmity with the ſee of Rome, now admitted a nuncio from the pope; ſo that by prudence and moderation this great eccleſiaſtic was doing more than ever could have taken place by the thunders of the vatican. He aboliſhed many ridiculous cuſtoms, and on the whole ſeemed to have nothing ſo much in view as the reducing the Roman catholic religion to a rational ſyſtem.

In Corſica, during this year, the wretched inhabitants felt all the ſeverity of a French deſpotic government. Many of them ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, and ſuch of theſe unhappy people as were taken, were inſtantly put to death. Some of them were tranſported to France; but this was little more than ſhifting the ſcene: for as in Corſica they beheld the ruin of their country, ſo in France they ſaw a whole nation of people ruined. But here their ſuffering did not end; for ſuch as were brought to France, after a journey of ſix hundred miles on foot from Marſeilles to Breſt, were put on board ſeveral veſſels and ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt-Indies. What havock has the ambition of tyrants made among the children of men!

This year a war was likely to have broke out between Great-Britain and Spain, on account of the following affair:

In the year 1592 captain Davies, who commanded an Engliſh man of war, failed to the South Seas, where he diſcovered ſome iſlands, ſince called Falklands; but little notice was taken of them for more than a century, till commodore Anſon, in his voyage round the world, diſcovered the importance they would be of to us, if properly cultivated. Accordingly, ſoon after the late peace, when lord Anſon was at the head of the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council, and it was propoſed to ſend out ſome frigates to viſit them. This ſcheme, however, was not ſo well conducted, but the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and ſuch remonſtrances were made by their ambaſſador at our court, that it was again laid aſide.

It was again revived, and in 1764 commodore Byron was ſent out with a ſmall ſquadron to make diſcoveries, and, if poſſible, eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took poſſeſſion of Falklands iſlands in the name of his Britannic majeſty, with all the forms uſed on ſuch occaſions.

Much about this time the French, ſtimulated by their loſſes during the war, undertook an expedition of a ſimilar nature, namely, to make diſcoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to one M. de Bouganville, colonel of a regiment of foot. This gentleman entered into this adventure with all that life and ſpirit ſo peculiar to his countrymen. Having fitted out a frigate of twenty guns, with a ſloop to carry proviſions, he took on board one hundred ſeamen, and about one hundred and fifty people, who choſe to try their fortune in that part of the world. The French ſhips ſet ſail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received by the Spaniards, who gave them every ſort of aſſiſtance. From thence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in freſh proviſions, the Spaniards ſtill continuing to treat them with every mark of reſpect. At length, they came to Falklands Iſlands, where they formed an eſtabliſhment, and built a ſmall fort.

Theſe French adventurers had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes from the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, but they did not anſwer their expectations; for it coſt them more money to ſupport their ſettlement than the profits ariſing from it could afford; ſo that they gave it up to the Spaniards in the moſt formal manner.

Theſe iſlands are ſituated in latitude 51 ſouth, and about one hundred leagues on this ſide the ſtreights of Magellan. The ſettlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was on one of the iſlands that lay to the weſt, and was called Port Solidad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the Engliſh, was one of the iſlands to the eaſtward. It is not certainly known, that theſe ſettlers knew of each other for ſome time, and certain it is, that in commodore's Byron's account of them, he mentions nothing of any ſettlement but the Engliſh one at Port Egmont. However, in the year 1769, we had a frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation, and captain Hunt, in the Tamar frigate, being on a cruiſe, fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad, and according to his orders, commanded the Spaniſh captain to depart, becauſe theſe iſlands were the property of Great-Britain. In two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tamar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Solidad, telling him, that if he had been driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he was ready to give him every aſſiſtance; but if he came there in violation of the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, he had far better depart immediately. Captain Hunt, not in the leaſt intimidated with theſe threatenings, aſſerted the right his Britannic majeſty had to theſe iſlands, and warned him to depart from them, giving him ſix months for that purpoſe. The Spaniſh officer entered a formal proteſt againſt captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any inſult to the ſettlement at Port Solidad, or removed from theſe iſlands, he ſhould conſider it as a breach of the peace, and tranſmit an account thereof to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence that they wanted freſh water; and the commander in chief ſent notice to captain Hunt, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee the Engliſh flag hoiſted in an iſland that belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. He charged captain Hunt with violating the peace; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would ſend an account thereof to Spain, that his maſter might aſſert his right to thoſe iſlands which had been made over to him by treaty.

Captain Hunt ſtill continued to found his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from theſe iſlands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were ſupplied by our people with water: the captain and officers behaved with civility, but they declined going on ſhore though they were ſeveral times invited. As theſe tranſactions ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt ſet ſail for England, and arriving at Plymouth on the third of June, ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty. The Swift and Favourite ſloops of war, each bearing ſixteen guns, were left to take care of the ſettlement; but the Swift having ſailed as far as the ſtreights of Magellan, was overſet, and ſuch of the crew as could get into the boat, undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardſhips. Five Spaniſh frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, not doubting but they came with hoſtile intentions, reſolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoiſted his flag, which the Spaniſh commodore ſeeing, fired two ſhots, and being aſked what were his reaſons for ſo doing, he ſaid they were only by way of ſignals.

In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spaniſh commodore, that as he had received the refreſhments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his maſter, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all thoſe iſlands known by the name of Falklands. In anſwer to this letter, the commodore put captain Farmer in mind of his great power, and how eaſy it was for him to deſtroy their defenceleſs ſettlement. He begged that he and the other Engliſh officers would not force him to any extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the iſlands belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. Next day he wrote again, both to captain Farmer and captain Maltby, telling them, that if they would depart peaceably they ſhould have leave to take all they had along with them from the ſettlement, and what they could not take, he ſhould give them a receipt for, that the whole affair might be ſettled by their reſpective courts. But on the other hand, if they refuſed to comply, he would, contrary to his inclinations, be obliged to obey his orders, by attack- their ſettlement both by ſea and land, and that he would ſpread deſolation every where before him; for he had, under his command, a large body of marines, beſides a train of heavy artillery.

He concluded by aſſuring them, that if they did not, in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter, give him a plain and favourable anſwer, he would immediately commence hoſtilities; and, at the ſame time, deſired them to think of the dreadful conſequences which their obſtinacy would be productive of to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty.

To theſe, and all his other menaces, the Engliſh captains returned for anſwer, that words are not always conſidered as acts of hoſtilities; and that they could not believe that he would, in a time of profound peace, when the greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between the two nations, put his threats in execution: that he did not doubt but he was thoroughly convinced, that the king of Great-Britain, their maſter, was capable of demanding ſatisfaction throughout every part of the globe where any inſult was offered to his flag; and therefore they were, in conſequence of their orders, obliged to defend the place to the laſt extremity. Accordingly the Spaniſh commodore ordered the frigates to row cloſe to the ſhore, directly oppoſite the Block-houſe, where there was only a ſmall battery; and at night captain Maltby brought fifty ſeamen, belonging to the Favourite, on ſhore, with two ſix pounders, ten ſwivels, and a quantity of ſmall-arms and ammunition. Next morning, part of the Spaniſh troops and artillery landed about a mile to the northward of the Block-houſe; and when they had advanced about half a mile, the reſt of the boats, with the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spaniſh frigates, and rowed right in for the cove, being covered by the fire from the frigates, whoſe ſhot went over the Blockhouſe. The Engliſh ſeamen, who were then on ſhore, fired ſome ſmall ſhot; but ſeeing the utter impoſſibility of defending the ſettlement, and the Spaniards having broke through all the limits of peace, even to the actual commencement of hoſtilities, ſo that their conduct could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers, as they had judiciouſly led them to this open avowal of their conduct, and had, at the ſame time, ſupported the honour of their own country, as far as the means in their power would admit of, with the ſame propriety preferred ſaving the valuable lives of their people; and leaving the injury to be redreſſed by thoſe in power, they thought it moſt prudent to hang out a flag of truce, in order to know what terms of capitulation the Spaniſh commodore would grant.

All the conditions which he would grant were, that the Engliſh ſhould immediately, or as ſoon as poſſible, ſo as it did not exceed forty days, remove from the ſettlement, and what ſtores they left behind them ſhould be produced as ſoon as orders for that purpoſe arrived from Spain. This was one of the greateſt inſults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the Britiſh flag; but the Engliſh, who had not ſtrength ſufficient to defend themſelves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portſmouth.

The navy of Great-Britain was then in a very indifferent condition; and political debates ran ſo high, that people in general were diſſatisfied with the conduct of the miniſtry. Preſs warrants had been iſſued for raiſing ſeamen, but the legality of them was, in ſeveral places, called in queſtion. In the city of London, Mr. Croſby, the lord-mayor, refuſed to back the preſs warrants; Mr. alderman Wilkes diſcharged a man who had been impreſſed; and although the opinion of council was taken on this important ſubject, yet, among the more ſenſible and judicious, the practice itſelf was looked upon as inconſiſtent with the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution.

In the mean time, ſuch as were averſe to a war, or dreaded the conſequences of it, looked back with reſentment to the laſt peace, and to thoſe who had adviſed the making of it. All the arguments made uſe of in defence of it were treated with the utmoſt contempt, and the whole was conſidered as a meaſure which, in its conſequences, muſt for ever diſhonour the Britiſh nation. Indeed, many ſober perſons, whoſe minds were free from paſſion or prejudice, and who, judging of the diſputes between the rival nations only by the ſame equitable and diſintereſted principles which ſhould at all times take place between private perſons, had not, at that time, in general, diſapproved of the conditions of peace, could not now refrain from the utmoſt indignation, at beholding the flagrant inſult we had received from an enemy we had ſo lately in our power to chaſtiſe, and from thinking that thoſe who ſaid, that the fruits of one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful wars mentioned in hiſtory, had been bartered away for an inglorious and inſecure peace, had but too much reaſon on their ſide; and therefore there was no wonder that the people ſhould find fault with the meaſures of adminiſtration.

In this ſtate of anxiety, doubt, and expectation, all people longed, in the moſt eager manner, for the meeting of parliament. No change had taken place in adminiſtration during the receſs; and as lord North had ſucceſsfully weathered all the ſtorms of the winter, ſupported by a prodigious majority in both houſes, he ſeemed now to be as ſecurely fixed in his ſeat at the head of the treaſury, as the precarious circumſtances of the times would admit of. The ſtate of the different parties in oppoſition had not hitherto ſuffered any material change. The death of Mr. Grenville, which happened in the beginning of November, having left that party to which he belonged without a leader, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them, and who appeared the moſt ſanguine in oppoſition, went over to the court. The party that adhered to the marquis of Rockingham, and who were called the Whig party, ſtill adhered to their former principles: and ſuch as were attached to the earl of Chatham, earl Temple, and the earl of Shelburne, conſiſting of a mixture of whigs and tories, generally coincided with the Rockingham party.

On the thirteenth of November, both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, and was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne. He told them, that the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in ſuch a manner as was inconſiſtent with the honour of Great-Britain, and demanded the utmoſt ſatisfaction: that, under theſe circumſtances, an immediate demand had been made for proper ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the injury received: that the neceſſary preparations had been made, without loſs of time, in order to be enabled to obtain juſtice, in caſe the requiſition to the court of Spain ſhould fail in procuring it. An aſſurance was given that theſe preparations ſhould not be diſcontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that ſufficient proofs ſhould be given, that all other powers on the continent diſapproved of ſuch proceedings. He ſaid he had called them together ſo early, that they might be ready to aſſiſt him with the beſt of their advice, and provide for the honour and ſecurity of the nation. With reſpect to the colonies in America, it was obſerved, that many of the factious people had deſiſted from thoſe combinations into which they had inadvertently entered, and which had been attended with many fatal conſequences to their peaceable fellow ſubjects: that the people of Boſton, and, in general, the inhabitants of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper ſtate of obedience, but continued in carrying on the ſame violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He added, that the eſtimates for the preſent year would naturally exceed the former; and that it would be neither conſulting the inclinations nor the intereſts of his people, if they ſhould decline any expence that ſhould ſeem neceſſary towards promoting the national honour: that as to foreign meaſures, no doubt was held, that there could be any other conteſt, than who ſhould appear moſt forward in ſupport of the common cauſe, in upholding the reputation, and promoting the proſperity of the kingdom. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no intereſt ſeparate from that of the people; that they were all members of the ſame body, and, conſiſtent with the order of nature and the laws of ſociety, they muſt ſtand or fall together.

The addreſſes were the moſt ſpirited that had been preſented for ſome years; and the moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be chearfully granted. The moſt unreſerved confidence was placed in his majeſty, that he would never be induced, by a miſtaken tenderneſs for the preſent eaſe of the people, to ſacrifice their more eſſential and laſting intereſts. The commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it ſhould have been any where ſurmiſed, that there were any ſuch differences ſubſiſting among the people, as could, in the leaſt degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majeſty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unſullied the luſtre of the crown, and preſerving undiminiſhed the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how falſe and ſcandalous all ſuch ſurmiſes were; and make it manifeſt, that, whenever they were called upon in the cauſe of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them.

Although theſe addreſſes were carried by a vaſt majority, there aroſe conſiderable debates upon them. It was ſaid by thoſe in oppoſition, that as one inſult is always the forerunner of others, ſo the preſent outrage offered by Spain was a natural conſequence of our paſſive and ſhameful conduct with regard to Corſica: that the ſpeech was an oſtentatious diſplay of miniſterial conduct, and the addreſs an approbation of it: that before ſuch a public approbation was given, it was neceſſary to know what that conduct had been, which merited ſuch applauſes: that it was neceſſary to know what the Spaniards had done, and what previous information our miniſtry had received of their deſigns: that by our conduct for twelve months paſt, it ſeemed as if we had not an enemy in the world; and yet, by the ſpeech, it was evident that a war was apprehended: the bad ſtate of our navy, and the defenceleſs manner in which the valuable iſland of Jamaica was left, were much inſiſted on, and with great force of argument: that, independent of any private intelligence, the accounts publicly avowed to have been received on the third of June, that the Spaniards had warned our people to depart from their ſettlement on Falklands Iſlands, was, in itſelf, a ſufficient indication of their ill deſigns, and of what was naturally to follow; but between that and the twenty-ſecond of September, when our people brought the account of the inſult on our flag, what had been done to put us in a ſtate of ſecurity at home, or enable us to protect our dominions abroad? Were the regiments completed, or was the navy manned and put in a proper condition? None of all theſe things were done, and yet we are to return thanks to the miniſtry, not for any thing, but only becauſe they have not done ſomething worſe than we are yet acquainted with.

It was farther inſiſted, that while the rights of the people were violated at home, it was abſurd to expect ſuch unanimity among them as was neceſſary to ſupport the honour of the nation againſt any foreign power. That part of the ſpeech which mentions the governor of Buenos Ayres, was moſt ſeverely cenſured, and even ridiculed, both without and within doors. It was ſaid, Why ſhould an officer, who acted only under command, be conſidered, inſtead of the king his maſter, as the principal in an injury offered to this great nation? The anſwer is evident; the ſame temporizing, mean and cowardly policy, prevails, which beheld the ſeizure of Corſica, in defiance of faith and of treaties; and now hopes, under this ſubterfuge, to find ſome means of prolonging its exiſtence, though at the price of the national honour and dignity.

Upon the whole, it was aſſerted, in poſitive terms, that the conduct of our miniſtry had neither been honeſt in the deſign, nor able in the execution; they had loſt the confidence of the people, and yet imagined they would ſupport them: that they had threatened the colonies with unrelenting ſeverity, in purſuit of an unconſtitutional meaſure, and yet ſuppoſe that we ſhall ſuffer nothing from an alienation of their affection: that Ireland was ruled with a rod of iron, and yet they conſtantly declared that they were not making ſtrides towards arbitrary power. Laſtly, that, with reſpect to the deſigns of our enemies, they had been totally blind and improvident, and yet we were in danger.

In anſwer to this, it was ſaid by thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the miniſtry, that all Europe, friends as well as enemies, were attentive to, and would found much of their opinion upon the iſſue of the preſent day: that the ſentiments contained in the addreſs would ſerve nearly as much as our military preparations, to intimidate Spain, by convincing them, that whatever differences in opinion, or even tranſient animoſities, might occaſionally ſubſiſt among us, yet we have but one heart and one hand againſt the common enemy: that an addreſs was a compliment to the throne, and not the approbation of a miniſter; and that if a miniſter had acted amiſs, there were other methods of enquiry and cenſure well known, and which would involve no other character; but that the preſent objections were meant as an invidious attack on the crown: that nothing could be more abſurd than the idea, that any private differences, diſcontents, or political ſquabbles among ourſelves, could operate in ſuch a manner upon the minds of the people, as to prevent their defending their own rights and intereſts, as well as the dignity of the crown, againſt any confederacy of our enemies: that no man would ſit ſtill, while his eſtate was ravaged, or his houſe burned, through his diſlike to the manner in which public affairs were conducted: that therefore, if any domeſtic quarrels ſtill exiſted, it would be time enough to adjuſt them when the common danger was removed: that the charge of alienating the colonies is ſo far from being well founded, that the reverſe is the fact; and, except a part of one inconſiderable province, they have been brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, by a ſpirit and prudence which do equal honour to adminiſtration. The charge of not arming ſooner, and of making it a crime that ſome of our Weſt-India iſlands were liable to danger, would, upon examination, it was ſaid, appear equally groundleſs: that the truth was, the nation could not have been armed ſooner; our fleets cannot be fitted out, except when our trade is at home, or juſt coming home, as ſailors are not to be had at any other time; and that it is well known, that the trade was not at home, nor near coming home, in the preſent inſtance. As the miniſtry, therefore, could not arm effectually, it was an act of the greateſt prudence not to excite a general alarm by attempting it, which would have been a ſignal to our enemies to have done the ſame, as they are not under the ſame diſadvantages, to have effected that, which we could only have attempted; whereas now we are upon an equal footing, if not before them.

As to the other charge, it is only to aſk, Whether there can be a poſſibility of undertaking to ſecure every part of the Britiſh dominions, in their whole extent, from every ſudden blow that might be given in caſe of a war; and if there is, what given number of troops would be required to anſwer ſuch an undertaking? It was ſaid, that our character for courage was too well, and too generally eſtabliſhed, to leave any room for our being concerned about it; and as war was never deſireable while peace could be preſerved with ſecurity and honour, therefore it was right to leave an opening, whereby the king of Spain might, if he choſe it, withdraw himſelf with honour, and, by diſavowing the act of his ſervant, avoid the alternative of a war, or of making diſagreeable conceſſions, and of acknowledging himſelf the author of a raſh and haſty meaſure.

The addreſs being carried and preſented, the duke of Richmond in the houſe of lords, and Mr. Dowdeſwell in that of the commons, both made motions, that all the papers which had been ſent to the miniſtry ſhould be produced, but this the miniſtry would by no means comply with. In defence of their conduct, they ſaid, that we were now engaged in a negotiation of the utmoſt importance with the kingdom of Spain, by which it was expected that matters would be brought to an accommodation; that the honour and happineſs of two great nations were now at ſtake, and that if the papers were produced, it would, in a great meaſure, contribute towards making all Europe acquainted with ſecrets which ought to be concealed till the event they related to had taken place.

That if it had been prudent on our own account to unlock the Engliſh cabinet to all Europe, yet it would have been very wrong to betray the ſecrets of the king of Spain; that they were now treating with us, and a rude publication of what was delivered in ſecrecy, muſt at once put and end to all amicable intercourſe; that the king of Spain had openly diſavowed of the conduct of his ſervant, and promiſed the moſt equitable ſatisfaction; that by acting with temper and prudence we might avoid the horrors of a long, bloody and expenſive war; that adminiſtration had not been negligent on this occaſion, for the ſame day the intelligence arrived, a meſſenger was diſpatched to our ambaſſador at Madrid to demand ſatisfaction; that diſputes had now ariſen between the two kingdoms, on account of the ignorance or inſolence of officers, while there was no intention of a quarrel between their reſpective governments; for in ſome inſtances our officers had not been always guarded in their conduct.

That therefore in the preſent inſtance, as well with regard to the honour as the intereſt of the nation, it was neceſſary to demand ſatisfaction; firſt, in a peaceable manner, for nothing was more reaſonable than to enquire whether we had a warrantable right to reſent before we commenced hoſtilities; otherwiſe it would be ſaid that we courted war. Secondly, if the Spaniards were not to be urged into juſtice by reaſon, then they muſt be compelled; and adminiſtration, though willing, if poſſible, to avoid the calamities of war, had prepared, at all events, for the worſt; ſo that the preparations for the war went hand in hand with the negotiation for peace. In behalf of the motion it was urged, that parliament can never have too ample a field for information; that the members are all counſellors of the crown; and to enable them to give proper council, it was neceſſary that every intelligence, with reſpect to what they were to give their advice upon, ſhould be laid before them; that they were now met to conſider the buſineſs of the kingdom, in a time of public danger; and that they had been told from the throne, that they would be applied for to advice, and although they were not, yet it was their duty to give it; that their advice and interference was now particularly neceſſary, when by an unparalleled ſucceſſion of weak and ſhameful meaſures, the nation was diſgraced, inſulted, and diſhonoured abroad and at home, weak, divided, and expoſed to every danger; that the pretence to negotiation was an indignity to the crown, and a diſhonour to the nation; that we had been forcibly robbed by a foreign power, and till what had been in this manner unjuſtly taken was returned, it was inconſiſtent with our honour to negotiate; that in fact, there is no ground or matter to negotiate upon; the Spaniards have driven our people from one of our ſettlements, and taken poſſeſſion of it, although they had no right to do ſo, and yet our miniſters enter into a treaty with them; that the very terms of the motions obviate all the objections that have been made to it, and which are only founded on the pretended ill conſequences that would attend the expoſing the papers, while this negotiation is going on.

Such were the principal points upon which this debate was carried on; but the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a great majority. Many people blamed the miniſtry for their conduct in this affair; for they thought, that as parliament alone could grant the neceſſary ſupplies, ſo they ought to have had the peruſal of all the papers relating to the controverſy; and it is an eſtabliſhed principal, that the man who acts from motives of integrity, need never be either afraid or aſhamed to have his conduct enquired into.

The next motion, which was looked upon conſiſtent with the fundamental principles of our conſtitution, was made in the houſe of lords, to enquire into the legality of the

the Middleſex election; and the debates on that important ſubject were carried on in the moſt learned and eloquent manner. In particular lord Camden ſpoke in the moſt forcible manner, in defence of the rights of the people; but the motion was rejected. As ſome proſecutions had been carried on by the attorney-general againſt ſeveral bookſellers and printers, a motion was made to enquire into the legal power of that law officer, and a long debate enſued. The principal queſtion to be diſcuſſed was, whether juries are judges of the law as well as the fact, or whether they are judges of the fact only. That juries are judges of the law as well as the fact; the following caſe was put by thoſe who ſupported the motion. A ſon kills his father, and the matter of fact, which is of the blackeſt colour, is proved. The jury, however, examine into the circumſtances, and find that it was an accidental misfortune, in which the intention had no ſhare, and judging from thence, acquit the criminal, even from the imputation of a crime. If then they have this right, to examine into and ſeparate the guilt and the intention, and to judge of both, upon what principle of law can they be deprived of it, in other criminal caſes of leſs nature, ſuch as libels, ſcandals, or any ſuch thing.

That with reſpect to the power of juries we have, in all our general hiſtories, a moſt remarkable precedent, namely, the caſe of the ſeven biſhops. There the jury could have acquitted them upon another principle than that of their right to judge of the intention. An order had been ſent to the biſhops to cauſe the king's (James II.) declaration for liberty of conſcience, to be read in all their churches, and theſe ſeven not only refuſed to do it, as contrary to law, but at the ſame time preſented a petition againſt it, which being deemed a libel, they were all committed to the Tower. Having moved the court of King's-bench for a writ of Habeas Corpus to be diſcharged, the attorney-general filed an information, and their trial come on in Weſtminſter-hall. The information was for writing a libel, which they denied, though at the ſame time they acknowledged writing the paper in queſtion. The judges ſaid all they could to influence the minds of the jurors; but they, like honeſt men, judging from the intention, found that the paper was no libel, and therefore acquitted the biſhops, to the general ſatisfaction of all ranks of men in the nation. Some ſevere ſtrictures were thrown againſt a great judge, who had aſſerted from the bench, that juries were judges of the facts only; and that upon a trial for murder, the jury had been ſent back after they had brought in their verdict guilty, and were peremptorily ordered to find it only manſlaughter. It was further urged, that ſuch proceedings had excited an univerſal contempt among all ranks of people of our courts of law; for if juries were to be threatened and intimidated in this manner, our moſt valuable privileges would become an empty name, and we ſhould have no more than the ſhadow, when the ſubſtance was gone. That in ſuch caſes, juries would become ſtanding councils to an arbitrary adminiſtration, and, under pretence of being the guardians of our liberties, would give a ſanction to the will of every judge who acted under the influence of the miniſtry; and who, on every occaſion, took his inſtructions from them.

In anſwer to this it was ſaid, that nothing in human life ſhould be conſidered in a more ſacred light, than the character of a judge. That in the preſent inſtance, a diſhonour would be brought upon the nation; becauſe, by implication, it would ſuppoſe that thoſe perſons who are the ſacred keepers of our laws, had all been corrupted. That no ſpecific charge had been made, for the motion was ſo vague and uncertain, and might have been extended to any man or body of men whatever in the kingdom. It is true, the condemnation of one or two perſons was chiefly aimed at; but by an eaſy implication, all thoſe in office might be included, and the guilt transferred from one to the other. But the principal part of the reply, conſiſted in admitting and defending the accuſation. They ſaid, they would firſt admit the charge to be true, that one of the judges had declared from the bench, that the jurors were judges of facts only, and not of law, nor ought they to judge thereof.

They ſaid, that admitting all this, there was nothing at all new in the caſe; for it was what had ever been maintained by the judges in all ages. They did not deſire to go back to the deciſions of Scroggs, Jefferies, Pemberton, or Wright, becauſe they lived in violent times; but produced the authority of one of the greateſt lawyers that ever England produced, namely, the late lord Raymond. The caſe of Frankland for publiſhing the Craftſman was read by one of the members, from the ninth volume of the ſtate-trials; and it was the ſame with that complained of. Frankland had publiſhed the Craftſman, in which were many ſevere ſtrictures againſt thoſe in power, and this was conſidered as a libel. The publiſher was apprehended, and being held to bail; the trial came on before lord Raymond, then chief-juſtice of the King's bench. His lordſhip told the jury, that the queſtion before them was, whether Frankland publiſhed the Craftſman, that they were judges of facts only, and not of law, unleſs they would take upon them to declare what law was, and abide by their own explanation. This was the very thing complained of, and it had at all times been an eſtabliſhed maxim in the law of England. Since Magna Charta, no author had ever aſſerted, no judge had ever declared, nor had it been ſo much as ever imagined by any perſons that juries could judge of the law. In proof of the above many caſes were quoted, all tending to prove, that the fact and nothing more comes under the cognizance of the jury. But the principal ſtreſs of the argument was reſted on the want of ſpecification in the motion, with which the charges made in the debate had no relation. The general implication of guilt that would attend ſuch an enquiry, when there was no reaſon to believe that the ſmalleſt cenſure had been incurred; and the injuſtice as well as the imprudence of raiſing general clamour againſt all the judges, when it appeared from the motion, that even the malevolent breath of ſuſpicion falls only on two.

In reply to theſe arguments, it was maintained that the gentleman who made the motion, as well as thoſe who ſupported it, acted upon more liberal and enlarged principles than to turn informers, ſo that there was no reaſon to brand them with a mean perſonality. They went on a larger field; for the cauſes of complaint were too numerous, and the enormities too great to be reached or implied by a ſpecific charge; that no injury would be done, no character deſtroyed, no particular perſon ruined, unleſs it appeared by the reſult, that his conduct had merited puniſhment. That the cauſes which had already been ſhewn within doors, were ſufficient motives for the enquiry, and that the general diſcontents without, and the public cenſure of the court, which, both in words and in writing had ſpread throughout the nation, made it abſolutely neceſſary; that if any thing further need be urged in favour of it, the characters and weight of thoſe reſpectable names which now required it, whether conſidered as members of that houſe, or of the community in general, ſhould, in itſelf, be a cauſe every way ſufficient to juſtify the motion.

That though the enquiry had been propoſed upon that liberal and enlarged plan, ſeveral ſpecific charges had been made; for the characters of the judges, and the great reverence due to our courts of juſtice, demanded it; that if the cenſure and obloquy thrown upon them ſhould appear to be ill founded, nothing could ſo effectually put a ſtop to it, or redound ſo much to their honour: that all thoſe who were real friends to the judges, and who believed them innocent, ſhould promote the enquiry; if they were guilty, who would avow a wiſh to ſcreen them from puniſhment?

That, in the former caſe, no miſchief or danger can be apprehended to them; if their doctrines are conſtitutional, every imputation will fly off, and they will meet with the greateſt applauſe; if they are legal, though not conſtitutional, it will procure neither cenſure nor condemnation to them, and a remedy can be ſought for the diſeaſe, by making the laws and the conſtitution agree.

It was further inſiſted, that they had heard, from the mouth of one of their own members, that attempts had been made to corrupt the venerable ſages of the law; and that a late judge, (Sir Joſeph Yates) equally celebrated for his knowledge and integrity, had been tampered with by adminiſtration, and ſollicited to favour the crown in certain trials which were then depending between it and the ſubject: that though this, as a death-bed declaration, could not be eſtabliſhed in ſuch a manner as to amount to a legal proof, yet the ſurmiſe of the poſſibility of ſuch an attempt was a matter of a moſt alarming nature, which called upon all their care and attention, and demanded the moſt ſtrict inquiſition into the conduct of the courts.

It was further urged, that the ſtate trials was not one of our law-books, and therefore no precedent quoted from it could be of any authority in the preſent caſe: but ſuppoſing it to be admitted only for one moment, what conſequence is to follow, or what inference to be drawn? It is the opinion of a ſingle judge, and here it is drawn into a precedent: the hiſtory of our law is full of the different opinions of different great lawyers; and, unfortunately, few caſes could be put, which may not be ſupported by the ſanction of ſome time ſerving precedent. The only juſt inference is, that our laws, particularly thoſe which were the ſubject of the preſent debate, ſtand as much in need of reviſion as our courts of juſtice; and it is, in the higheſt degree, neceſſary to both: that this reviſion is the more urgent, as, from the doctrines laid down of late, the office of a juryman appears to be ſo involved in intricacies, ſo immerſed and enveloped in law, that no two of the greateſt ſages, who have made the laws the ſtudy of their lives, can agree in their definition of it. Let this rubbiſh, then, be removed, and the line drawn with ſuch preciſion, that this controverted doctrine may be eſtabliſhed on clear, determined principles, ſo that any ſenſible juryman, without being a lawyer, may know his own rights and privileges; and a judge, without daring to encroach on thoſe privileges, may reſt ſatisfied with his own legal authority.

Such were ſome of the principal arguments made uſe of by both parties; and the candid, unprejudiced reader will ſee, that paſſion, prejudice, and truth, were all jumbled together, without that coolneſs of temper which, on many occaſions, has eſtabliſhed a bad cauſe.

The houſe divided upon this important queſtion; but when the votes came to be taken, it was rejected by a very great majority. But although the motion was rejected, a noble lord, whoſe conduct had been ſeverely cenſured, could not reſt eaſy under the aſperſions which had been thrown out againſt him by the moſt reſpectable members of ſo awful an aſſembly, eſpecially as ſome of them were lawyers who had made the moſt diſtinguiſhing figure at the bar. This nobleman had lately delivered a charge to a jury, which the popular party complained much of, becauſe it contained ſentiments coinciding with the charges already mentioned. His lordſhip, therefore, left a paper with the clerk, containing his opinion; and deſired that it might be read in the hearing of all the peers then preſent, they having been ſummoned for that purpoſe. Each of the members were permitted to take a copy of this paper; and then a queſtion was propoſed, whether it was meant that the paper ſhould be entered on the journals? which was anſwered in the negative. A violent debate then aroſe concerning the ſubject matter of the paper, which was managed in the following manner.

Lord Camden took notice, that he had gone through every department of the law, and therefore he conſidered himſelf as able to judge of ſuch matters, excluſive of his title of peerage. He offered to maintain, that the doctrine laid down as the judgment of the court, was not the law of England; declared, that he was ready at any time to enter into the debate, and preſſed his antagoniſt to appoint an early day for that purpoſe. He propoſed ſeveral queſtions from the ſubject matter of the paper, evidently tending to bring it before the houſe, but all to no purpoſe, for his motion was over-ruled, and nothing farther was done in an affair of the utmoſt importance to the community. This occaſioned much cenſure from the moſt ſenſible part of the people in general, becauſe, had the lords decided what was law on this motion, it would have ſaved many diſputes and litigations which may hereafter ariſe. By ſuch a deciſion, we ſhould have known what power our law has given to juries, and how far they are judges either of the law itſelf, or of ſuch collateral evidence as ariſes out of the given fact.

It was next moved by one of the noble peers, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, humbly praying, that he would give orders to haſten our preparations, and to put our Weſt-India ſettlements in a proper ſtate of defence: that as we had the utmoſt reaſon to fear that the Spaniards would attack Gibraltar, therefore the garriſon of that important fortreſs ought to be reinforced, and every method made uſe of for its ſecurity. While he was delivering his ſentiments on this important ſubject, he was ſuddenly interrupted by a motion made to clear the houſe of all ſuch as had not a right to ſit there.

It was ſaid, that when motions were brought in by ſurprize, and there was no previous notice given of what they might conſiſt, and ſuch things came out upon them which ought not to be divulged to any beſides the noble perſons concerned in them: that notes had been taken of what paſſed in the houſe; and that the enemy might have emiſſaries there, who would hear the weakneſs and nakedneſs of the nation expoſed: that it was through indulgence only, that any beſides peers were admitted, and the ſtanding order for that purpoſe was called for and read.

On the other ſide, it was admitted, that any lord had a right to clear the houſe when he pleaſed; but that doing it upon this particular occaſion would alarm the people; that they would imagine either public affairs to be in a worſe ſituation than they were acquainted with, or that their proceedings were of ſuch a nature, that they were afraid of making them public: that as the nobleman who had been ſpeaking had not been charged with any act of diſorder or impropriety, it was both inſidious and irregular, under pretence of clearing the houſe, to interrupt him in the midſt of a moſt excellent ſpeech, which he was making on a ſubject of the utmoſt importance. Inſtead of an anſwer to theſe arguments, the houſe became one ſcene of confuſion, nothing being heard but "Clear the houſe." A noble earl attempted ſeveral times to ſpeak; but as none preſent would hear him, he called out, that if he was not allowed the privilege of a lord of parliament, he would retire from the houſe, which he accordingly did, and was followed by eighteen peers in a body; a circumſtance which had ſcarce ever been known before.

Upon the departure of theſe lords, all the members of the houſe of commons who happened to be then preſent were ordered to withdraw, and then the confuſion became general. Some of the commons called out, that they were come there, by order of their own houſe, to preſent ſome bills, upon which they were called to the bar; but no ſooner had they delivered them, than they were ordered out of the houſe.

The ſeceding lords had gone into the houſe of commons, to hear the debates on a bill for the augmentation of the royal regiment of artillery; but no ſooner had the members, who had been forced out of the houſe of peers, returned, and given an account in what manner they had been treated, than the order of the houſe was read, and the peers were obliged to depart.

In the mean time, Mr. Harris, our ambaſſador at Madrid, was negotiating with the Spaniſh miniſtry, and expreſſes were daily paſſing between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain. It was obſerved, that the whole conduct of the Spaniſh miniſtry on this occaſion was one continued act of duplicity and deſign; and whatever the cauſes were which operated to the prevention of a war, it does not appear that they are to be ſought for in the pacific or friendly diſpoſitions of the court of Madrid. The public opinion, which ſeems to have been well founded, attributed the convention to the mediation of France; and, it is probable, that the ſame internal cauſes which moved her to act as a mediator, were thoſe which prevented her from taking an active part as an ally. It was thought that the power of the duke de Choiſeul, who hurried on the war both at home and in Spain, began, at that time, to totter. Other councils prevailed; and that great miniſter was ſoon after ſtripped of all his employments, and obliged to retire to his country ſeat.

But whatever were the ſecret motives which induced the court of France to act in this manner, certain it is, that their preparations for war kept pace, for ſome time, with thoſe in Spain. It would appear, that, the Chriſtmas holidays coming on, there muſt have been ſome hopes of an accommodation taking place, eſpecially as both houſes of parliament adjourned to a later day than uſual.

During the receſs of parliament, Sir Edward Hawke reſigned the place of firſt lord of the admiralty, and was ſucceeded in that important office by the earl of Sandwich. About the ſame time, ſome of thoſe gentlemen who had been particularly attached to the late Mr. Grenville, and had, both as to acts and declarations, been among the moſt violent of thoſe in oppoſition, now came over to the ſide of adminiſtration; and the earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy-ſeal, in the room of the earl of Halifax, who ſucceeded the earl of Sandwich as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. Several other changes took place; Mr. Juſtice Bathurſt received the great ſeal as high chancellor of Great-Britain, and was created a peer of England under the title of lord Apſley: Mr. De Grey, at that time attorney-general, was made chief juſtice of the common pleas, in room of Sir John E. Wilmot, who reſigned: Mr. Thurlow was advanced to be attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne ſucceeded him as ſollicitor, being, at the ſame time, appointed cofferer to the queen. Such other changes as took place were all ſubordinate to theſe, and ſo connected with them, that it is needleſs to mention them in this place.

A. D. 1771. On the twenty-ſecond of January, the parliament met, after a month's receſs; and the ſame day prince Maſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſigned the declaration, with the earl of Rochford, ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. By this declaration, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in the name of the king his maſter, diſavows the violences offered at Port Egmont; and ſtipulated, that every thing ſhould be reſtored there, in the ſame manner in which they were before the reduction took place. But, at the ſame time, he declared, that this reſtoration is not in any wiſe to affect the queſtion, of the prior right of the ſovereignty of theſe iſlands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations is to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the court of Great-Britain.

This tranſaction was immediately announced to both houſes of parliament, and copies thereof were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relating to the convention ſhould be laid before the houſe, which was complied with, except in one inſtance, namely, that of keeping back ſuch papers as contained the Spaniſh claims to Falklands Iſlands. This occaſioned a warm debate, but the miniſtry ſcreened themſelves under pretence that all the offices had been ſearched, but no more papers could be found. It was, at the ſame time, charged upon the miniſtry, that the interference of France was a diſhonour to Great-Britain; but the miniſtry denied the charge, by aſſerting, that France had never been employed to act as a mediator; but they would neither acknowledge or deny that ſhe had acted in that character. It was then propoſed to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for ordering the papers to be laid before them, but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates enſued in both houſes; but the miniſterial party prevailed, and the addreſs was preſented without any amendment whatever.

The number of affairs that came before this ſeſſions of parliament were of ſo important a nature that hiſtory would be deficient unleſs they were traſmitted to poſterity.

A moſt remarkable ſcene of corruption was, about this time, brought to light, by the committee appointed to determine conteſted elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham in Suſſex. The matter of conteſt was, that the returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate with only thirty-ſeven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-ſeven, of which he doubted ſeventy-ſix, and ſo made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal voters or not.

In the courſe of the examination of witneſſes it appeared, that a great number of the freemen had formed themſelves into a ſociety, which they called the Chriſtian Club; the apparent ends of which inſtitution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to anſwer all ſuch purpoſes as were in any ways conſiſtent with the doctrines of our holy religion. But notwithſtanding all theſe pretenſions, they profaned the ſacred name they had aſſumed, by carrying on the worſt of purpoſes, and making a traffic of their oaths and conſciences, and ſetting their borough to ſale to the higheſt bidder; while the reſt of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes. The members of this infamous ſociety, compoſed of the dregs of methodiſm, were bound to ſecrecy to each other by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and they had actually entered into written agreements never to divulge their ſecrets. A ſelect committee was choſen from among the others, who were to manage, in private, all their black tranſactions; and, leſt they ſhould be detected in the act of perjury, they refuſed to vote at any election, under the ſtale pretence of ſcruple of conſcience. But having received the wages of iniquity for their borough, they gave directions to the reſt of the freemen who belonged to their ſociety, in what manner to act. Thus by an act of the groſſeſt equivocation, they attempted to impoſe both on God and man, and no ſooner was the election over, than they ſhared the money among them, without any further ſcruple of conſcience.

The returning officer had belonged to this ſociety, but having taken ſome diſguſt at his companions in iniquity, he had, in conſequence thereof, left their party. Being called before the committee he declared, that his reaſon for making ſuch an unequal return was, that he knew, from his own own experience, that the majority of votes had taken bribes: nay, that they had even agreed to ſell their borough to any one who would bid moſt for it. Upon theſe grounds, altho' they had boldly taken the oaths againſt bribery and corruption, yet he looked upon them as totally unqualified; and having taken the opinion of council, which, it ſeems, coincided with his own, he returned the candidate who had the ſmaller number of voters, as they were free from theſe objections. Upon theſe principles, and his not acting intentially wrong, the returning officer veſted his plea of juſtification, for the illegality of his conduct. As the aſſumption of ſuch an act of power by a returning officer, upon whatever principle it was founded, would, however, have been a precedent of the moſt dangerous tendency, he was accordingly taken into cuſtody; but in conſideration of the circumſtances in his favour, and of his bringing ſo infamous a tranſaction to light, he was diſcharged, after receiving a reprimand on his knees from the ſpeaker at the bar of the houſe.

As this combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the ſelect committee not having powers to proceed any further, they reported the whole matter to the houſe, and moved that they would make a further enquiry into it. All thoſe who wiſhed well to the conſtitution, were glad of this opportunity of diſplaying their eloquence, and an act paſſed, by which eighty-one freemen of the borough of Shoreham, were rendered incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to proſecute all the members of the Chriſtian Club.

The next thing that came before parliament, was of a very important nature to the ſubjects in general, namely, the manner in which the crown lands could be given away by the ſovereign to any of his ſubjects; and how ſoon he could again ſeize on them, or whether he could ſeize them at all.

To underſtand this matter right, the reader muſt conſider that in former times, under the feudal law, our kings had lands aſſigned them for their ſupport, inſtead of money; part of which they often beſtowed upon their favourites, reſerving only a quit-rent as an acknowledgment of ſubjection. By theſe means the kings of this realm acquired the moſt ſolid power, while, at the ſame time, they exhauſted the ſources from whence their ſupport naturally flowed. But as many diſputes had ariſen concerning the right of poſſeſſion in thoſe to whom the crown-lands had been granted; an act paſſed in the reign of James I. that every perſon to whom the king ſhould diſpoſe away any of the crown-lands, ſhould, after ſixty-one years poſſeſſion of them, by himſelf and his heirs, enjoy them without moleſtation for ever, in the ſame manner as if they were freehold.

This was a fine engine in the hands of princes who wanted to govern by parties, and thus we find, that at the reſtoration of Charles II. when that prince, by a ſolemn act, gave up all claim to wardſhips and reliefs, the commons granted him a large ſum of money for his annual ſubſiſtence. The extravagance of Charles, in conſequence of his attachment to pleaſure, induced him to give away many of the crown-lands; and his example was followed by king William after the revolution.

Mr. Bentinck, the great favourite of king William, had been naturalized, and the king made him a grant of ſome lands in Cumberland, which gave great offence to ſome of the Engliſh nobility. Accordingly, a bill was brought in during the reign of queen Anne, and paſſed into a law, ordaining, that for the future, no grants ſhould be made of crown-lands, without reſerving one fourth of the rent to the crown. Nothing, however, material happened in conſequence of this act till the year 1768, when the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the treaſury, made a grant of the duke of Portland's eſtates in Cumberland to Sir James Lowther, without conforming to the act of queen Anne, by reſerving one fourth to the crown.

This was a moſt alarming circumſtance, becauſe many of the principal eſtates of our nobility and gentry were held by grants of crown-lands; and that if Sir James Lowther's claim ſhould be ſuſtained, no perſon could look upon himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of any thing that had originally belonged to the crown. It was the general opinion at that time, that this grant had been made to ſerve ſome election purpoſes; but theſe being now over, it was ſuppoſed the matter would drop of courſe. In this, however, they were diſappointed; for an expenſive law-ſuit was commenced, the whole county of Cumberland was in an uproar, four hundred ejectments were ſerved in one day. A motion was then made for bringing in a bill to quiet the ſubjects in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and that it ſhould extend to the proprietors of land throughout every part of the kingdom, according to the ſtatutes already made.

This is what is called the Nullum Tempus bill, and at firſt it paſſed through the houſe by a conſiderable majority; on the ſecond reading it likewiſe paſſed, though with a ſmall majority; but when it came to the third reading, it was rejected by a majority of nine votes, the whole miniſterial influence having been thrown in to defeat it. This conduct of the miniſtry was much cenſured by the people in general, eſpecially as it was a matter of diſpute concerning private property, with which they had no buſineſs to interfere.

It was inſinuated and even declared in public that the miniſtry had written circular letters to all the members who had the leaſt dependence on the court, commanding them to oppoſe the bill, under the penalty of loſing their places; and thus by the rejection of an act of a moſt equitable nature, the miniſtry have it all times in their power to make thoſe who hold lands of the crown, ſubſervient to their deſigns, and to oblige them to vote according to their directions, although contrary to the dictates of reaſon and conſcience.

The laſt thing done by this parliament during the preſent ſeſſions was, the paſſing an act to keep up an armed force in the Eaſt-Indies, and ſome reſtrictions were put upon the company, in order to keep them more dependent on our government. At laſt, after tranſacting a great variety of buſineſs, of the moſt important nature, his majeſty went to the houſe and put an end to the ſeſſions on the eighth of May. In the ſpeech from the throne it was obſerved, that the pacific diſpoſition of the kings of France and Spain furniſhed an opportunity for diſbanding ſome of the forces both by ſea and land. The commons were thanked for the generous manner in which they had granted the ſupplies; and that was conſidered as the ſtrongeſt mark of their attachment to his majeſty's perſon, family and government. The ſpeech concluded, by recommending to their ſerious attention, the ſuppreſſion of all riots and tumults which were become ſo frequent in moſt parts of the kingdom.

Having attended to the parliamentary affairs of Britain, we muſt now look back to the continent of Europe, where the war on the Danube ſeemed to languiſh in the beginning of the campaign. The great victories obtained by the Ruſſians were not without much bloodſhed on their ſide, and the loſs of men by ſickneſs, and all the other caſualties that conſtantly attend the carrying on a war in a diſtant country were prodigious. The neighbouring provinces were ruined, ſo as to reſemble a deſert, and that no ſubſiſtance could be procured, but at an enormous expence. Money was borrowed in other countries for the uſe of the Ruſſians, at the moſt exorbitant intereſt, and in ſome parts the merchants refuſed to advance any; ſo that it is impoſſible to deſcribe the hardſhips the Ruſſian army ſuffered. In March a moſt bloody battle was fought between them and the Turks, on the Walachian ſide of the Danube; and general Weiſman, having obtained a victory, croſſed the river, where the enemy had ſome ſmall parties; but the general drove them from their poſts and deſtroyed their magazines.

The two grand objects the Ruſſians had in view at the opening of this campaign were, the ſecuring ſuch conqueſts as they had made on the Danube, and at the ſame time to penetrate with one of their armies into Crim Tartary.

Crim Tartary, ſo famous among the ancient Greeks by the name of Taurica Cherſoneſus, is a peninſula ſurrounded on all ſides by the Euxine or Black Sea, except where it joins little Tartary, by a ſmall iſthmus not above ſix miles broad. In this iſthmus ſtood the ancient city of Precop; but the Turks have changed the names of thoſe once celebrated places, which were formerly the ſeats of learning and arts. The whole peninſula is one of the moſt fertile ſpots in the world, abounding with many towns and cities; and the entrance, near where Precop ſtood, is fortified by ſtrong lines, with a trench forty-two feet deep, ſeventy-two broad, and from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parrapat, was ſeventy feet. Strong towers had been erected at proper diſtances from each other, and ſtrong cannon were placed upon them.

Prince Dolgorucki was the Ruſſian general appointed to attack this place, and when he arrived before the lines, he found it defended by the chan Selim Guery in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand Tartars, and ſeven thouſand Turks. But notwithſtanding the difference of numbers, the prince attacked the place on the twenty-fifth of June, two days after their arrival. The Tartar prince behaved with great bravery; for finding it impoſſible to rally his right wing, he went and charged bravely at the head of his left. All his efforts, however, were in vain; for in four hours his whole army was routed, and the lines forced in every place. The Turkiſh garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war the next day; and their whole army, cannon, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. From this circumſtance the reader will ſee, that no fortifications, however ſtrong, nor troops, however courageous, can hold out againſt cool, ſteady, regular diſcipline, which, although it may ſometimes be ſlow, yet in the end it bears down all oppoſition.

The Ruſſians, having made themſelves maſters of this important paſs, over-run the whole of the peninſula; the Turkiſh garriſon deſerted Koſtoff, and having deſtroyed the fortifications, embarked on board ſome ſhips that lay in the harbour, and ſet ſail for their own country. The governor of Arabat made ſome defence; but the place was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword. From thence the prince continued his march to Caffa, the capital city of the Crimea, which was immediately ſurrendered to him, and a thouſand men, the remains of the garriſon, were made priſoners of war.

The terror was now ſo great, that the Turks, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy, abandoned the important fortreſſes of Taman, Jenicola, and Kertſch, which commanded the ſtreights between the Black Sea and the town of Azoph, which now fell into the hands of the Ruſſians, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The Tartars ſubmitted to the conquerors, who took them under their immediate protection; while their unfortunate leader retired to Conſtantinople, where he ſoon after died, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion that he had been put to death in a private manner.

During theſe tranſactions in the Crimea, the Turks, under the command of Mouſſon Oglou, croſſed the Danube in three diviſions, in order to attempt to relieve the fort of Toire, ſituated on the north of that river oppoſite to the antient city of Nicopolis. The Turkiſh army, however, did not ſucceed; but a detachment of them, under the command of a baſſaw, attacked the ſtrong fort of Guirgewo, in which was a Ruſſian garriſon, and in three days the governor agreed to capitulate, upon being allowed to march out with all the honours of war. As this place was very ſtrong, and had coſt the Ruſſians much trouble and loſs before they took it, ſo the conduct of the governor filled the minds of the army with indignation, and prince Repuin ordered all the officers to be put under arreſt.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt a detachment of the Turks came up with a body of Ruſſians, and the latter were, after a moſt obſtinate defence, put to flight; but they retreated in the moſt excellent order, taking along with them their wounded men. This was the only field action in which the Turks had hitherto reaped any advantage, and it was magnified at Conſtantinople as if it had been a complete victory.

The Turks had nothing ſo much at heart as that of eſtabliſhing winter quarters in Walachia, and with this view they continued croſſing the Danube in detached parties. But theſe motions could not eſcape the notice of a general ſo vigilant and penetrating as Romanzow, who no ſooner perceived their deſigns, than he made ſuch a number of maſterly diſpoſitions, as not only overthrew their ſchemes, but were conducted with ſuch ability, that every one of them took place at the inſtant of time, and was productive of the effect which was intended.

Inſtead, therefore, of waiting for the enemy, the Ruſſians boldly croſſed the Danube, and attacked them on their own ſide, a circumſtance they had not ſo much as imagined. Two great bodies of Turks, one entrenched at Tulcza, and the other at Maczin, were attacked at the ſame time by the Ruſſian generals Weiſman and Miboradowits, and the event was the ſame in both places. The entrenchments were ſtormed, the Turks totally routed, and the towns taken, in which were large magazines of arms and proviſions.

The night following, general Weiſman marched to attack the grand vizier's camp, which was ſtrongly fortified, at a place called Babadagh; and in it was the flower of the Turkiſh army, covered with a ſtrong train of artillery. Victory, however, was obtained here by the Ruſſians as cheap as before; the Turks were routed with great ſlaughter, the entrenchments and artillery taken, with the caſtle of Babadagh; while the vizier and his ruined army fled thirty miles, to ſeek refuge in mount Hemnus.

A few days after this important event, general Eſſen attacked a large body of Turks, and totally routed them, after having killed two thouſand, and taken four thouſand priſoners, beſides all their baggage, tents, artillery, waggons, ammunition and proviſions. By theſe rapid ſucceſſes, the Turks were driven out of Walachia, while the Ruſſians remained maſters of that province. When the news arrived at Conſtantinople, the people became quite outrageous, and would have proceeded to great extremities, had they not been made to believe, that the loſs was owing to a mutiny which had taken place in the army.

During this year, the Ruſſian fleet in the Mediterranean did not perform any thing remarkable, and the ſevere check given the Greeks had deterred the more ſober from engaging in the war. The fleet was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and ſome of their ſhips having been ſent to the Italian ports, to purchaſe ſuch things as were wanting, they were refuſed admittance, under pretence that they were infected with the plague. But ſtill, under all theſe diſadvantages, and many others, the Ruſſians, by falling in with a pitiful, cowardly enemy, ſtruck unſpeakable terror in the Levant, and made even the Grand Seignior tremble on his throne. A moſt ſevere blow was given to the trade of the Levant, and throughout all the iſlands of the Archipelago, the coaſts of Greece and Aſia, nothing was to be ſeen but ruin and deſolation: but notwithſtanding, the Ruſſians reaped but very few advantages, and the climate killed many more of their men than thoſe who fell by the ſword.

Whilſt war was thus carried on between thoſe rude and wide-extended empires, and appeared expoſed rather to exterminate than diminiſh the human race, the peſtilence, that other dreadful enemy to mankind, claimed a ſhare of the ſpoil, and ſeemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the ſword. When we conſider the havock made by this dreadful diſorder in the Turkiſh army, and that all the provinces near the Black Sea were more or leſs infected with it, it will appear little leſs than a miracle that the Ruſſian army ſhould have eſcaped the fatal contagion. But if their army was ſo fortunate as to eſcape, it was not ſo happy with the interior part of their empire. It firſt diſcovered itſelf in the imperial city of Moſcow; but as it was many hundreds of miles from the theatres of the war, and from the countries

countries infected, it could not be reaſonably ſuppoſed that it had been communicated from thence. It raged during the ſummer under the appearance of a malignant fever, but in autumn it aſſumed its true form, and ſwept away many thouſands before it.

The cruel ravages of the diſorder were not, however, more ſhocking to humanity, than the effects it produced on the minds of the barbarous people. The ſeverity of government had been, in ſome meaſure, relaxed, and the moſt horrid licentiouſneſs took place. A wild enthuſiaſt pretended that he had a revelation from heaven, by which he was informed, that a certain image of a ſaint was endowed with efficacy ſufficient to cure thoſe who were infected, and to preſerve thoſe who were not. This drew innumerable crowds of people together, ſo that many thouſands were trampled to death, and the ſick dropped down dead in the midſt of ſuch as were healthy. Thus the contagion was communicated in ſuch a manner, that no attempts could reſtrain its progreſs; while the populace, aſſembling in ſuch numerous bodies, broke out into the moſt violent outrages.

The artful impoſtor, who contrived the fraud, had placed a cheſt before the image of the ſaint, to receive ſuch money as the people gave; but the archbiſhop of Moſcow, who ſeems to have been a prudent man, ordered the cheſt to be ſealed up, and both it and the image of the ſaint removed out of the church. This act, which deſerved the higheſt commendations, had a quite different effect on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude, for they ran to the archbiſhop's houſe, and utterly demoliſhed it. The good prelate had eſcaped, through a back door, to one of the monaſteries, where he hoped to be protected; but thither the enraged multitude followed him, and dragging the venerable old man into the ſtreets, put him to death in the moſt horrid and barbarous manner.

A body of troops having been ſent to quell the rioters, they refuſed to diſperſe; upon which the ſoldiers fired upon them, and many hundreds of them were killed. Many priſoners were taken, and being brought to their trials, were puniſhed according to the cuſtom of the country. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this tragical affair, was the murder of the good old archbiſhop, for the Ruſſians regard their clergy in a more ſacred manner than any other nation in Europe; but who can ſet bounds to enthuſiaſm, when urged on by the violence of a peſtilential diſtemper?

During the whole of this year, the great kingdom of Poland was deluged with blood, from the one extremity to the other: the confederates became more and more inveterate againſt each other, and yet the fertility of the ſoil furniſhed the means of ſubſiſtence. Indeed, it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Ruſſian ambaſſador was the ſovereign of Poland, for all orders iſſued from him, though they were ſanctified with the name of the king. From this circumſtance we may learn what an unhappy thing it is to be under an ariſtocratical government, where the king is elected by a ſelect company of noblemen, who pay no regard to his power, and, in the mean time, make ſlaves of their own tenants. In ſhort, there cannot be a more perfect form of government than that where all the powers in the ſtate are put upon an equal balance.

In the mean time, the king of Poland, who had been raiſed to the throne from a private ſtation, ſupported himſelf under his misfortunes with the moſt heroic fortitude. Conſcious of the moral rectitude of his own heart, he did not even ſuſpect that his enemies had the leaſt intention to do him any injury; but he was miſtaken, as will appear from the following narrative.

About ten in the evening of the third of November, the king, having been on a viſit to a nobleman in the country, returned to his palace at Warſaw; but, juſt as his coach was turning the end of a ſtreet, it was beſet by ſeveral armed men on horſeback, the chief of whom was Koczinſki, an officer among the confederates. Theſe deſperadoes having fired their piſtols into the coach, dragged out the king, and carried him off between two horſemen. The domeſtics who attended the coach did all they could to reſcue the king, but in vain, for one was killed on the ſpot, and the reſt deſperately wounded.

The Ruſſian ſoldiers ran to arms, and found the coach covered with blood, but could learn no accounts of the king; upon which they ſallied forth, and alarmed the detached parties which were on the roads leading to the capital. The aſſaſſins had been joined by ſome of their accomplices at one of the gates, and, without ſtopping, rode off with the king till they came to the village of Willanow, about ſeven Engliſh miles diſtant from Warſaw. The Ruſſians continued purſuing; upon which Koczinſki, with four others, ſeparated from the reſt of his companions, carrying the king with him. When he had proceeded a few miles, he ſent his four companions to procure intelligence, whether any of the Ruſſian forces were advancing; and no ſooner were they gone, than he fell at the king's feet, imploring his pardon, and, at the ſame time, offering to ſave his life. They then proceeded to a hut about a mile diſtant, from whence the king diſpatched a meſſenger to the Ruſſian general, who ſent proper perſons to attend him, and conduct him home. The king had received two wounds on his head, the one from a ſword, and the other from a ball; and his eſcaping with life may be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary incidents we meet with in hiſtory.

The aſſaſſin Koczinſki produced a paper, by which it appeared, that he and his confederates were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths to deliver the king, dead or alive, to the confederacy at Czenſtochau; but, as he ſaid, his heart failed him, and he was ſeized with remorſe as ſoon as he ſaw the bleeding wounds of his ſovereign. This, however, will hardly be credited by any perſon acquainted with human nature, but his reaſons for giving him up were merely to ſave his own life.

It is evident, that the manner in which the king was carried off was attended with much more difficulty than if they had killed him on the ſpot; but then it muſt be remembered, that no perſons in the world are more bewildered in their minds than thoſe who engage in unlawful ſchemes: they are bold and reſolute in words; but no ſooner have they lifted their hands, than all the dreadful conſequences preſent themſelves to their minds, and they are unable to proceed any farther. Indeed, the whole of this aſſaſſin's conduct ſhews, that the mind of man has an inherent diſpoſition to virtue; and that, however it may be warped and depraved, and think itſelf, while at a diſtance, capable of committing the moſt enormous crimes, yet it will frequently ſhrink back with horror, and recover its original diſpoſition, when it comes to the fatal period.

While Poland remained in this diſtracted ſtate, the empreſs of Ruſſia, the emperor of Germany, and the ever enterprizing king of Pruſſia, were not idle; they reſolved to avail themſelves of ſuch circumſtances, and divide that unhappy kingdom, by each taking a part; but this greatly offended the Germans, who were afraid of having the Ruſſians too near them.

While Greece and Poland were over-run with armies, Germany, eſpecially towards the ſouth and eaſt, was ſuffering all thoſe calamities which ariſe from the ſcarcity of proviſions. This dearth was not artificial, but real; for in Bohemia the ſcarcity was ſo great, that a ſevere famine prevailed, and great numbers of people periſhed for want of food. Theſe diſtreſſes were much heightened by the ſeverity of the winter, for in many places the poor people ſtripped the thatch from off their houſes, in order to feed their cattle with it. Nor was the ſpring more favourable, for the vaſt quantities of ſnow which melted on the mountains, fell down in torrents on the level country, and ſwept away every thing before it; and the great rivers having burſt through their ancient boundaries, ſcenes of confuſion, terror and diſtreſs, were ſpread on every ſide. The calamity continued to increaſe as the ſeaſon advanced; and in ſummer, when the beſt weather is expected, nothing was to be ſeen but continual rains; ſo that the country ſeemed to reſemble the ocean, rather than land for the habitation of men.

The inundations of the Elbe were particularly dreadful; many parts of Lower Saxony, and the march of Brandenburgh, were totally ruined. The town of Hamburgh was truly diſtreſſed: the inundation entered one of the gates, and threatened immediate deſtruction; ſo that every perſon in the place was obliged to aſſiſt, in order to divert its courſe, and prevent its farther progreſs. The great ſuburb towards the Elbe, where the gentry had their houſes and gardens, was ſo covered with water, that only the tops of the trees could be ſeen. The magiſtrates ordered a public faſt to be kept, to implore the divine mercy, and avert the threatened judgments.

At Prague, a riot having happened, in conſequence of the ſcarcity of proviſions, the governor told the people, that unleſs they diſperſed, he would order the troops to fire upon them; to which they anſwered, with great coolneſs and indifference, that they would look upon the execution of his threatenings as a favour, a ſudden death by a ſhot being much preferable to a ſlow one by famine. The governor had humanity and prudence enough to refrain from fulfilling his threats; and having tranſmitted an account of theſe tranſactions to the empreſs-queen, ſhe burſt into tears, and immediately ſent them all the relief that was in her power.

On the twelfth of February this year, the king of Sweden died ſuddenly, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, the preſent king, then at Paris on his travels. The ſenate of Sweden met, and having drawn up the common diploma, by which the prince was inveſted with the regal dignity, expreſſes were diſpatched to him at Paris, to notify the news in form, and deſire his majeſty would return to his own dominions. He did not, however, leave Paris, till he had concluded a treaty with the French king, and then he ſet out, accompanied by his brother. At Berlin he ſpent a few days in cloſe conference with his uncle, the king of Pruſſia; and then continued his journey to Stockholm, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects.

During this year, one of the moſt remarkable revolutions in the internal government of France took place, of any we find mentioned in hiſtory. That faithful, uncorrupted body of men, the parliament of Paris, had long defended the liberties of their fellow ſubjects; but integrity, and every other virtue, are little regarded by lawleſs power. The king having ſent for the members to the palace, ordered them to regiſter ſome iniquitous edicts; but they abſolutely refuſed, and returning to the parliament-houſe, entered into a bond to ſtand by each other in doing juſtice, although the conſequence ſhould be death.

A body of dragoons ſurrounded the parliament-houſe, and forced the clerks to regiſter the edicts; upon which the parliament proteſted againſt it, and deputed their firſt preſident to wait on the king. But all the anſwer they received from the haughty monarch was, that next day they ſhould be all ſent into baniſhment. This accordingly took place, and theſe venerable fathers and guardians of the laws were ſent to different villages at a great diſtance from their friends and families. Such was the fate of this noble and diſintereſted aſſembly, whoſe actions would have done honour to a Roman ſenate. This fall was not more glorious from the cauſe in which it was engaged, than from the circumſtances which attended it; for ſeveral of the other parliaments in the provinces reſigned their offices in honour of that of Paris.

With reſpect to the ſtate of parties in England during the long receſs of parliament, ſeveral changes gradually took place. Moſt of the party known by the name of Grenvilles had gone over to the court, ſo that the miniſtry acquired a conſiderable degree of ſtrength, while many others in the oppoſition relinquiſhed their attachment to any parties whatever. Indeed, in all thoſe parties formed for oppoſing the meaſures of government, we ſtill find them inferior to thoſe attached to the court; but that is not the worſt that ſometimes happens, for diſſentions taking place, will ruin the beſt ſocieties which were ever yet eſtabliſhed. Many gentlemen, however, who ſcorned to mix private reſentment againſt any individual with what concerned the public, remained firm in their principles; but ſeeing every thing carried, by a great majority, in favour of what appeared to them inconſiſtent with the rights of their country, became wearied with fruitleſs attendance, while there was not the leaſt appearance of redreſs.

One event took place during this receſs, which ſurprized the whole nation, and made way for an act, the next ſeſſions, of a moſt extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This ſtep of the duke's gave great offence at court; eſpecially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the ſame manner as the marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave.

A. D. 1772. On the twenty-firſt day of January, the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech, expreſſed much ſatisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domeſtic ſtate of affairs required their more early attendance: that, now they were aſſembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the intereſts of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewiſe informed, that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the beſt terms with that court. It was, however, recommended to them, to keep the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, to be ready in caſe of any neceſſity for the future. The addreſſes were preſented in the uſual form; and then the public buſineſs was opened, by making proper inquiries into the ſtate of the navy; and the miniſtry propoſed, that twenty-five thouſand ſeamen ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the current year. In ſupport of this motion, it was urged by the miniſtry, that the French had ſent a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt-Indies, and that we were, on that account, obliged to ſupport a more conſiderable naval force there than before: that a large ſquadron was employed in the protection of our Weſt-India iſlands; for ſhould any miſunderſtanding ariſe between us and the Spaniards, thoſe valuable acquiſitions, if not properly taken care of, would fall into the hands of our enemies: that the war between the Ruſſians and Turks made it alſo neceſſary to employ a greater number of ſhips for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, than had been cuſtomary in times of general peace: that by keeping up a reputable body of ſeamen, we would not be under the cruel neceſſity of granting preſs-warrants in caſe of the breaking out of a new war; and although the expence might be more than is common in times of peace, the advantages would amply repay it.

To theſe arguments it was anſwered by thoſe in oppoſition, that the nation was already groaning under a load of taxes; and, inſtead of doing or propoſing any thing for paying off the national debt, here was a propoſal made to increaſe it in a time of profound peace: that, allowing the exigencies of the times required it, yet it did not appear but that, on every future occaſion, the ſame pretence might be made, whether there was any neceſſity for it or not.

Two of our greateſt naval commanders ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, and condemned the then preſent arrangement of the fleet. They obſerved, that the force already in the Eaſt-Indies was either too great or too little: that if the appearances of a permanent peace, as held out in the ſpeech, were to be relied on, it was too great, and, in caſe of war, it was inſufficient: that the ſame objections lay to the arrangement at Jamaica, where the ſquadron conſiſted only of about four ſhips, and was altogether unable to protect it, ſuppoſing any danger of an attack. Many ſevere ſarcaſms were levelled at the miniſtry for the futility of their conduct, becauſe they accompanied a ſpeech which breathed nothing but ſentiments of peace, with all the actual preparation for war. At laſt, the queſtion having been put, the motion was carried as uſual, and the miniſtry reigned triumphant.

The next buſineſs that came before the houſe was a petition for leave to bring in a bill to excuſe ſome of the clergy from ſubſcribing to the thirty-nine articles of religion. It was urged in favour of the motion, that Chriſt came to make all his followers free: that they could not ſubſcribe to doctrines of human invention, but only to the ſacred ſcriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they eſteemed their genuine ſenſe and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged againſt the motion, that to grant ſuch an indulgence would be to open a door for all ſorts of licentiouſneſs; for, under a pretence that ſuch and ſuch tenets were the pure dictates of conſcience, the fundamental doctrines of our religion would be ſubverted, and blaſphemy taught in our churches: that moſt of thoſe who had aſſociated at the Feathers Tavern upon this ſiniſter buſineſs, had been formerly diſſenters, but had left their original profeſſion, in order to enjoy ſome of the ſpoils of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions along with them: that if their conſciences were ſo very tender, they might throw up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to diſſeminate what notions they pleaſed: that, by doing ſo, they would give a convincing proof of their diſintereſtedneſs; but nothing could be more reaſonable, than for a church eſtabliſhed by law to beſtow her honours upon thoſe who ſubſcribed her doctrines, and conformed to her diſcipline. Upon the whole, the motion was rejected by a great majority, and not without ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of thoſe who had promoted it.

But of all the buſineſs tranſacted during this ſeſſions, none was conſidered as of ſuch importance, or made greater noiſe, than that of a meſſage ſent by his majeſty to the houſe of lords. In this meſſage it was obſerved, that his majeſty being deſirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm. He therefore recommended to both houſes to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it may not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, more effectually guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, except ſuch as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, which fully anſwered all the purpoſes intended. This bill was oppoſed, with great ſtrength of argument, by ſome of the moſt reſpectable peers in the nation. All the judges were ſent for to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the immediate branches of the royal family muſt be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not ſay. At laſt the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as being inconſiſtent with the law of nature.

In the houſe of commons, the bill met with a much ſtronger oppoſition; and thoſe in oppoſition boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when moſt of the gentlemen of the law, whoſe opinions would have been of great ſervice, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithſtanding all the ſtrength of argument, it paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. All that we ſhall ſay concerning this bill ſhall be reduced to a few words. By thoſe who promoted it, it was ſaid, that, abſtracting from all principles of natural right, it was neceſſary that municipal inſtitutions ſhould take place, eſpecially where the public ſafety was concerned: that during the diſtractions between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ſome branches of the royal family had married in the moſt imprudent manner with the daughters and widows of ſubjects, which was attended with ſuch a train of evils, that the whole nation was deluged in blood: that, properly ſpeaking, no attempt had been made to ſet aſide natural rights, any further than was abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the public peace, which was much preferable to the ſtate of individuals.

On the other hand, it was urged, that all mankind, in the act of marriage, are, by nature, free: that no marriage can ever be a real, legal one, where the conſent of the parties has not firſt been obtained: that no political laws can ſet aſide natural rights: that if choice alone can conſtitute a real marriage, then nothing can authorize the moſt dignified perſon in the univerſe to lay a reſtraint on any perſon whatever. It was urged further, that ſuch an unlimited power given to the ſovereign, was, in all reſpects, inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, nor was there one precedent in hiſtory to give countenance to it: that, had it been inherent as a principle in our conſtitution, it muſt have long ſince become the ſubject matter of many of our ſtatutes: that, on the contrary, till the preſent time, this prerogative was unheard of in Engliſh juriſprudence: that there was no remedy in law appertaining to ſuch pretended right in the crown, nor any court of law in which a proſecution could be carried on for ſuch pretended offences; and as, therefore, there could be no right without a remedy, it was evident this prerogative could have no real exiſtence: that the act which regulated other marriages, expreſsly excepted the royal family; and it is well known, that the common law, until that period, left all men to their natural liberty. Had it been otherwiſe, had any proviſion been made, or had the paternal authority, exerciſed in Rome, been a part of our conſtitution, ſuch a ſtatute would have been both abſurd and ridiculous, becauſe uſeleſs and unneceſſary. Such were the arguments made uſe of in this debate, and the reader is left to draw from them what concluſions he pleaſes.

The petition to parliament relating to diſpenſation with the ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, being diſmiſſed, ſo far as it related to churchmen in general, the diſſenters reſolved to try the ſame method.

It happened that, in the late debate, ſome favourable expreſſions had been made uſe of with reſpect to the diſſenters, in oppoſition to thoſe who treated them with ſcurrility. It was conſidered as a hardſhip that they ſhould be obliged, under pains and penalties, to ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England, eſpecially as they received no emolument from the civil power, beſides that of protection. Some of the members in the houſe of commons promiſed to do every thing in their power to promote a bill for their relief, which occaſioned a meeting of ſome of the chiefs among the diſſenters. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that, by the act of toleration of the firſt of William and Mary, the diſſenters, who had ſuffered much during the former reigns, gained a legal right to the exerciſe of divine worſhip in their own manner; but this right was conditional with reſpect to their miniſters, ſchoolmaſters, and private tutors, who were obliged to ſubſcribe the doctrinal parts of the articles, otherwiſe they were ſubject to very ſevere penalties.

As the diſſenters were ſtrongly attached to the doctrinal parts of the articles when the act took place, the ſubſcription was not conſidered as a grievance, it being worſhip and diſcipline alone which conſtituted the great line of deſtination between them. However, ſince that period, a remarkable change has taken place in the ſentiments of thoſe people, and there are but few of them now in England who have not run into violent extremes. Thoſe who conſidered ſubſcription as a hardſhip, have been accuſed of teaching the doctrines of Annus and Socinus; while thoſe who ſtill adhere to the doctrines of Calvin, have carried the notions of that reformer more high than ever he intended.

It is true, that ſome of theſe Calviniſtical divines, joined with thoſe in oppoſite ſentiments, in ſigning a petition to parliament; but, at the ſame time, a number of perſons, among whom were ſome common mechanics who had turned preachers, joined in a counter-petition, praying that the clauſe in the act of toleration, that requires ſubſcription to the articles, ſhould not be be on any conſideration diſpenſed with. The arguments made uſe of on this occaſion were nearly the ſame with thoſe relating to the eſtabliſhed church; but the debate was carried on with greater ſpirit.

Natural and religious liberty were contended for on the one hand, and the rights of the church on the other. Some ſevere ſarcaſms were thrown out on the high-church party, by thoſe who ſupported the bill; and, in a very illiberal manner, they were charged with thoſe blemiſhes that had ſtained the characters of their anceſtors.

On the other hand nothing was loſt; for the high-churchmen retaliated, by charging the diſſenters with all the blood ſhed during the civil wars in the laſt century, and alſo with putting the king to death after they had overturned the government in church and ſtate. To this they added, that inſtead of walking in the rigid road of Calviniſm, like their hypocritical anceſtors, they had pulled off the maſk; ſome were ſuch profeſſed Arians that they had written againſt the divinity of Chriſt; others had denied the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt; but the major part had gone very near to deiſm. Some of them had falſified the text of the New Teſtament, to favour their heretical notions; and others had denied the certainty of puniſhment hereafter. In a word, it was ſaid, that they were an epitome of all the hereſies that ever exiſted, and to grant them the requeſted indulgence, would be to open a door for all ſorts of blaſphemy.

Such, in general, were the outlines of the arguments on this bill in the houſe of commons; and, at laſt it paſſed by a ſmall majority. However, when it came to the houſe of lords, it had a more ſevere trial to undergo; for although the Engliſh nobility are enemies to perſecution, yet there are few among them who would grant that indulgence to diſſenters which is denied to their own clergy. Upon the ſecond reading of it in the houſe of lords, there were no leſs than one hundred and thirty-one peers, including proxies, and only twenty-nine of theſe ſupported the bill; ſo that it was thrown out, and the diſſenters left in the ſame ſtate as before.

The affairs of the Eaſt-India company were now in a very perplexed ſituation, and it had been recommended in the ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of the ſeſſion, that ſome enquiry ſhould be made into them. However, it ſeems pretty evident, that adminiſtration had no ſerious intention of entering deeply into that matter for the preſent; and that the movements during the ſeſſions were only made uſe of to keep it alive, and to make or find ſome colour for bringing about a revolution, or total change in the affairs of that opulent company, which were now intangled in a labyrinth of uncertainty.

On the thirtieth of March, the deputy-chairman of the Eaſt-India company moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the ſervants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to reſtrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the ſervants belonging to the company from carrying on any ſort of trade, and to give the directors of the company a ſovereign power over their own ſervants.

It was urged in ſupport of the motion, that the bad ſtate of affairs in India, was owing to the ſmall power the court of directors had over their ſervants, as they could not puniſh them in any other manner than by diſmiſſing them. That nothing was more inconſiſtent with true policy, than to ſuffer governors of provinces at a great diſtance, to become traders and merchants; and that the court of Bengal was not able to adminiſter juſtice to all the other ſettlements.

In anſwer to this it was ſaid, that it was an unparliamentary thing to propoſe bringing in a bill to redreſs a grievance without producing ſufficient proof that the grievance exiſted. That the houſe ought firſt to enter into an enquiry concerning our preſent ſituation of affairs in India, and the cauſes that led to it; that it was to be feared the enquiry would ſhew, that the evils lay too deep to be remedied by the propoſed bill, that it would be almoſt impoſſible to prevent the company's ſervants from trading either directly or indirectly; and that the ſending out ſome gentlemen learned in the laws as judges, was very inadequate to the purpoſe of adminiſtering juſtice to the people, in ſuch a vaſt extended tract of land; and that the meaſure was premature, becauſe we had not yet determined by what code of laws the people were to be governed.

The motion, however, was carried, and this led to an enquiry into the ſtate of affairs in India. All the papers belonging to the company, were ordered to be laid before a ſelect committee of the houſe, and from the peruſal of them, many important diſcoveries were made. Indeed, it was found that the mode of government in India was in every reſpect arbitrary, unconſtitutional, and no way fit for preſerving the rights of the people, nor adminiſtering juſtice to individuals. This committee, finding the buſineſs encreaſing faſt, and the ſeaſon far advanced, deſired leave to continue ſitting during the receſs of parliament, or, at leaſt, till ſuch time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

In the mean time, the ill temper which had ſo unaccountably taken place between the two houſes during the preceding ſeſſion, ſtill continued during the preſent; and, except in tranſmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no more communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival ſtates.

In this ſtate of affairs, the lords having ſent a bill to the commons by a maſter in chancery, and a clerk aſſiſtant, the whole houſe conſidered it as an indignity, and would not accept the meſſage till they had examined the journals, to know if there were any precedents of ſending bills in that manner. In the courſe of a haſty and paſſionate debate, which enſued upon this occaſion, ſeveral gentlemen mentioned, that, on the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſions, they had been rudely turned out of the houſe of lords, even before the ſpeaker could get out of the door. A motion was then made to appoint a committee to ſearch for precedents, of the manner of bills being ſent from the lords, and alſo of the improper behaviour of the lords to the commons. Exceptions, however, were taken to the word *improper*, as if it had carried an appearance of prejudging the caſe; and, after a warm debate, the word was left out.

The report of the committee was, that the lords had behaved in a very improper manner, and that the bill, which ſtill lay on the table, ſhould be ſent back. This was oppoſed by adminiſtration, who ſaid it would lay a foundation for a quarrel, which might not be eaſily accommodated; and accordingly the motion was over-ruled.

A motion was then made for a conference with the lords, but over-ruled in the ſame manner as the other; and after long debates, and ſeveral propoſed amendments, the matter ended in a meſſage to the lords, in which the impropriety of the meſſengers was the only complaint ſtated, which, it was hoped, would not be drawn into a precedent. This produced an anſwer, that the bill had been ordered in the uſual manner, and that the matter of complaint was occaſioned by the illneſs of one of the perſons who ſhould have preſented it; that a good correſpondence was wiſhed for, and that it was not meant to introduce any precedent contrary to eſtabliſhed uſage.

On the ninth of June, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and, in his ſpeech from the throne, took notice of the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with ſuch ſpirit and prudence. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family, in making the act relating to the royal family; and they were informed of the pacific diſpoſition of thoſe powers with whom we had any concern. That there was great reaſon to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be diſturbed. As for the ſupplies granted by the commons, they were thanked in the moſt cordial manner; and great joy was expreſſed, that there were ſtill ſome hopes of being able to reduce the national debt.

No doubt was made but they would carry to their reſpective countries the ſame principles and the ſame zeal for the public good, which they had already manifeſted; and that they would cultivate a ſpirit of harmony and confidence among all ranks of the people; to convince them, that without a due reverence for the laws, neither their civil or religious rights could be enjoyed in comfort or ſecurity; and to aſſure them, that their intereſts were conſidered as inſeparably connected with thoſe of the crown; and that his majeſty is, and ever was perſuaded, that the proſperity and glory of his reign muſt depend on his poſſeſſing the affections, and maintaining the happineſs of his people. The parliament was then prorogued; which leads us, during its receſs, to conſider the ſtate of affairs on the continent. The firſt thing that engages our attention is, the revolution that took place in the government of Sweden.

It is acknowledged, by moſt of thoſe who have written of Sweden, that no nation in general ever enjoyed more liberty. Though governed by kings, theſe kings were originally elected by the people, and their power circumſcribed within very narrow limits. The ſenate, in a manner, exerciſed the whole executive power; and the general diets, compoſed of repreſentatives from the nobility, clergy, burgeſſes, and peaſants. Here we find a happy mixture of power, and ſuch as had not been known in any other European nation theſe many years; for all ranks of people were repreſented in their diets, or parliaments. It was not, however, without its defects; for the power of the diet being great, ſuch as compoſed it often played the tyrant over their dependents or tenants, which made the people wiſh for a change of government.

About the time of the reformation, the popiſh clergy in Sweden had become ſo odious to the people, that they embraced the doctrines of Luther, and the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed among them. From that time forward, Sweden began to emerge from obſcurity; and ſeveral worthy princes having, for about a century, conducted the affairs of government, it became at laſt a flouriſhing nation. But good princes are not of continual ſucceſſion. Charles XI. was a bold, domineering tyrant, and joining cunning to the natural cruelty of his diſpoſition, he ſoon aboliſhed the power of the ſenate by aſſuming it to himſelf, while the ſtates were forced, by a military power, to give up all pretence to legiſlation. By the ſame, or ſimilar methods, he greatly enlarged the dominions of Sweden, by new conqueſts; and, at his death in 1696, left it one of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles XII. who inherited the intrepidity, obſtinacy, harſhneſs, and violence of his father, without any of his diſſimulation. He carried deſpotiſm to a ſtill greater height; for he threw by all the forms of law, and decided peremptorily in every thing, without admitting of any diſcuſſion. The events of this prince's life are too well known to be recited here, only that his invincible obſtinacy, and implacable diſpoſition, brought on his ruin, after a life ſpent in heroic adventures and abſurd purſuits, which ſeemed to border on madneſs. He found his nation when he aſcended the throne, at the higheſt pitch of glory; but he left it reduced to miſery.

His ſiſter received the crown from the ſtates and the ſenate, to be held by her in the ſame manner as in ancient times; ſo that from the bleſſings of a mild government, the nation began to aſſume a new form, and to recover from the miſeries into which it had been plunged. In this manner things had been conducted with great prudence, till the death of the late king; and his preſent majeſty, when he aſcended the throne, made ſuch proteſtations of his doing nothing without their advice and conſent, that thoſe perſons who are well acquainted with the heart of man, and the common occurrences of life, would have imagined that he intended to deceive.

But notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible pretences and the ſtrenuous endeavours of the court party, no relaxation could be obtained in the articles which reſtricts the regal power, although the coronation had been delayed a conſiderable time for that purpoſe. The king was obliged to ſign all the articles in their original form, without any ſingle exception, and even to confirm them by oath. Indeed the articles were ſo numerous, and ſo reſtrictive, that ſcarce any prince could have been brought to comply with them; but this king had ſo repeatedly profeſſed republican principles, that it might have been ſaid they were framed by himſelf.

Theſe affairs being ſettled, the coronation was conducted in the moſt magnificent manner, and every demonſtration of joy was diſplayed on that occaſion. He was next day waited on by the ſenate and the four orders of the diet, and the ſpeech made to them by the king, was one of the moſt lively and animated that we meet with in hiſtory. There was, however, ſomething of ambiguity in it; for ſpeaking of the articles he had ſigned, he ſaid, "Unhappy is that king who wants the tie of oaths to ſecure himſelf on the throne, and who, not aſſured of the hearts of his ſubjects, is conſtrained to reign by the laws, when he cannot by the love of his people." Such was the manner in which this prince began his reign, and what were his views will appear afterwards.

The diet ſtill continued ſitting, when thoſe ſchemes that been long hatching began to reveal themſeves. As it was neceſſary the experiment ſhould be made at a conſiderable diſtance from the capital, in order that it might, in ſome degree, operate before the ſenate or diet ſhould receive information of it, and might thereby acquire a conſiderable degree of ſtrength, before their attempt to cruſh it could take place, it was reſolved that it ſhould break out where ſuch of the military were quartered as the court could confide in.

Scania, a province in the ſouth-weſt extremity of Sweden, and about two hundred and fifty miles from Stockholm, was the place pitched upon; for as that province is only ſeparated from Denmark by the Sound, conſequently great numbers of the military are conſtantly quartered in it. It was agreed, that the king ſhould remain in Stockholm; that his brother, prince Charles, ſhould ſet out for Chriſtianſtadt, under pretence of meeting his mother, who had been on a viſit to the court of Berlin; and prince Frederick Adolphus, went into the neighbouring province of Oſtragothia, which lies in the way from Stockholm, under pretence of drinking the mineral waters.

Every thing being now in as good order as poſſible, one Hellichins, a captain of foot, having brought over his company to join him, the magazines and arms were ſeized on, and then he cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed and diſtributed among the people to the following purport: That thoſe perſons who called themſelves the ſtates of Sweden, had not only uſurped that power, but had likewiſe by their arbitrary proceeding brought the nation to a ſtate of ruin: that they had entered into foreign connections without the conſent of either the king or the people; and altho' the people were in a manner ſtarving, yet no corn had been brought into the country to relieve their preſſing neceſſities: that under pretence of promoting the good of the ſubjects, they had made the moſt oppreſſive taxes: that they had ſtripped the king of the regal power, and left him no more than an empty title; ſo that however willing he might be to redreſs their grievances, yet it was not in his power. For theſe reaſons, and for many others that might be mentioned, they renounced all allegiance to this pretended diet, and exhorted all faithful Swedes to join with them in ſuppreſſing an order that had brought ſuch evils upon the kingdom. They concluded, in the faſhionable ſtrain, with an appeal to heaven, of the rectitude of their motives and intentions, at the ſame time, begging for the divine bleſſing upon their undertakings.

From theſe particulars it will appear, that this manifeſto had been firſt fabricated in the king's cabinet; and that Hellichins, who publiſhed it, was no more than a tool for that purpoſe, and had previouſly been inſtructed to act his part. The whole garriſon of Chriſtianſtadt declared in favour of the manifeſto, and they were ſoon joined by vaſt numbers of peaſants from different parts of the country.

Prince Charles, who was then at Carelſcroon, no ſooner heard of the revolt, than he aſſembled the forces in the neighbourhood, and took upon him the command of the garriſon, in which was a great magazine of arms and ammunition. He then cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed, of ſo myſterious a nature, that no perſon could well know what part he intended to act. He ſaid, he could not behold with indifference the flames of civil war breaking out in his dear native country; and therefore he was determined to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, and deſired that all thoſe who wiſhed well to their country, would follow his ſtandard. Accordingly, having placed ſuch a garriſon in Carelſcroon as he could depend on, he put himſelf at the head of the remainder of the troops, and began his march to Chriſtianſtadt, with ſeveral pieces of cannon. His brother prince Frederick, taking the ſame advantage of the inſurrection, put himſelf at the head of the troops in Oſtragothia, before any news had reached Stockholm. In the mean time general Rudbeck, who happened to be then in Oſtragothia, ſet out for Stockholm, and having informed the ſenate of theſe proceedings, and ſhewn them prince Charles's manifeſto, there remained no doubt what were the real intentions of the court.

As the guards were firmly attached to the king, the ſenate did not chuſe to truſt them, nor did they conſult the king upon any thing. They ordered the burghers to put themſelves under arms, and take their ſtations in different parts of the city, under the command of count Halling, who was alſo conſidered as prime miniſter. All this time the king ſeemed perfectly eaſy; but when the ſenate ſent him an order to ſign for recalling his brother, he refuſed to do it; but the refuſal was not regarded, for they put both the king's ſeal and name to it.

Though the king ſeemed totally inactive with reſpect to theſe important tranſactions, yet it is evident that he was taking the moſt effectual meaſures to accompliſh the great deſign he had in view; to the ſucceſs of which nothing contributed ſo much as the ſecrecy and ſilence with which they were conducted. The Senate had ſent for two regiments from Upland, and upon their arrival, the king aſſembled the ſenate, demanding to know why they had ſent for troops without his conſent. Upon that they, in a manner, commanded him to ſhew them ſome letters that had been ſent him by his brothers? but this he refuſed to comply with in the moſt poſitive manner. The altercation between him and the ſenators grew warm; and one of them proceeded ſo far as to attempt to ſeize his ſword, upon which he boldly drew it; and the ſenators were ſo much frightened, that he had an opportunity of getting out of the door, which he locked behind him, and put the key in his pocket.

Having thus cooped up the ſenators, he went to the guard-room, where he aſſembled the officers, and made a long ſpeech to them, complaining of the miſeries the people groaned under from the abuſe of power in the ſenators, and that this cruel tyranny became every day more and more intolerable.

He told them further, that he was determined to run all hazards to get rid of of them, and aſked the officers whether they would not aſſiſt their king in ſhaking off ſo ignominious a yoke, and reſtore the nation to its antient liberty. To this propoſal the officers in general aſſented with great readineſs, as well as the ſoldiers; upon which the king aſked them, if they would take an oath of allegiance to him, which they as readily complied with.

Every thing being thus far conducted, the king, in conſequence of a previous conſultation with his friends, had a white linen handkerchief round his arm, as a ſignal; upon which many of the nobility and gentry flocked to him. He then put himſelf at the head of the guards, and ſeized on all the magazines, without ſo much as one perſon venturing to oppoſe him.

The whole garriſon of Stockholm, although commanded by baron Rudbeck, who hated the king, deſerted their leader, and followed the king's ſtandard. The old baron ran with his ſword drawn, thro' the ſtreets, calling out to the people to take arms in defence of their liberties; but it was too late, for they imagined they might live as happily under one tyrant, as under five hundred.

Thus, in a large nation, a revolution was brought about without bloodſhed, tumult, or the leaſt oppoſition; while the people flocked together in the ſame inoffenſive manner as if they had been going to ſee ſome holyday ſports. The king then repaired to the caſtle, where having aſſembled the foreign miniſters, he told them, that it was with the utmoſt reluctance that he had been obliged to take ſuch a ſtep, as would ſurprize all Europe; but the ſafety of his own perſon, and the ſecurity of the ſtate, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. He entreated them to inform their reſpective courts, that his motives, when made known would juſtify him; and that this affair ſhould not make the leaſt alteration in his conduct with reſpect to the other European powers. The next morning all the magiſtrates took an oath to obey none but the king, and ſuch of the ſenators or deputies who refuſed to take it, were committed to priſon, and told, that unleſs they complied within one month, they muſt for ever depart out of the kingdom.

The following day being appointed for aboliſhing the old form of government, and the eſtabliſhment of the new, the king ordered the ſtates to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. Previous to this, guards had been placed round the hall of the palace, ſo that there was not the leaſt doubt but his orders would be punctually obeyed. The king entered the hall in his regalia, and having made a long ſpeech, complaining of the ſenate for having preſumed to act as if in a legiſlative capacity, without power from the diet. He ſaid, that the diet on the one hand, and the ſenate on the other, ſeemed to claim each a ſeparate power, while he himſelf, though honoured with the title of king, enjoyed no more than the ſhadow of royalty. He concluded by telling them, that the ſenate had actually preſumed to receive ſubſidies from foreign powers, whoſe counſels governed Sweden; but that he would now aſſert the honour of his crown, and promote the intereſts of all his loyal and peaceable ſubjects.

The king took a moſt ſolemn oath, by which he renounced all claims to arbitrary power; after which he cauſed the new form of government to be read. It conſiſted of fifty-ſeven articles, but they may be all comprized in the following: that the king ſhall, for the future, chuſe the ſenate, or, in other words, he ſhould appoint to that office ſuch as he approved of: that he ſhall aſſemble the ſtates when he pleaſes, and likewiſe, when he pleaſes, diſſolve their meeting, ſo as they have ſat one time full three months: that the taxes ſhall be granted by the ſtates; but if not granted within three months after their meeting, then the old ones ſhall be levied. In caſe of any ſudden exigence, ſuch as the fear of invaſion, the king ſhall impoſe taxes till ſuch time as the ſtates can be called together: that when the ſtates are aſſembled, they are not to deliberate on any thing but what the king ſhall cauſe to be laid before them: that the king ſhall have full power to diſpoſe of the army and navy in whatever manner he pleaſes, and likewiſe to give away all places, either in the civil or military departments.

When all the articles were read, the king ſtood up, and aſked the ſtates, Whether they would give their oath to obſerve this form of government? As they knew that it was in vain to diſpute, they all conſented with one voice; after which they were immediately ſworn in the king's preſence, and the ſpeakers of each order ſigned a bond in name of the reſt.

The great work being thus finally accompliſhed, the king ſtood up, and told them, that it was neceſſary they ſhould return thanks to God for bringing about ſo happy an event, without the effuſion of human blood; and then pulling a book out of his pocket, the whole aſſembly joined with him in ſinging *Te Deum*, according to the cuſtom of the Lutherans. They were then permitted to kiſs his hand; after which the king departed, and the ſtates ſeparated, without knowing whether they were ever to meet again.

Next day, all the old ſenators were diſmiſſed, and, in their room, fifteen noblemen were appointed, on whoſe attachment to him he could, with the moſt unſhaken confidence, rely.

This prince was too much of a politician not to ingratiate himſelf with the lower claſs of people; and as the diſtreſſes of the poor were then very great, in order to throw the greater odium on the ſenate, he cauſed ten thouſand meaſures of meal to be diſtributed among them, each meaſure weighing twenty pounds; which, although far from being ſufficient to relieve all their wants, anſwered the end deſigned, namely, to endear himſelf the more to them. He alſo cauſed the diet of the ſtates to be aſſembled. But now every thing ſeemed totally changed; for, inſtead of enquiring into the conduct of the king, as had been cuſtomary on former occaſions, each order of the ſtates ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt to flatter him, and every thing he aſked was granted, without one diſſenting voice. The ſupplies were granted in the moſt laviſh manner; and a ſecret committee being choſen from each order of the ſtates, to aſſiſt the ſenate, the king diſmiſſed them, and they returned to their reſpective habitations with as much good humour as if he had been conferring with them on the moſt valuable privileges.

It may be conſidered as one of the extraordinary circumſtances of this extraordinary revolution, that not a drop of blood, either by legal or military execution, was ſhed in the progreſs, or in conſequence of it: a ſtriking inſtance, how much the manners of mankind have been ſoftened within a few ages; and, that whatever progreſs the meaner or buſier qualities of the mind may have made, the more terrible ones, which proceed from cruelty and ferocity, are, in a great meaſure, worn out. Indeed, too much cannot be ſaid of the extraordinary wiſdom and ſuperior abilities diſplayed by the king in the whole of his conduct. The profound diſſimulation with which he covered his deſigns, by putting on the republican cloak, ſo as to elude the eyes of a whole nation, and to eſcape the vigilant attention of thoſe whom age and experience had rendered both cautious and ſuſpicions, cannot be paralleled in hiſtory, eſpecially when we conſider that it was performed by one ſo young. He never ſeemed irritated by any paſſion, but ſolidity regulated his judgment, and prudence directed his hands.

While the king of Sweden was diſplaying the greateſt abilities in ſetting up a new form of government, the ſtate of public affairs in Denmark aſſumed a new face. The king had, for ſome time, made choice of one favourite after another; but ſcarcely had any of them gained a ſhare of his friendſhip and confidence, than they were diſcarded with peculiar marks of diſgrace. Great hopes had been formed of this prince when he aſcended the throne, and as great diſappointments followed; for the king, who governs his ſubjects by the advice of foreigners, can never be popular in his own dominions; and, without the love of the people, ſovereignty is but an odious name.

Among others who, like needy adventurers, came to ſettle in Copenhagen, was one Strunſee, the ſon of a Lutheran miniſter in Holſtein. He was a young man of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, with ſome very good abilities, but profligate in his manners, and abandoned to every vice, not paying the leaſt regard to the moſt ſacred obligations, and treating religion with contempt.

It is amazing to conſider the rapid progreſs which this adventurer, and one Brandt, his companion, made by their inſinuating addreſs. They were both raiſed to the dignity of noblemen; and Strunſee was made prime miniſter, a circumſtance which could not fail of raiſing an honeſt indignation in the minds of the Daniſh nobility. By his advice, accompanied with that of his friend Brandt, all the old faithful counſellors were diſgraced and baniſhed; till at laſt the two favourites, grown giddy with power, could ſet no bounds to their madneſs, but even treated the king with contempt.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that the ſubjects of any kingdom, even the moſt deſpotic, could bear long with ſuch inſolence. To have done ſo, would have been a diſgrace to them as men, and remained a ſtriking proof, that they were unworthy of a place in human ſociety. Accordingly a conſpiracy was formed, and, to give it the greater ſanction, the queen-dowager, ſecond wife of the late king, was at the head of it. Every thing being ripe for execution, a maſked ball was given at court on the ſixteenth of January, and, as ſoon as it was over, the king, who ſeemed to labour under great weakneſs of mind, retired to reſt. He had not, however, been long in bed, when the principal conſpirators came into his chamber, and told him, that the reigning queen, with Strunſee and Brandt, were that inſtant employed in drawing up a paper, which they would force him to ſign; the contents of which were, that he was to renounce the crown. The queen-dowager told him, that there was no way of ſaving himſelf, but by ſigning an order to take into cuſtody the reigning queen, with the two odious favourites; and the poor weak prince, overcome by fear, readily complied. The warrant was immediatrly executed, and the queen, with the two favourites, were committed to different priſons. The queen was afterwards ſent to the caſtle of Cronenburg, where ſhe remained ſome time very cloſely confined, but, by the interpoſition of her royal brother, the king of Great-Britain, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to reſide at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a penſion equal to her dignity.

But the fate of the two favourites was otherwiſe determined. They were confined in cloſe dungeons, and not allowed any thing to ſubſiſt on but bread and water, nor were their beards ſuffered to be ſhaved. They were examined from time to time during the ſpace of two months, and threatened with being put to the torture, unleſs they made an open confeſſion. At laſt ſentence of death was paſſed upon them, that they ſhould have their right hands cut off, and then their heads; and that, after their quarters had been expoſed on the wheel, they ſhould be placed on the moſt conſpicuous parts in the city. Accordingly, this ſentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the twenty-eighth day of April, on a ſcaffold near the city, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of people. They both behaved with greater decency and reſignation than might have been expected from men who had lived as they did. Strunſee in particular was extremely penitent, and prayed very devoutly with the miniſter who attended him. Such was the end of two men, who might have been ornamental members of ſociety, had they not aſpired to power which they had not proper abilities to manage.

On the twenty-ſixth day of November, the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed the members, that his reaſon for calling them ſo ſoon, was to take into their conſideration ſome things of the utmoſt importance. He told them, that he had been informed, from the moſt undoubted authority, that the Eaſt-India Company was in a moſt diſtreſſed condition; and that, as many of his good ſubjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, therefore its ſecurity was now become a national concern. He deſired them to take it into their immediate conſideration, and, if poſſible, lay down ſome rational plan, by which the intereſt and honour of the company might be reſtored, and every thing ſettled on the moſt permanent footing. He took notice, that he had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the powers on the continent, that the peace of Europe would not be any farther diſturbed than ſo far as the war was carried on between the Turks and Ruſſians. He concluded by recommending to them the moſt prudent methods that could be made uſe of, in order to reduce the price of proviſions, as the diſtreſſes of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleaſure, than to hear that thoſe diſtreſſes were alleviated.

As ſoon as the commons returned to their own houſe, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Oſſory, moved, that a loyal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, and introduced the motion with the following remarks. He ſaid, that the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company were in the moſt alarming and ruinous condition: that the immediate interpoſition of parliament was become highly indiſpenſable to their preſervation: that, in 1769, the company had agreed with the government to pay the ſum of four thouſand pounds at every time when their dividend amounted to twelve per cent. and ſo on in proportion till it fell to ſix, when that payment was to ceaſe: that this being the caſe, and the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the company ſo notorious, it would be neceſſary to make ſome proviſion adequate to the deficiency: that, ſo far from the company's being able to make a dividend of either twelve or ſix per cent. at the end of the next half year, it would be an act of the higheſt fraud in the directors to divide a ſingle ſhilling. Some of the members oppoſed the addreſs; but the vote being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very great majority, and preſented accordingly.

The firſt thing of importance which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was the preſent ſtate of the navy, and this occaſioned very warm debates. The objections made by thoſe in oppoſition were to the following import. They ſaid, that the number of ſeamen was too great to be kept up in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours, was declared in the ſpeech from the throne. It was further urged, that the miniſtry had not given in an account in what manner the ſupplies granted laſt year had been uſed, ſo that the houſe was left quite in the dark.

The miniſtry, on the other hand, had but little to ſay; only that they urged the neceſſity of keeping our navy on the moſt reſpectable footing; and ſet forth, that our fleet in the Eaſt-Indies was now much greater than formerly. Thoſe in oppoſition ſaid, that when the public granted money, they had a right to enquire in what manner it was to be laid out; that the utmoſt ſatisfaction ought to be given to thoſe who contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government: that ſome of thoſe employed in the building of ſhips for the royal navy, had added to them ſome very extraordinary decorations, which, although wholly unneceſſary, had been attended with great expence. It was added, that the ſlow payment of the navy bills was a great hardſhip to thoſe who advanced money on the credit of them; that ſuch an abuſe ought to be redreſſed before any farther ſupplies were granted: that it was very ſurpriſing, that, after the declaration from the throne, that we were in the moſt profound ſtate of peace, as many men ſhould be aſked for as if we were at war with the moſt formidable power in Europe.

Upon the whole, the arguments were carried on with great heat by thoſe in oppoſition; and certainly nothing could be more reaſonable than to lay before the people a ſtate of the public affairs, that they might be ſatisfied whether their money had been laid out in promoting the purpoſes for which it was given. It was aſked, If a naval force muſt be kept up in the Eaſt-Indies, what end was it to anſwer? Had we any enemy to oppoſe in that part of the world; and if ſo, who was that enemy? What armament had been ſent into thoſe ſeas to diſturb our ſettlements, or haraſs our trade? It was further aſked, in an ironical manner, Whether the Chineſe had fitted out a fleet, whether we had any pirates to contend with, and whether the ghoſt of the famous Angria had made its appearance on the theatre of this world? If no anſwer could be made to theſe queſtions, if no reaſon could be aſſigned for keeping up ſuch a ſtrong naval force, then the motion ought to be rejected, and no money granted for that purpoſe, ſeeing there was no reaſon for it; unleſs it was to burthen the people with unneceſſary taxes. But, notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, no ſooner was the queſtion put, than it was carried for the miniſtry by a great majority, and the ſupplies were granted.

A motion was then made to enquire into the nature of thoſe cauſes which occaſioned the dearth of all ſorts of proviſions, but nothing was done that could be of any real ſervice to the public. Several regulations, indeed, were made with reſpect to bread, and ſome reſtrictions laid upon the bakers; but, unleſs the rents of landed eſtates and farms can be lowered, by the retrenchment of different ſpecies of luxury, the legiſlature itſelf will never be able to remedy the evils complained of. To redreſs any grievances, nothing can be more proper, nothing more ſalutary, than to begin with the effects, and trace them up to the original cauſes from whence they ſpring. In vain does the legiſlative power lay the inferior order of tradeſmen under ſome ſort of reſtrictions, when, at the ſame time, it is well known that, unleſs the cauſes are removed, the effects muſt remain in the ſame ſtate as before. Moſt of thoſe who compoſe our houſes of parliament are landholders; and if they know that the rents of their farms are double to what they were twenty years ago, conſequently, the prices of all ſorts of proviſions muſt riſe in proportion.

A ſecret committee having been appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company's affairs, it was found, by their report, that the affairs of the company were both perplexed, and very much diſtreſſed. It was therefore propoſed, that ſuperviſors ſhould be ſent out to the Eaſt-Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and ſervants belonging to the company had abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, and to have power to grant redreſs to all thoſe who thought themſelves in the leaſt injured. Some of the members whoſe fortunes lay in the Eaſt-India ſtock, made ſtrong objections to this bill, while thoſe who ſupported it retorted upon them, by declaring, that nothing but oppreſſion had been carried on in that part of the world; and as the company had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged ſuch practices, it was now high time to call them to an account for their conduct, and prevent them, for the future, from acting in ſuch a manner as could ſerve no other end beſides that of diſgracing themſelves, and bringing a real diſhonour upon the nation. At laſt the motion was carried in the uſual manner; and ſupervisors were appointed, with plenary powers to make a proper enquiry into all the abuſes complained of, and to rectify them as far as lay in their power.

A motion was next made to enquire into the ſtate of the army; and particularly, whether it was neceſſary that we ſhould, in times of peace, keep up ſuch a ſtrong military force as ſeemed of no other uſe but to impoveriſh the nation, and to be ready at all times to ſupport the arbitrary dictates of a miniſter. It was ſaid by thoſe who promoted the motion, that the national militia was at all times able to preſerve us from our enemies at home; and as for ſuch ſettlements as we had abroad, a very ſmall force was ſufficient, eſpecially as we were not engaged in a war with any of the powers on the continent. In anſwer to this, the miniſtry ſaid, that all other European nations kept up ſtanding armies, and therefore it was, in a manner, neceſſary that we ſhould do the ſame, otherwiſe, if a war was to break out, we ſhould be utterly unprepared, and, conſequently, we ſhould be expoſed to many unforeſeen dangers.

A. D. 1773. The holidays being ended, the parliament met purſuant to their laſt adjournment, and took into conſideration the acts relating to penalties inflicted on thoſe who infringed the laws reſpecting the preſervation of the game. This ſubject is of the utmoſt importance to the inhabitants of a free country, and therefore it was diſcuſſed both upon natural and municipal principles. It is certain that every thing which ſeems to have an exiſtence upon natural principles, will at all times attract the notice of the public; and ſuch as may, probably, have no concern in the diſpute, will, notwithſtanding, intereſt themſelves in it. Thus a wild beaſt in the fields has been, time immemorial, conſidered as the property of the public; and if either its fleſh or ſkin were of any value, then the perſon who took or killed it was to conſider it as his own. In proof of this, it may be added, that ſome of the Anglo-Saxon kings remitted the tax which the Welſh uſed to pay, upon condition that they produced a certain number of wolves heads, by which means that deſtructive ſpecies of animals was eradicated out of the country.

On the other hand, it was urged, that whatever might be the privileges belonging to men in a ſtate of nature, they were all cancelled as ſoon as civil ſociety took place: that all municipal laws were made for the good of ſociety, and in the preamble to every act, reaſons were aſſigned for the conduct of the legiſlative power. One reaſon, indeed, was declared to be unanſwerable, and that was, that in a commercial nation, where every perſon is ſuppoſed to get his living by honeſt induſtry, gaming in general ought to be laid under the ſevereſt reſtrictions: that poaching, or killing of game, led the lower order of people away from their lawful employments; and while they were ſpending their time in taking a hare or a fox, their families were left to ſtarve: that although the laws made for the preſervation of the game might ſeem to interfere with private property, yet they were ſuch as would ſtand warranted by good ſenſe and ſober reaſon. Nothing, however, was done on this ſubject; and we are ſorry to ſay, that thoſe who pretended to ſtand up for the natural rights of mankind, were ſuch as had, in the opinion of the public, trampled on ſome of the moſt ſacred moral obligations. The miniſtry promoted the bill, in order to acquire ſome ſhare of popularity; the patriots oppoſed it for the ſake of oppoſition. It was then moved in the houſe, that a bill ſhould be brought in to enable foreigners to lend money on the credit of ſome of our Weſt-India ſettlements; and the reaſon for this motion was, that many foreigners who had money to lend on real ſecurity, would be glad to lay it out in that manner, if they could only have it in their power to recover their debts according to the common law of England. It was further urged, that ſuch a practice would, in a great meaſure, reduce the price of ſugar, and, at the ſame time, our colonies would become more reſpectable than ever. That the intereſt of the colonies and the mother-country were reciprocal; there was no line to be drawn between them, becauſe they muſt ſtand or fall together; they were links of the ſame chain, wheels of the ſame machine; and no ſooner was one diſcompoſed, than all the reſt went into a ſtate of confuſion.

Some diſorders having happened in the Weſt-Indies, a committee was appointed to make a proper enquiry into the cauſes, and to report to the houſe, whether the things complained of originated from the arbitrary proceedings of the governors, or the refractory conduct of the people. The miniſtry did all they could to ſupport this enquiry, but, after the committee had examined a great number of witneſſes, no ſatisfactory account could be obtained, and things ſtood on the ſame footing as before.

Monopolies, the curſe of every commercial ſtate, came next before the houſe; and the principal queſtion agitated was, whether thoſe engaged in partnerſhip ſhould be obliged to part with their real eſtates, in order to ſatisfy the demands which their creditors had upon them, in conſequence of a commercial copartnerſhip. One would think that nothing can be more equitable than that of a man's giving up his all for the benefit of his creditors, notwithſtanding any connections he may happen to have; but notwithſtanding, the motion was violently oppoſed, and there is reaſon to fear that ſuch a beneficial inſtitution will not take place in the preſent age.

An affair of great importance now came on before the houſe, which, had it been properly attended to, would, in a great meaſure, have reſtored the conſtitution of this country to its original principles. The queſtion was as follows, Whether it is not conſiſtent with the conſtitution of this country, that every ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be itſelf a real parliament, that the people might have an opportunity, from time to time, to ſend ſuch perſons to repreſent them as ſhould ſeem worthy of their choice.

This naturally leads us to take ſome view of the ancient parliaments of this and other European nations, who roſe on the ruins of the Roman empire.

As the people are the fountain of power, and as the rights which princes enjoy are no more than delegated, therefore it is no more than reaſonable that the people ſhould be repreſented. This repreſentation was originally the right of all thoſe who choſe to act for their neighbours; but, in time, it was found ſo burthenſome, that four ſhillings per day for knights of the ſhires, and two ſhillings for burgeſſes, was allowed to all thoſe who gave due attention to the affairs of parliament. Parliaments were called as often as the ſovereign thought proper; but prorogation and diſſolution ſeem to have been ſynonimous terms till the reign of Henry VI. when the unhappy wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter took place. From that time till the ſucceſſion of queen Elizabeth, there ſeems to have been no fixed rule, till we come to the revolution, when it was ordered that a new parliament ſhould be ſummoned to meet once in three years, and to continue during the whole of that time, either by ſitting or prorogation. This was an attempt towards political reformation, and, perhaps, as much as could have been then effected, conſiſtent with the ſtate of public affairs; but ſtill it called for amendment. No man is infallible, and it is well known that there are but few who can withſtand the force of a bribe. This has at all times given wicked miniſters the power of trampling on the rights of their country, by bringing over a majority to be, as it were, a ſtanding council. But however great the evils might be which aroſe from triennial parliaments, they were trifling when compared with thoſe which we ſhall now mention.

When the rebellion, which broke out in 1715, was quelled, the miniſtry, for reaſons now unknown to us, reſolved to take a cruel revenge. Many unhappy wretches were executed; and, had it not been for the natural humanity of the people, thouſands more would have ſhared the ſame fate. The miniſtry were ſo ſenſible of the general diſcontents of the people, that, in order to ſcreen themſelves from the effects of a parliamentary enquiry, a bill was brought in to make the then parliament to continue ſeven years; and the ſame rule was to take place in all future elections. Perhaps this was the firſt blow ſtruck at the root of our moſt excellent conſtitution, and the evils ariſing from it have been felt by all ranks of people in the nation.

To remedy thoſe evils, and, if poſſible, give the people leave to make a free choice as often as poſſible, a worthy patriot made a motion, that a bill might be brought in to ſhorten the duration of parliaments. This was what every honeſt man wiſhed for, becauſe, where the time or continuance of office is ſhort, the temptation muſt be ſmall. Reaſonable, however, as this motion was, there was a ſtrong majority againſt it; and, to the ſurprize of all thoſe who wiſhed well to the conſtitution, it was thrown out. Future ages will be ſurpriſed, when they read, that, in this age, ſuch an equitable motion ſhould be rejected by thoſe who profeſs themſelves the guardians of the rights of their fellow-ſubjects; but it is too true to be denied; and, till ſuch time as parliaments revert back to their original form, the people may complain without effect. In vain are they indulged in their choice, if the leaſt reſtriction is laid upon it; for freedom in common life is but one link of that chain which cements all the bodies in political ſociety.

It is certain that many patriots are ſtill to be found in this country; and although ſome of their ſchemes may happen to be overthrown, they ought to be held in the higheſt eſteem by all thoſe who wiſh well to their natural rights and privileges. Lord Howe moved, that a bill might be brought in to enable his majeſty to augment the pay of the naval officers, which, at that time, was too ſmall for their ſubſiſtence. This motion was ſupported by all thoſe who wiſhed well to the brave men, who undergo ten thouſand hardſhips which others never feel. But ſtill it was oppoſed by the miniſtry; for although the petition delivered by lord Howe, in name of the naval officers, was conceived in the moſt modeſt terms, yet ſuch was the malevolence of thoſe in office, that no regard was paid to it. It was ſaid, that the nation could not afford them any more; ſo that whatever their merits might be, yet, when it was conſidered that there was an utter impoſſibility of complying with their requeſt, they ought to reſt ſatisfied.

Indeed, the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who contended for ſo equitable an act, were far ſuperior to thoſe made uſe of on the other ſide; and we will venture to affirm, that the hardſhips ſuffered by naval officers are of ſuch a nature, that no rewards can be too great for them. Were but a few of the articles of luxury taken away, and, in room thereof, the ſame money given to reward and encourage thoſe brave men, who venture their lives for our ſafety, the nation would receive an additional honour.

A motion was then made, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to enquire into the propriety of foreigners being connected in our trade to any parts of the world, excluſive of Europe. This motion took its riſe from the following cauſes, namely, the power granted to the lords of the admiralty to ſtop all ſhips which are not wholly the property of Britiſh ſubjects. It was proved, by the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, that ſome ſhips had been detained at Graveſend a whole month, for no other reaſon, but becauſe part of the cargoes belonged to foreign merchants. The reſult of all this was, that leave was given to bring in a bill to remedy the evil complained of.

It is a maxim in the law of nature, that juſtice ſhould be freely adminiſtered at the expence of the whole community, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to be done for the preſervation of the whole; and it will often happen, eſpecially in large communities, that an innocent perſon may be accuſed of crimes, thrown into a priſon, and brought to a public trial. It is true, he may, from a variety of circumſtances, be able to prove his own innocence; yet, when the jury has acquitted him, he cannot be diſcharged, in many parts of England, till ſuch time as he has paid certain fees to the gaoler. Long, indeed, had this practice been a diſgrace to the nation, till, about forty years ago, the city of London, at the inſtance of baron Thompſon, their recorder, ſet the example, of diſcharging every priſoner, without fees, as ſoon as he was acquitted by the jury. The noble generoſity of the citizens of London was not, however, adopted by thoſe who lived in more diſtant counties. No proviſion was made to defray the expences of keeping the felons in priſon; ſo that inſtances were produced of ſome poor men lying a whole year in gaol, becauſe they could not pay their fees. To remedy an evil of ſo glaring a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to make good all the deficiences incurred to the gaolers by keeping the priſoners. To the honour of the preſent age, let it be here remembered, that a bill, formed by the heart of charity, and ſupported by benevolence, paſſed with the almoſt unanimous conſent of the houſe. In conſequence of this humane reſolution, the priſoner who is now acquitted muſt be diſcharged without paying any fees. The verdict of the jury ſhall make him as free as if he had never been in priſon; he may go from the bar to his own family without being called in queſtion, or detained for any fees whatever; his impriſonment being conſidered as a great puniſhment after his innocence has been proved.

We have already taken notice, that both churchmen and diſſenters had applied to parliament for ſome relief in the article of ſubſcription; and although their requeſt was rejected at that time, yet they both renewed it afterwards. To a liberal and enlarged mind, it will appear, that there can be no medium in this affair between the churchmen and the diſſenters. Dr. Tucker, dean of Glouceſter, has written a treatiſe, wherein he proves, that all bodies or ſocieties, whether political or religious, have a right to impoſe ſome fief on thoſe who join with them. Now this applies to the eſtabliſhed church of England, which, as a national inſtitution, has heaped emoluments on its miniſters, and, conſequently, has a right to impoſe ſome teſt by which their orthodoxy may be known. It is different with reſpect to the diſſenters; they do not enjoy any of thoſe emoluments, nor can they be admitted to execute the duties of a civil office till they have taken the ſacramental teſt. Theſe conſiderations weighed ſtrongly with the houſe, and a bill to relieve the diſſenters actually paſſed by a great majority; but, when ſent up to the lords, it met with a warm oppoſition, and, in the end, was rejected.

The ſtate of the linen trade was the next object that attracted the notice of the houſe, and, undoubtedly, it is a ſubject which requires the utmoſt attention. In the manufactures of linen, not only men and women, but even children, are employed; and it may, with the utmoſt propriety, be ſaid to be the ſtaple commodity both of Ireland and Scotland. In both places, this uſeful art has been brought to great perfection; thouſands of uſeful ſubjects are employed in it, and therefore any thing to promote or injure it becomes a national concern. But, notwithſtanding the vaſt advantages ariſing to the community from this branch of trade, it ſeems to ſuffer in common with every thing elſe. The reaſon is obvious to any thinking perſon; for as the poor are, in general, employed in the different branches of that manufacture, ſo it is neceſſary that proviſions ſhould be cheap, in order that our merchants may be able to ſell their goods at foreign markets, at a lower price than our neighbours. But the preſent increaſe of luxury has induced our nobility and gentry to raiſe the rents of their eſtates, and, conſequently, the neceſſary proviſions have been enlarged in price at the ſame time, ſo that the poor could not live by the prices of their labour.

The importation of foreign linen was much inſiſted on by thoſe who had the intereſt of their country at heart; and ſeveral propoſals were made, that no foreign linen ſhould be imported. Perhaps no meaſure could have been more productive of the public good; but the great misfortune was, that the foreign linens were charged a certain duty, unleſs ſome ſcheme could be propoſed to make good the deficiency that would occur in the public imports; ſo that the motion was, for that time, thrown out.

With reſpect to the ſtate of affairs on the continent, particularly in Poland, and near the Danube, nothing deciſive happened during the whole of this year. Many different engagements happened, indeed, between the Turks and the Ruſſians, but both parties continued ſtill in ſuch an uncertain ſtate, that they were obliged to act on the defenſive. Some propoſals, indeed, were made by both parties, towards bringing about a laſting peace, but nothing was done, for the Ruſſians were high in their demands, and the Turks were too proud to comply. The king of Pruſſia, that great politician and general, to whom even reſt is painful, propoſed, that the wretched kingdom of Poland ſhould be divided into three parts, in the following manner. That vaſt, extenſive tract of land, reaching from the Boriſthenes to Muſcovy, was to be ceded to the empreſs of Ruſſia; the emperor of Germany was to have the ſouthern parts of Great Poland, from Warſaw to Cracovia, and from thence to the confines of Hungary. All that part of Poland which reaches from Warſaw along the Oder and Viſtula to Dantzick, and afterwards along the coaſt of the Baltic Sea, were to be given to the king of Pruſſia. Thus a nation, one of the moſt fertile in Europe, after being torn in pieces by inteſtine diviſions, was to become the property of three mighty ſovereigns who had no right to it beſides that of lawleſs power. The great object the artful king of Pruſſia had in view, was to ſeize the opulent town of Dantzick, in order to open a trade to Peterſburgh through the Sound, and to all the other mercantile ſtates in Europe. This was one of the boldeſt ſtrokes that could have been ſtruck; but in all things the king of Pruſſia is ſuch a maſter in politics, as well as the art of war, that nothing ſeems too difficult for him; the univerſe itſelf is not capable of ſetting bounds to his ambition, although his advanced years ſeem to threaten a decay of nature.

During the whole of this year, vaſt numbers of people emigrated from Scotland, and the north of England, to ſettle in America. To to an ingenuous, rational, thinking perſon, this emigration of the people from the mother-country to the colonies, muſt have the moſt alarming aſpect. It is an indication of the approaching ruin of a ſtate; and nothing is more neceſſary, than that thoſe in power ſhould make a proper enquiry into the ſources from whence ſuch miſchiefs flow. It is a certain fact, that the madneſs of raiſing the rents of ſmall farms has reached even to the barren mountains of the highlands of Scotland; and, unleſs ſome ſtop is put to it, the conſequences will prove very fatal at laſt. It is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that people who work hard for a ſubſiſtence, will give more money, as the rents of an eſtate or farm, than the fruits of the earth will pay. What man in his right ſenſes would run himſelf into debt to his landlord, while, at the ſame time, he is under an indiſpenſible obligation of making a proper proviſion for his family? It is an indifferent matter to people where they thrive, whether in America or England; and it is certain, that in both places the ſame effects may be produced. This, however, may be ſaid in favour of the emigrants, that they act as rational creatures: they are oppreſſed in the moſt cruel manner by thoſe landlords whoſe ſubſiſtence depends on their honeſt induſtry: they cultivate the ground with the utmoſt care: they think to bring up their children uſeful members of ſociety; but no ſooner do they reap the fruits of the earth, from which they expect an adequate reward, than they find that even that property which they laid out is ſwallowed, and nothing is left for themſelves. Can they then be blamed for leaving that country which denies them the protection which every ſubject has a right to expect? There cannot, in the eye of humanity, be one reaſon urged againſt thoſe emigrations, nor can tyranny itſelf prevent them, unleſs all natural obligations are to be trampled on. The thing itſelf, however, ought to be attended to by thoſe who are proprietors of landed eſtates; for if the uſeful working people are thus to be driven out of the country, where are hands to be found to cultivate the ground? This may, in the end, render their eſtates of no manner of ſervice, and that ground which might have been cultivated at a moderate price will become a deſart.

In France, nothing of any importance happened this year. The people in that extenſive country are ſo well accuſtomed to thoſe chains of ſlavery firſt impoſed upon them by Lewis XI. that no oppreſſion ſeems too much for them to bear. The Spaniards continued to go on in their uſual indolent manner, while the Dutch continued to be the drudges of all thoſe who would employ them.

In Italy, the pope put a final end to the order of the Jeſuits; and thoſe fathers, who have ſo long domineered over the conſciences of men, are now become ſo truly deſpicable, that all nations have refuſed them an aſylum, except the king of Pruſſia, who has, at all times, made religion ſubſervient to politics.

A.D. 1774. We have already ſeen in what a troubled condition our colonies were; and, how they ſeem to be drawing towards that criſis, which will either connect them with the mother-country, or create ſuch diſturbances as will not be eaſily redreſſed.

The parliament met on the twenty-fifth of January, and the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their ſerious conſideration the ſtate of the colonies, who ſeemed to be attempting to throw off all ſubjection to the Britiſh government. He told them, that the moſt ſalutary laws had been treated with contempt, and public acts of parliament had been deſpiſed, as if they had been the mandates of ſingle perſons: that the colonies were little better than in a ſtate of rebellion; and that, unleſs ſome vigorous meaſures were uſed to force them to obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which took place among the different ranks of beings, would once more return to its original ſtate of confuſion. He concluded by recommending to them the ſtate of the gold coin, which had ſuffered much by the illicit practices of wicked perſons, and hoped they would put it on a ſolid foundation.

When the commons had returned to their own houſe, ſtrong debates enſued upon the words of the addreſs which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty. Thoſe in the intereſt of the court inſiſted, that an implicit acknowledgment ſhould be made, thanking his majeſty for his paternal care of the nation, and to promiſe that every reaſonable meaſure ſhould be complied with. On the other hand, it was urged by thoſe in oppoſition, that the colonies, ſo far from being in a ſtate of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of ſociety: that the mother-country had no right to tax thoſe emigrants, unleſs a conſent to that meaſure was firſt had and obtained from their own repreſentatives: that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any ſenſe whatever repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; and therefore, till ſuch time as that legal repreſentation took place, no taxes could, in juſtice, be impoſed upon them. As to the affair of the gold coin, it was (ſaid they) a great hardſhip to the honeſt, induſtrious trading part of the nation; and that the miniſtry ought, before any thing of that nature had been propoſed, to have laid down ſome rational plan by which the public would have been indemnified. Such were the outlines of the arguments made uſe of by both parties; but the queſtion being put to the vote, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court.

The grand object which the government had in view, was to reduce the colonies to a ſtate of obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity they were under of being ſubject to the mother-country; and therefore a bill was brought in of a very coercive nature. Some perſons in the town of Boſton had plundered a ſhip which was ſent from England with tea; and as this was an act which infringed on private property, it called aloud for an exertion of the regal power. Accordingly an act paſſed to remove the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by ſeveral ſhips of war. It is not yet certain what will be the effects of this act, but it is to be hoped that all theſe diſputes between the mother-country and the colonies will ſubſide, and unanimity take place.

Many important affairs were diſcuſſed during this ſeſſions of parliament; particularly one for the regulation of all acts by which foreigners are to be naturalized. The freedom of this country is ſo great and uncircumſcribed, that many bad uſes have been made of it by deſigning perſons. To remedy an evil attended with ſo many deſtructive conſequences, a new law has been eſtabliſhed, by which no foreigner who is naturalized ſhall enjoy the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, unleſs he reſides in the country. The gold coin has alſo been attended to with the ſtricteſt care, and there is reaſon to hope that, in a ſhort time, all the evils complained of will be redreſſed. Affairs of ſo much importance can have no connection with any party whatever, and, ſo far as they are promoted for the general good, they become of ſervice to the whole. Every thing by which the public is likely to be affected, ought to attract the notice of government; and where remedies can be found out, they ought to be applied. But here we are naturally led to take a view of ſuch tranſactions as have taken place on the continent of Europe during the beginning of this year.

When the war began between the Turks and Ruſſians, Europe in general was filled with a notion that it would have ſoon terminated in favour of the latter; but thoſe who are converſant with hiſtory, and acquainted with the revolutions which took place in this lower world, will not pay much regard to ſuch a conjecture. That the Turks were but little acquainted with the art of war when the Ruſſians firſt oppoſed them, is certain; but ſtill, it would be very improper to infer from thence, that they muſt always remain in the ſame ſtate of ignorance. Neceſſity brings hidden principles to life; and ſometimes it will happen, that the moſt illiterate barbarians will, in conſequence of oppoſition, acquire knowledge of what they deſpiſed before. This was the caſe with the Turks, who, in the groſſeſt ſenſe of the word, being ſlaves to ſuperſtition, could not bear the thoughts of receding from their ancient cuſtoms. Their janizaries declared, that as their country had been firſt conquered by their ſabres, therefore they would defend it by the ſame means. But nothing in the world could be more ridiculous, eſpecially as they had fire-arms to encounter; and therefore it was neceſſary that ſome blow ſhould be ſtruck at the root of their prejudices.

The French, ever willing to take part with the enemies of Great-Britain, and, at the ſame time, fearful leſt, in conſequence of the Turks being driven out of Europe, the houſe of Auſtria would become too formidable; and Ruſſia would penetrate into the German empire; ſent ſeveral of their moſt experienced officers to inſtruct the Turks in the art of war. Continual oppoſition made theſe barbarians wiſer than before; they ſaw the abſolute neceſſity they were under of having recourſe to military diſcipline, and the regular order of the Ruſſians enabled them to take the field in a much better manner than they had hitherto done. From this circumſtance alone we may naturally infer, that the longer the war continues between theſe contending powers, the more able the Turks will be to oppoſe the Ruſſians. Indeed, the climate bears hard againſt the latter; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that men brought up in the cold deſarts of Ruſſia can reliſh the ſweets of a warmer climate, without being reduced to a ſtate of effeminacy. Thus we find that the climate of ancient Greece, the now ſeat of war, has fought more ſtrongly againſt the Ruſſians than the army of the Turks; nor is this to be wondered at, when we conſider that Greece has often enervated thoſe who conquered it.

Nor was it better with the Ruſſian fleet; for although the ſailors were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and had been inured to many hardſhips, yet no ſooner did they come into the Mediterranean ſea, than they were ſeized with many diſeaſes to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers. Reinforcements, indeed, have been ſent them from time to time; but ſtill they have never done any thing of real importance, nor have they been able to ſecond the operations of the army by land. The Italian ſtates have ſtill remained jealous of them, and the diſtance from their own country has prevented them from receiving the neceſſary ſupplies. There is no doubt but the Ruſſians will, in time, become as expert ſeamen as any other in Europe, but ſtill it requires ſome time before that can be brought about. Their beſt officers are not natives of the country, and, conſequently, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they will wiſh to promote its intereſt in the ſame manner as if they were immediately connected. Their naval diſcipline has alſo ſome remains of barbarity in it, which, at all times, muſt give offence to a generous mind; for what man would deſire to ſee his fellow creature puniſhed in ſuch a manner as is ſhocking to humanity?

Such, for ſome time, has been the ſtate of affairs between the Turks and Ruſſians, and there is reaſon to imagine that both the contending parties will end where they began; that the Ruſſians will exhauſt their treaſures to carry on the war, but the Turks, in conſequence of their internal reſources, will be able to tire them out.

It is true, the Ruſſians have made ſome bold attempts, ſince the commencement of the preſent year, in order to force their way towards Conſtantinople; but that appears in a chimerical light, eſpecially as both the ſeaſon and the climate war againſt them. Had the European princes conſidered their own intereſt, they would all have joined in ſupporting the Ruſſians in the preſent war; becauſe, in conſequence of the Turks being driven out of Europe, the whole trade of the Mediterranean would have been laid open to them, and the haughty Ottomans, who have ſo long domineered over their neighbours, would have been forced to acquieſce in that ſimple propoſition, that there is ſuch a thing as the law of nations, by which all civil ſocieties ought to be regulated, and by which every individual ought to make his proper claims.

The Britiſh miniſtry have been very active in providing for the ſafety of our fellow ſubjects who are ſettled, or have buſineſs to tranſact in the Eaſt-Indies. It had been long complained of, that the ſervants of the company, at their principal ſettlements, had acted in a very oppreſſive and illegal manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been made for their ſecurity. The vaſt diſtance from England rendered it difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, for any perſon to obtain redreſs. It was therefore reſolved on in council, that four gentlemen learned in the laws, and of the moſt approved integrity, ſhould be ſent over to Aſia, where we have ſettlements, and act there as judges. They are to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed and perſonal actions, to give judgment in all caſes of equity, in every thing relating to the revenue, ſo that their power includes all that is lodged in the courts of Weſtminſter-hall; but as the ſettlements are diſtant from each other, ſo the courts are not to be fixed, but to move from one place to another, that juſtice may be equally diſtributed to all ranks of people.

It is, perhaps, impoſſible to prevent abuſes, unleſs nature itſelf could be changed; but certainly the government could have done no more for the good of our ſubjects in India, than that of ſending out judges. It will ſerve to give ſome reſpect to the laws, and impreſs mens minds with a reverence for juſtice. The ſalaries of the judges being very large, it will ſet them above temptation to corrupt actions; and their authority extending over all ranks of perſons, the rich will not have it in their power to oppreſs the poor.

But the greateſt parliamentary buſineſs was, the manner in which the ſupplies was to be raiſed; and it muſt be acknowledged that the miniſter, whatever may be his other qualities, diſcovered himſelf to be an able politician, and a perfect maſter of calculations.

On the tenth of May the French king departed this life, and was ſucceeded by the preſent king, his grandſon, a young prince about twenty years of age, married to one of the ſiſters of the emperor of Germany. The late king was born January 15, 1710, and in 1715 ſucceeded his great grandfather, his own father, grandfather, ſeveral uncles and brothers having all died of the ſmall-pox. As he was only five years of age when he was crowned, his uncle the duke of Orleans was, as firſt prince of the blood, appointed regent during his minority. But the king took the reins of government upon himſelf when he was little more than ſixteen years of age, having previouſly married the only daughter of the good Staniſlaus, once king of Poland, and afterwards duke of Lorrain. His great miniſter for ſome years was the cardinal Fleury, a man who had acquired all the knowledge of courts that could be obtained in a cloſe attendance to buſineſs above ſixty years; but when he died, the king reſolved to govern as much as poſſible without the aſſiſtance of favourites.

We have already ſeen that he carried on two bloody and expenſive wars againſt Britain; in one of which he was very ſucceſsful; but in the other, namely, the laſt, his nation, army and navy were, in a manner, totally ruined. In his perſon Lewis XV. was extremely handſome, and had a moſt engaging countenance. In attending on public buſineſs, he was very regular; but he has been blamed for too ſtrong an attachment to the army. This, however, ought to be conſidered as the reigning taſte of France, and not ſolely the foible of the ſovereign. The French have never yet, in the midſt of all their refinements, been able to diveſt themſelves of that barbarous notion which was ſo much cheriſhed in former times, to look upon no perſon as honourable, who was not a ſoldier. In his pleaſures, the late French king has been much cenſured; becauſe it generally happened that his miſtreſſes got the aſcendancy ſo far over him, as to occaſion ſeveral changes in the government, merely by their intrigues.

As great pains had been taken to give him a good education, he was even to the laſt a lover of learning and learned men. He had ſuch elevated notions of the neceſſity of a toleration in religious matters, that the power of the church of Rome has fallen into great contempt during his reign. Two reaſons, indeed, concurred towards preventing him from following his own inclinations in giving free liberty of conſcience to his proteſtant ſubjects. The firſt was, the inveterate prejudices of the vulgar nouriſhed by the clergy; and the ſecond, the wretched bigotry of his ſon the dauphin. In a word, Lewis XV. was one of the moſt brilliant ſovereigns that has appeared in Europe during the preſent century; and although ſome of his acts to his ſubjects were of a very arbitrary and oppreſſive nature, yet he was beloved by them. He has left his ſucceſſor a large fertile kingdom, with able miniſters to aſſiſt him; but the commerce of France is in a moſt wretched condition; nor does it appear that it will be otherwiſe, while they keep up ſuch a large ſtanding army.

We have, from time to time, in the courſe of this work, taken notice of the progreſs of learning in Britain; but the preſent age exceeds all others. The encouragement given to the fine arts by our ſovereign George III. has brought to light many new diſcoveries. An attempt has been made to diſcover a paſſage by the north pole; but the prodigious ſhoals and mountains of ice in thoſe ſeas rendered the ſcheme abortive; nor does it appear that ever it will be practicable, for if ſuch a paſſage would be attended with great danger, it is not worth the ſearching after.

In 1768, Mr. Banks, an ingenious young gentleman, and Dr. Solander, a native of Sweden, who had ſtudied under the great Lineus, undertook a voyage to the South Seas, under the protection of government. They traverſed ſeas and viſited iſlands almoſt unknown before, and although no beneficial conſequences have yet reſulted from their diſcoveries, there is no doubt but others will improve upon them. The ſame gentlemen have ſince made a voyage to the North Seas, and viſited Iceland, a place though belonging to the king of Denmark, yet but very little known.

His majeſty has added ſeveral new profeſſorſhips to ſome of the public univerſities; men of learning have had penſions ſettled upon them adequate to their merit. Upon the whole the age of George III. has been marked with ſome ſtriking events. More works of merit in the literary world have made their appearance than in any former reign, and the free acceſs that gentlemen have to the books and records in the Britiſh Muſeum has given hiſtory an additional luſtre, for nothing is now offered to the public without poſitive proofs. The literary world has ſuſtained a great loſs in the united deaths of lord Lyttleton, Dr. Goldſmith and Dr. Gregory; but it is to be hoped that the deficiency will be made up by ſome of the riſing generation; for as no minds are more ſuſceptible of impreſſions than thoſe of our youth, ſo no nation has ever produced greater men.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM 26 DE 71

# I N D E X.

A.

Page

ABBOT, archbiſhop, ſuſpended from his office 340
Acte, remarkable ſiege of 96
Adrian, the emperor, viſits Britain 15
——builds a wall acroſs the iſland ibid.
——defeats the Caledonians ibid.
——his character ibid.
Agricola, Julius, lands in Britain 13
——builds caſtles and forts ibid.
——defeats the Caledonians 14
——builds a wall acroſs the iſland ibid.
——ſails round Britain ibid.
——is recalled by Domitian 15
Aix-la-Chapelle, treaty of 623
————much cenſured 624
Albemarle, earl of, appointed commander of the forces ſent againſt the Havannah 652
Alfred, aſcends the throne of England 39
——ſtate of England at that time ibid.
——defeated by the Danes ibid.
——makes a treaty with them ibid.
——fits out a fleet to guard the coaſt ibid.
——viſits, in diſguiſe, the Daniſh camp 40
——defeats them with great ſlaughter ibid.
——his generoſity to the vanquiſhed, whom he ſettles in Eaſt-Anglia ibid.
——his prudent method of governing ibid.
——reforms the laws 42
——founds Oxford ibid.
——his death and character 43
Almanza, battle of 537
Amboyna, cruel maſſacre there
Ambroſius ſucceeds Vortigern as king of Britain 22
Angles, a tribe of Saxons 23
Anne of Cleves, married to Henry VIII. 237
Anne, queen, aſcends the throne 520
——her ſpeech to the parliament ibid.
——declares war againſt the French king 521
——ſtate of parties in England at that time 524
——appoints commiſſioners to treat of an union with Scotland 531
——the ſucceſs of her arms ibid.
——concludes the union 532
——death of her conſort, prince George of Denmark 540
——makes a total change in her miniſtry 543
——recalls the duke of Marlborough from Flanders 544
——concludes the peace of Utrecht 546
——ſtate of parties at the cloſe of her reign 549
——Proceedings in parliament 550
——her death and character 552
Anſon, commodore, ſails to the South Seas 599
——returns with a rich prize 615
Armada, the Spaniſh, account of 296
——ſails from Liſbon 298
——ſeparated by a ſtorm ibid.
——enters the Engliſh channel ibid.
——is totally defeated ibid.
Aſſaſſination plot againſt queen Elizabeth 292
Aſſaſſination plot againſt king Charles II. 477
Athelſtan, king, aſcends the throne of England 44
——defeats the Danes ibid.
——ravages Scotland 45
——his death and character ibid.
Attrebatii, a Britiſh nation 2
Auguſtine, a Roman monk ſent into England by pope Gregory 25
——converts Ethelbert, king of Kent, to the chriſtian faith ib.
——appointed the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——artful method of making converts ibid.
——the favourable reception he met with from the Saxons ibid.

B.

BABBINGTON's conſpiracy 292
——diſcovered, and himſelf executed 293
Bacon, lord, made lord chancellor 320
——impeached, and fined for corruption 323
Ballard, engages in a conſpiracy with Babbington 291
——condemned, and executed with circumſtances of cruelty 293
Bangor, monaſtery of, deſtroyed, and the monks put to the ſword 30
Barons, their wars 105
——obtain Magna Charta 106
Becket, Thomas, appointed archbiſhop of Canterbury 85
——becomes a formidable enemy to the civil power 86
——impeached in parliament 87
——eſcapes out of England page 87
——ſtirs up the French king againſt England 88
——excommunicates the principal nobility 89
——is murdered ibid.
——his character ibid.
Benbow, admiral, bombards Cadiz 523
——is ſent to the Weſt-Indies ibid.
——engages a French fleet ibid.
——the cowardly behaviour of three of their captains ibid.
——is wounded ibid.
——his death ibid.
Bertha, daughter of the French king, is married to Ethelbert, king of Kent 24
——ſhe encourages the preaching of chriſtianity 25
Blake, admiral, ſent to the Tagus 437
——attacks the Dutch fleet 441
——his noble generoſity ibid.
——attacks the Dutch fleet a ſecond time 443
——is dangerouſly wounded ibid.
——attacks and defeats the Dutch a third time 444
——takes a fleet of French merchant ſhips 448
——bombards Tunis ibid.
——deſtroys the Spaniſh galleons in Santa Cruz 450
——his death and character ibid.
Blenheim, battle of 528
Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, ſcourged by the Romans 12
——rouzes the ſpirits of the Britons to take up arms ibid.
——deſtroys Camelodanum ibid.
——deſtroys the temple of Claudius, and cuts in pieces the ninth legion ibid.
——her ſpeech to her army ibid.
——is defeated, and puts an end to her own life ibid.
Boleyn, Ann, attracts the notice of Henry VIII. 226
——procures the diſgrace of cardinal Wolſey 227
——is married privately to the king 229
——is delivered of a princeſs ibid.
——falls into diſgrace 232
——is condemned and executed 233
Bonner, biſhop, his horrid cruelties 264
Boſworth, battle of 204
Bothwell, earl of, becomes a favourite of Mary Q. of Scots 274
——contrives the murder of lord Darnley 275
——is tried and acquitted 276
——marries the queen ibid.
——is defeated, and dies in great miſery ibid.
Boyne, battle of 500
Braddock, general, marches againſt the French and Indians 629
——is killed ibid.
Britons, ancient, an account of them 1
——their manner of living ibid.
——their different nations 2
——their manner of fighting deſcribed ibid.
——their religion and learning 3
——oppoſe Julius Cæſar on his landing 4
——are put into diſorder, and defeated ibid.
——haraſſed by the Picts and Scots 19
——ſollicit aſſiſtance from the Romans, but denied 20
——invite over the Saxons 21
——their great diſtreſſes 22
Bruce, Robert, becomes a competitor for the crown of Scotland 128
——foundation of his claim 129
——acknowledges Edward's ſuperiority over Scotland ibid.
——his claim is ſet aſide in favour of Baliol 129
——has a conference with Sir William Wallace 133
Bruce, Robert, the younger, ſtands up in defence of Scotland 134
——eſcapes from the court of Edward I. ibid.
——aſſaſſinates Cummin ibid.
——is crowned king of Scotland 135
——his army defeated ibid.
——one of his caſtles burnt, and his queen, &c. taken priſoners ib.
——takes ſhelter in the weſtern iſles ibid.
——defeats the earl of Pembroke ibid.
——defeats the Engliſh army at Bannockburn 137
Brunſwick, hereditary prince of, his character 646
Brunſwick, Ferdinand prince of, takes upon him the command of the army 648
——beats up the French quarters ibid.
——penetrates into Thuringia 650
——defeats the French 651
——his wiſe diſpoſitions ibid.
Burgh, Hubert de, defends the caſtle of Dover 113
——obliged to raiſe the ſiege ibid.
——made chief juſticiary 116
——acts as prime miniſter ibid.

——ſuppreſſes

——ſuppreſſes a riot page 116
——is diſgraced 117
Byng, admiral John, ſent on an expedition to the Mediterranean 631
——his ſtrange conduct ibid.
——ſets ſail for Gibraltar ibid.
——put under an arreſt, and ſent to England 632

C.

CABAL, account of 471
Calais, ſiege of 153
——taken by the Engliſh 154
——retaken by the French 267
Canute, king, prepares to invade England 53
——commits great ſlaughter ibid.
——beſieges London, but is obliged to abandon the enterprize 54
——is defeated by Edmund Ironſide ibid.
——retreats to Wincheſter ibid.
——again defeated ibid.
——concludes a peace with Edmund Ironſide 55
——is crowned king of England ibid.
——puts the traitor Ederic to death ibid.
——marries queen Emma ibid.
——his great wiſdom in governing the nation 56
——he viſits Denmark ibid.
——his ſucceſſes againſt the Vandals and Swedes ibid.
——returns to England ibid.
——dethrones the king of Norway ibid.
——rebukes his courtiers for their impious flattery ibid.
——travels on a pilgrimage to Rome ibid.
——marches into Cumberland, to oppoſe the Scots ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
——his iſſue 57
Caractacus, a Britiſh prince 8
——defeated by the Romans ibid.
——raiſes a powerful army, and cuts off many of the Romans 9
——his great bravery and ſkill in war ibid.
——is defeated a ſecond time, and his army cut off 10
——is betrayed by Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes ibid.
——ſent priſoner to Rome ibid.
——his noble ſpeech to the emperor Claudius ibid.
Caracalla, his unnatural behaviour to his father 16
——cauſes his brother to be murdered ibid.
Carauſius, a famous general ibid.
——takes Boulogne ibid.
——is proclaimed emperor by the ſoldiers of Britain ibid.
——defeats the Scots and Caledonian Picts ibid.
——is aſſaſſinated 17
Carberry-Hill, battle of 276
Carre, Robert, becomes a favourite of James I. 318
——created viſcount Rocheſter 319
——contrives the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury ibid.
——is made earl of Somerſet ibid.
——marries the counteſs of Eſſex ibid.
——his great ignorance 320
——is condemned for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury ibid.
——is pardoned, and dies in obſcurity ibid.
Caſſi, a people of Britain 5
Caſſivellaunus, proclaimed general of the Britons ibid.
——attacks the Roman camp ibid.
——is defeated 6
——concludes peace with the Romans ibid.
Cateſby, forms the gunpowder plot 314
——is killed 315
Cæſar, Julius, invades Britain from Gaul 3
——defeats the Britons 4
——returns to Gaul ibid.
——lands in Britain a ſecond time 5
——defeats the Britons ibid.
——croſſes the Thames 6
——makes peace with Caſſivellaunus ibid.
——returns to Gaul ibid.
Cecil, miniſter to queen Elizabeth, oppoſes an interview between her and Mary queen of Scots 277
——created lord Burleigh 281
Cecil, Sir Robert, correſponds with king James in Scotland 312
——his character ibid.
——is made earl of Saliſbury, and ſecretary of ſtate ibid.
Charles I. aſcends the throne of Britain 331
——marries the princeſs Henrietta of France 332
——demands a ſupply from the parliament ibid.
——a ſmall ſupply granted ibid.
——his notions of regal power ibid.
——is offended with his parliament 333
——governs all things by Buckingham ibid.
——deprives biſhop Williams of the great ſeal ibid.
——ſends a fleet againſt the Spaniards ibid.
——threatens his parliament 335
——ſends two of the members to the Tower 336
——diſſolves the parliament before they had paſſed one act ibid.
——augments the wages of the ſeamen 338
——ſends a fleet to Rochelle 340
——calls a new parliament 341
——prorogues the parliament ſuddenly 346
——his grief for the loſs of Buckingham 348
——commits ſome of the leading members to the Tower 350
——makes peace with France, and abandons the proteſtants ibid.
——ſeizes the duties of tonnage and poundage ibid.
——viſits Scotland, where he is crowned 352
——makes propoſals for changing the ſimplicity of the Scottiſh worſhip 353
——grants the writs for raiſing the ſhip-money ibid.
——ſends a liturgy to Scotlands 356
——marches againſt the Scots 357
——calls two parliaments, one at Edinburgh, and the other at Weſtminſter 360
——diſſolves the Engliſh parliament 362
——enters into a treaty with the Scots at Rippon 363
——calls a new parliament 364
——ſigns the warrant for the execution of Strafford 374
——ſends an anſwer to the remonſtrance of the commons 378
——removes to Windſor 381
——demands five of the members 380
——erects the royal ſtandard at Nottingham 385
——engages the army of the parliament at Edge-hill 388
——lays ſiege to Glouceſter 395
——is defeated at Naeſby 408
——his great loſſes 410
——ſurrenders himſelf to the Scots at Newcaſtle 412
——enters into a treaty with his parliament 413
——delivered up by the Scots to the Engliſh 414
——conducted like a priſoner to Holmſby-houſe ibid.
——ſeized by Joyce 415
——eſcapes from Hampton-court 420
——conducted by Hammond to Cariſbrook-caſtle ibid.
——treated with great ſeverity by Hammond 421
——commiſſioners ſent by the parliament to treat with him 423
——ſends a letter to the prince of Wales 424
——a charge of high-treaſon preferred againſt him 427
——brought to his trial 428
——beheaded 430
——his character ibid.
Charles II. is viſited at the Hague by ſeveral Scotch noblemen 431
——lands in Scotland 432
——his army is defeated at Dunbar 436
——takes ſhelter in the caſtle of Stirling 437
——crowned at Scone 438
——marches into England ibid.
——defeated at Worceſter 439
——makes his eſcape ibid.
——lands in Normandy 440
——enters into a treaty with general Monk 456
——lands at Dover 460
——diſbands the army 461
——paſſes the act of uniformity 462
——delivers up Dunkirk to the French ibid.
——the ſervility of his parliament [illegible]
——declares war againſt the Dutch 466
——character of his miniſters 469
——his unbounded extravagance 470
——becomes a penſioner of France 471
——diſgraceful connections with the French king 473
——gives his conſent to the Habeas Corpus act 479
——ſends the duke of Monmouth to quell a rebellion in Scotland 480
——calls a new parliament ibid.
——ſends the duke of York to Scotland 482
——demands the charters of the corporations ibid.
——ſevere proceedings againſt ſome diſaffected perſons 483
——his death 484
——his character ibid.
——account of his illegitimate children ibid.
Churchill, lord, joins the prince of Orange 491
——created earl of Marlborough 518
——ſent ambaſſador to Holland ibid.
——arrives at the Hague 521
——is ſupported by the Whigs ibid.
——takes upon him the command of the allied army 522
——regulates the operations for the campaign ibid.
——obtains ſeveral advantages over the French ibid.
——created a duke 524
——beſieges and takes ſeveral ſtrong forts 526
——ſollicits aſſiſtance for the emperor 527
——marches into Germany ibid.
——is joined by prince Eugene 528
——obtains a ſignal victory at Blenheim 529
——returns to England, and receives the thanks of both houſes of parliament 530
——obtains a grant of the manor of Woodſtock ibid.
——opens the campaign, and obtains ſeveral victories 531
——obtains a victory over the French at Ramillies 534
——defeats the French at Oudenarde 539
——takes the important fortreſs of Liſle ibid.
——drives the French from Mons 541
——diſpoſſeſſed of all his places 542
Claudius, the emperor, is perſuaded to invade Britain 7
——leaves Gaul, and lands in Britain 9
——purſues the Britons ibid.
——eſtabliſheth a colony in the iſland ibid.
——gives the command to Plautus and returns to Rome ibid.
Conſtantine, the emperor, his elevated character 17
——divides Britain into four provinces ibid.
——his death ibid.
Cooper, Aſhley, earl of Shaftſbury 470
——one of the cabal ibid.
——is made chancellor 474
——joins the oppoſition ibid.
——deprived of the great ſeal 475
——propoſes the bill of excluſion 479

page
——diſmiſſed from the place of preſident of the council 480
——joins in the Rye-houſe plot 482
——eſcapes to Holland ibid.
Cranmer, archbiſhop, account of him 228
——pronounces the divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon 229
——ſtrives to promote the reformation 231
——oppoſes the ſix articles 235
——cauſes the bible to be tranſlated 236
——intercedes for lord Cromwell 237
——writes a letter to Henry VIII. 238
——goes on with the reformation, but is accuſed by Gardiner 242
——is appointed one of the guardians to Edward VI. 243
——propoſes moderate meaſures 254
——oppoſes giving the crown to lady Jane Gray 255
——committed to the Tower 258
——ſuffers martyrdom 264
Crevelt, battle of 637
Cromwell, Thomas, promotes the reformation 231
——created vicar-general 232
——oppoſes the ſix articles 236
——propoſes a match between the king and Anne of Cleves ibid.
——is arreſted and ſent to the Tower 237
——beheaded ibid.
——his character ibid.
Cromwell, Oliver, commands under Fairfax 398
——defeats prince Rupert 403
——ſupports the Independents 405
——his boldneſs in the houſe of commons ibid.
——new models the army 406
——defeats the earl of Northampton and diſperſes five regiments 407
——takes all the ſtrong forts in the ſouth of England 409
——his artful conduct 415
——marches the army through London 418
——a remarkable dialogue between him and lord Orrery 419
——propoſes the death of the king 421
——defeats the Scotch army under duke Hamilton 425
——marches the army a ſecond to London 426
——reduces Ireland 433
——defeats the Scots at Dunbar 436
——and at Worceſter 439
——deſtroys the royal intereſt in Scotland 440
——diſſolves the parliament 443
——ſummons a new parliament out of the dregs of the people 444
——is declared protector 446
——equity of his government 447
——his death and character 453
Cromwell, Richard, his weakneſs 455
Cruſades, account of 73
Culloden, battle of 620

D.

DANES, account of page 36
——dreadful ravages committed by them ibid.
——a great fleet of them arrives in England 37
——plunder and burn Wincheſter ibid.
——are defeated with ſlaughter ibid.
——arrive again in great numbers ibid.
——commit the moſt horrid barbarities ibid.
——murder the nuns in the abbey of Coldingham 38
——defeated and brought into ſubjection by Alfred 40
——great ſwarms of them invade England 43
——ſeize on Northumberland 45
——make themſelves maſters of England 52
Darnly, Henry, lord, account of 273
——leaves England and returns to Scotland ibid.
——is married to Mary, queen of Scots ibid.
——murders David Rizzio 274
——barbarouſly murdered ibid.
Derwentwater, earl of, rebels 557
——is taken priſoner 558
——impeached by the commons 559
——pleads guilty, is condemned and executed 570
Dettingen, battle of 608
Dïera, a Saxon kingdom 23
Drake, Sir Francis, account of 285
——ſeizes a large treaſure from the Spaniards 286
——is ſent a ſecond time to the Weſt-Indies 291
——deſtroys the Spaniſh ſhips in their own harbours 296
——returns to England with a great booty ibid.
——defeats the Spaniſh armada 298
——attacks the city of Liſbon ibid.
Druids, account of them 3
——their tenets, and ſacred groves ibid.
——their temples ibid.
——their final deſtruction 11
Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, his death and character 298
Dunſtan, an account of 47
——his bigotry and ſuperſtition ibid.
——ſtrives to eſtabliſh celibacy among the clergy ibid.
——his brutal behaviour to his ſovereign ibid.
——is baniſhed the kingdom ibid.
——is recalled and promotes a revolution 48
——pretends to work miracles ibid.
——made prime miniſter ibid.
——uſurps the government of the kingdom 50
——his death 51

E

page
EADBALD ſucceeds Ethelbert on the throne of Kent 25
——is converted by Laurentius ibid.
Eaſt-Anglia, kingdom of 32
Edgar, king, raiſes a rebellion againſt his brother Edwy 48
——aſcends the throne of England ibid.
——increaſes his navy ibid.
——undertakes a voyage along the coaſt of Ireland ibid.
——his great partiality to the monks ibid.
——his diſſolute life 49
——murders his favourite Ethelwald ibid.
——marries Elfrida ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Edge-hill, battle of 388
Edmund I. crowned king 45
——invades Northumberland 46
——reſtores tranquillity in his kingdom ibid.
——is barbarouſly murdered ibid.
——his character ibid.
Edmund II. crowned king of England 54
——defeats Canute ibid.
——concludes a peace 55
——is aſſaſſinated ibid.
——his character ibid.
Edred crowned king of England 46
——defeats the Danes ibid.
——his ſuperſtition 47
——death and character ibid.
Edric, the traitor, account of 55
Edward the elder aſcends the throne 43
——drives Ethelwald out of the kingdom ibid.
——rebuilds ſeveral cities and churches ibid.
——defeats the Danes and the Welſh 44
——his death and character ibid.
Edward the martyr crowned king by Dunſtan 50
——murdered at the inſtigation of Elfrida ibid.
Edward the Confeſſor, aſcends the throne 58
——his cruelty to his mother ibid.
——looſes the affections of his people by encouraging foreigners 59
——calls a parliament to meet at Glouceſter ibid.
——his unnatural behaviour to his queen ibid.
——pardons earl Godwin, and baniſhes the foreigners 60
——aſſiſts Malcolm once more to recover the crown of Scotland ibid.
——defeats the Welſh 61
——rebuilds the abbey of Weſtminſter ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Edward I. aſcends the throne 125
——he defeats the Welſh and makes them do homage 126
——curbs the arrogant power of the great barons ibid.
——marches a ſecond time againſt the Welſh 127
——ſubdues them and puts all their bards to death ibid.
——his horrid cruelty to the Jews 128
——becomes umpire between Bruce and Baliol, competitors for the crown of Scotland ibid.
——pretends to have a ſovereign authority over Scotland 129
——his wars in France 130
——treats Baliol, king of Scotland, with great indignity 131
——ſubdues Scotland ibid.
——ſtrips the Scots of all their records ibid.
——he quarrels with his clergy and forces them to obedience 131
——his expedition into France 132
——his cruelties to the Scots ibid.
——oppoſed by the famous Wallace ibid.
——calls a parliament at York where he confirms the great charter ibid.
——defeats the Scots at Falkirk 133
——his barbarous execution of Wallace 134
——ſends the earl of Pembroke to Scotland 135
——marches for Scotland, but dies in Cumberland ibid.
——his character ibid.
Edward II. ſucceeds his father ibid.
——he diſguſts his ſubjects by his attachment to favourites 136
——marries the daughter of the king of France ibid.
——calls a parliament ibid.
——remonſtrances againſt his favourite, Piers Gaveſton 137
——raiſes an army to oppoſe the barons ibid.
——advances againſt the Scots ibid.
——defeated by the Scots at Bannockburn 138
——is hated by his people 139
——his queen enters into a conſpiracy againſt him ibid.
——he embarks for Ireland, but is driven on ſhore on the coaſt of Wales 140
——is taken priſoner by the barons, who commit him to Kenelworth-caſtle ibid.
——is forced to reſign the crown ibid.
——is cruelly murdered 141
——his character ibid.
Edward III. aſcends the throne 142
——invades Scotland ibid.
——puts Mortimer, the favourite of his mother to death 143
——confines the queen-dowager his mother for life ibid.
——reforms many abuſes 144
——reſolves to ſet Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland ibid.
——defeats the Scots at Duplin ibid.
——defeats the Scots at Halidown-hill 145
——marches to Perth in Scotland ibid.
——concludes a treaty of peace with the Scots 146

——claims the crown of France page 147
——is liberally aſſiſted by his parliament 148
——embarks for France, and defeats the French fleet ibid.
——beſieges Tournay ibid.
——returns to England ibid.
——makes ſome conceſſions to his parliament 149
——obtains large ſupplies ibid.
——renews the war againſt France 150
——arrives at La Hogue, where he knights his ſon 151
——beſieges and takes the city of Caen ibid.
——advances to Poiſſy ibid.
——forces a paſſage over the Somme 152
——takes poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp at Creſſy ibid.
——defeats the French with great ſlaughter 153
——conſequences reſulting therefrom ibid.
——his army defeats the Scots at Durham 154
——he takes Calais 155
——inſtitutes the order of the Garter ibid.
——ſets at liberty David king of Scotland 158
——invades France again ibid.
——marches through that kingdom 159
——croſſes the Pyrenees ibid.
——ravages all France 160
——he falls into a ſtate of dottage ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
——account of his children 161
Edward IV. aſcends the throne 193
——defeats queen Margaret's army near Ferrybridge ibid.
——returns to London, and calls a parliament ibid.
——his many cruelties ibid
——the parliament confirms his title 194
——becomes enamoured of the lady Elizabeth Gray ibid.
——marries her 195
——offends the earl of Warwick, who had placed him on the throne 195
——raiſes an army to oppoſe Warwick ibid.
——is defeated, and obliged to ſeek refuge in Flanders 196
——arrives at Bruges ibid.
——lands again in England 197
——marches for London ibid.
——defeats and kills the earl of Warwick at Barnet ibid.
——defeats queen Margaret at Tewksbury 198
——lands in France with a great army 199
——makes ſeveral wiſe laws 200
——heaps favours upon his wife's relations ibid.
——is guilty of ſeveral acts of cruelty and oppreſſion ibid.
——procures the murder of his brother the duke of Clarence ibid.
——his amours ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
——his children ibid.
Edward V. ſent for from Ludlow-caſtle, when his father died 201
——ſent to the Tower by order of the duke of Glouceſter ibid.
——is barbarouſly murdered 203
Edward VI. aſcends the throne in room of his father 245
——promotes the reformation ibid.
——appoints viſitors to enquire into the ſtate of religion 246
——enters upon a war with Scotland 247
——his arms are victorious ibid.
——great debates among his counſellors ibid.
——repeals ſeveral laws made againſt proteſtants ibid.
——enacts new laws in favour of the reformation 248
——grants the revenues of chauntries to the colleges ibid.
——makes ſeveral alterations in the form of public worſhip and diſcipline ibid.
——continues the war againſt the Scots ibid.
——aboliſhes the ſix articles ſet out by his father 249
——proceeds againſt his uncle the duke of Somerſet ibid.
——completes the book of common prayer ibid.
——ſigns a warrant for the execution of a woman who denied the divinity of Chriſt ibid.
——ſuppreſſes ſeveral rebellions 250
——is diſtracted in his councils by ambitious miniſters 252
—— makes ſeveral laws for promoting commerce 253
——conſents to the execution of his uncle ibid.
——is ſeized with the meaſles 154
——appoints lady Jane Grey his ſucceſſor ibid.
——grants a commiſſion to the judges to draw a patent for lady Jane's ſucceſſion 255
——dies of a conſumption ibid.
——his character ibid.
Edward, prince of Wales, ſurnamed the Black, knighted by his father 151
——his noble behaviour at the battle of Creſſey 153
——marches into Guienne 156
——penetrates into the heart of France ibid.
——ſurrounded by the French 157
——takes the king of France priſoner ibid.
——his noble and generous behaviour to his captive ibid.
——returns to England, and is received with great ſplendor ibid.
——marries the counteſs of Holland 159
——created prince of Aquitaine ibid.
——fixes his reſidence at Bourdeaux ibid.
——marches into Caſtile ibid.
——defeats a great army, and places Peter on the throne of Caſtile 160
——contracts ſickneſs ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Edwy aſcends the throne 47
——marries Ethelgiva ibid.
——inſulted by Dunſtan ibid.
——plagued with the monks page 47
——baniſhes them out of his kingdom ibid.
——is inſulted by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——ill-treated by his ſubjects ibid.
——ſhuts himſelf up in Glouceſter 48
——his death and character ibid.
Egbert unites the ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy 35
——crowned king of England ibid.
——defeats the Danes 36
——his death and character ibid.
Eleanor, queen, eſpouſes the cauſe of her ſon Richard I. 99
Elfrida, account of 49
——married to Ethelwald ibid.
——marries king Edgar ibid.
——endeavours to place her ſon on the throne 50
——procures the murder of king Edward ibid.
——builds monaſteries to atone for her guilt ibid.
Elgiva, her marriage to king Edwy 47
——cruelly uſed by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——murdered by order of that prelate 48
Elizabeth, queen, aſcends the throne 267
——ſtate of parties at that time ibid.
——her great wiſdom and moderation 268
——takes the neceſſary ſteps to promote the reformation ibid.
——her magnificent entry into London ibid.
——meets the parliament, and gives her aſſent to the act for aboliſhing popery ibid.
——concludes treaties of peace with France and Scotland 269
——aſſiſts the lords of Scotland to bring about the reformation 270
——drives the French auxiliaries out of Scotland ibid.
——is exaſperated againſt the queen of Scotland 271
——intereſts herſelf in favour of the French proteſtants ibid.
——ſeized with the ſmall-pox 272
——is requeſted to marry, or appoint a ſucceſſor ibid.
——viſits the univerſity of Cambridge 273
——oppoſes the marriage of Mary queen of Scots ibid.
——viſits the univerſity of Oxford 274
——arbitrary conduct to her parliament 275
——refuſes an interview with Mary queen of Scots 277
——interferes in the diſputes between the nobles of Scotland and their queen ibid.
——ſends commiſſioners to York, to confer with the queen of Scotland 278
——commits the duke of Norfolk to the Tower ibid.
——is in great danger from the papiſts 279
——oppoſes a further reformation 280
——her arbitrary proceedings againſt members of parliament ib.
——aſſiſts the proteſtants in Flanders 282
——ſends the earl of Eſſex to Ireland 283
——ſends an ambaſſador to the court of Spain 284
——calls a new parliament, who grant her a ſubſidy 286
——enters on a treaty of marriage with the duke of Anjou ibid.
——ſends Sir John Perrot to Ireland 289
——is in danger of being aſſaſſinated by the papiſts 290
——ſends Sir Francis Drake to the Weſt-Indies 291
——ſupports an army in the Low Countries ibid.
——defeats Babbington's plot 293
——ſends commiſſioners to try Mary queen of Scots ibid.
——ſigns the warrant for her execution 295
——pretends to be affected at her death 296
——writes to the king of Scotland on that ſubject ibid.
——prepares to oppoſe the Spaniards ibid.
——reviews her army in perſon on horſeback 297
——encourages the men ibid.
——orders public thankſgivings 298
——ſends another fleet to the Weſt-Indies 299
——aſſiſts Henry IV. of France 300
——treats the puritans with great ſeverity ibid.
——her fleets victorious 301
——heaps great favours on the young earl of Eſſex 302
——writes a remarkable letter to Eſſex 303
——ſhe ſends him over to Ireland ibid.
——forms an alliance with the king of France 306
——ſupports an army in Ireland at a great expence 307
——ſends a fleet to the coaſt of Spain ibid.
——ſhe ſinks into a deep melancholy 308
——declares the king of Scotland her ſucceſſor ibid.
——her death and character ibid.
——ſtate of the nation at that time 309
Eſſex, earl of, ſails for the coaſt of Spain 298
——behaves with great bravery ibid.
——is ſent to aſſiſt Henry IV. of France 299
——ſails to Cadiz, and attacks that city 301
——his unbounded ambition 302
——is made commander in chief of the navy ibid.
——becomes a favourite of the queen 302
——his great imprudence 303
——offers ſeveral affronts to the queen ibid.
——ſent over to Ireland ibid.
——advances to Ulſter againſt the rebels 304
——enters into a conference with Tyrone ibid.
——his conduct gives great offence to the queen ibid.
——is put under an arreſt ibid.
——falls ſick, but recovers ibid.
——is brought to a trial ibid.
——is degraded from his offices 305
——writes a letter to the queen, and retires to the country ibid.
——correſponds with the king of Scotland ibid.
——ingratiates himſelf with the puritans ibid.

——forms a conſpiracy againſt the queen page 305
——enters London with two hundred men ibid.
——is ſeized and brought to his trial 306
——found guilty and executed ibid.
Ethelred II. aſcends the throne of England 51
——oppoſes Dunſtan and the monks ibid.
——defeats the Danes ibid.
——his death and character 54

F.

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, defeats a party of the royaliſts page 401
——joins the Scottiſh army near York 404
——defeats prince Rupert 405
——appointed commander in chief of the army of the parliament 406
——puts the army under proper diſcipline ibid.
——encamps at Windſor 407
——marches to Taunton ibid.
——returns towards Oxford ibid.
——defeats the king at Naſeby 408
——Leiceſter ſurrenders to his victorious army ibid.
——takes Bridgewater by ſtorm 409
——takes Sherborne caſtle ibid.
——reduces moſt of the weſtern counties 410
——takes Exeter, and ſeveral other towns ibid.
——deſpiſes flattery 413
——is concerned for the ſafety of the king 415
——endeavours to bring the parliament to moderate meaſures 417
Falkland, lord, his character 396
——his remarkable ſpeech ibid.
——he is killed ibid.
Fawkes, Guy, employed to blow up the parliament-houſe 314
——is detected, and makes a full diſcovery 315
Ferdinand, prince, takes upon him the command of the allied army 637
——defeats the French at Crevelt ibid.
——attacks the French at Frankfort 645
——defeats the French at Minden, and obtains a great victory 646
——defeats the French at Warbourg 648
——penetrates into Thuringia 650
——defeats the French at a village called Werle 651
Felton ſtabs the duke of Buckingham 347
Feudal law introduced by William the Conqueror 66
Fitz-Arthur, his ſpirited behaviour at the burial of the conqueror 69
Flouden, battle of 218
Fontenoy, battle of 617

G.

GAVESTON, Piers, his character page 136
becomes the favourite of Edward II. ibid.
——a party formed againſt him ibid.
——is ſent over to Ireland ibid.
——returns to England 137
——is put to death by the barons ibid.
George I. aſcends the throne of Britain 552
——ſtate of parties at that time ibid.
——changes the miniſtry 553
——his coronation ibid.
——popular tumults in London 555
——is diſturbed by a rebellion 557
——acquires the dutchies of Bremen and Verden 560
——arreſts the Spaniſh ambaſſador ibid.
——is threatened with an invaſion by Charles XII. of Sweden 561
——diſputes concerning the South-Sea Company 563
——great diſputes concerning the rights of the clergy 564
——calls a new parliament 565
——diſcovers to them a conſpiracy ibid.
——ſends circular letters to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge 567
——orders the lord-chancellor Maccleſfield to be proſecuted ibid.
——ſets out for his German dominions 568
——fits out ſeveral fleets 570
——his death and character 572
George II. aſcends the throne of Britain ibid.
——he becomes a patron to the royal hoſpital at Greenwich 573
——great debates concerning the conduct of the miniſtry 575
——is much led by Sir Robert Walpole ibid.
——great oppoſition made to his meaſures 576
——eſtabliſhes a civil government in Gibraltar 577
——receives ſeveral inſults from Spain 578
——great diſcontents in the nation ibid.
——the exciſe bill brought in 581
——gives his aſſent to the gin-act 588
——proceeds with great ſeverity againſt the city of Edinburgh 589
——diſagrees with his ſon, the prince of Wales 591
——his queen dies 592
——declares war againſt Spain 597
——is generouſly aſſiſted by the commons ibid.
——ſends a fleet to the Weſt-Indies 598
——ſends commodore Anſon to the South-ſeas 599
——reſolves to aſſiſt the queen of Hungary 602
——his miniſtry loſes ground among the people 603
——engages the French at Dettingen 608
——ſupports a fleet in the Mediterranean 611
——changes in the miniſtry 615
——is troubled by a rebellion at home 619
——it is defeated, and the chiefs brought to juſtice 620
——renews the war in Flanders 621
——concludes a treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle 624
——ſends a fleet to the Mediterranean under admiral Byng 631
——declares war againſt the French 632
——enters into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia ibid.
——great diſcontents among the people 633
——changes in the miniſtry ibid.
——aſſembles an army of obſervation in Hanover 637
——appoints prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick to the command ib.
——ſends a fleet againſt Cherburg 639
——eſtabliſhes a ſettlement at Senegal, in Africa 640
——ſends admiral Hawke againſt the French 642
——great ſucceſs of his arms in North-America 645
——his ſtrong attachment to the king of Pruſſia 648
——his death and character 649
——ſtate of learning in his reign ibid.
George III. aſcends the throne of Britain 650
——his ſpeech to the parliament ibid.
——ſucceſs of his arms ibid.
——marries the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz 651
——ſucceſs of his arms ibid.
——ſends an army and fleet to take the Havannah 652
——concludes a peace 654
——grants ſeveral tracts of land in America to the diſbanded ſoldiers ibid.
——changes the miniſtry 659
——gives his ſiſter in marriage to the king of Denmark ibid.
——recommends to parliament the ſtate of America 665
——other changes in the miniſtry 671
——his ſpeech to the parliament at the cloſe of the ſeſſion 673
——recommends to them the affair of Falklands Iſlands 679
——receives very loyal addreſſes from both houſes ibid.
——appoints the earl of Sandwich firſt lord of the treaſury 683
——ſome other very important changes in the miniſtry ibid.
——receives ſatisfaction from the Spaniards ibid.
——recommends to the parliament the ſtate of public affairs 687
——ſends a meſſage to the houſe of lords 688
——ſtate of learning in his reign 698
Gray, lady Jane, married to lord Guildford Dudley 255
——is proclaimed queen 256
——committed to the Tower 260
——condemned and executed ibid.
——her numerous accompliſhments ibid.
Gregory, pope, ſends miſſions to convert the Saxons 25
——he grants them many privileges ibid.
Gun-powder treaſon, an account of it 314

H.

HAMBDEN, account of his trial page 355
Hardicanute aſcends the Engliſh throne 58
——his horrid barbarity ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Harold I. aſcends the throne of England 57
——divides the kingdom with his brother ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Harold II. is crowned king 61
——is oppoſed by his brother Toſti ibid.
—— governs with equity 62
——procures the affections of his ſubjects ibid.
——excommunicated by the pope ibid.
——marches againſt William the Norman ibid.
——is killed in battle 63
——his character ibid.
Haſtings, battle of 63
Havannah, ſiege of 652
Hawke, Sir Edward, defeats the French fleet 643
Hengiſt, the Saxon, arrives in England 21
——defeats the Scots ibid.
——is made king of Kent 22
Henry I. aſcends the throne of England 74
——reſtore Anſelm to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury 75
——marries the princeſs of Scotland ibid.
——enters into a war with his brother ibid.
——diſputes between him and the clergy 76
——takes his brother priſoner ibid.
——marries his daughter to the emperor Henry IV. 77
——his political conduct ibid.
——his death and character 78
Henry II. ſucceeds to the throne of England 84
——marches againſt the Welſh ibid.
——enters into a war with France 85
——promotes Becket to the ſee of Canterbury ibid.
——is put to much trouble by the ambition of that prelate 86
——aſſerts the rights of his crown againſt the clergy ibid.
——holds a parliament at Clarendon ibid.
——ſummons Becket to appear before him 87
——upbraids him for his ingratitude ibid.
——fines him for diſobedience ibid.
——ſends ambaſſadors to the pope 88
——has an interview with the French king ibid.
——holds a parliament at Windſor ibid.
——cauſes his ſon to be crowned ibid.
——is threatened with an interdict 89
——projects the ſcheme of ſubduing Ireland ibid.
——conquers ſome parts of it 90
——has ſeveral unhappy diſputes with his children ibid.
——engages in war with them 91
——ſubmits to be ſcourged by the monks of Canterbury ibid.
——takes the king of Scotland priſoner ibid.
——calls a ſecond parliament at Northampton 92
——enforces the laws of Edward the confeſſor ibid.
——his children rebel againſt him a ſecond time ibid.
——receives an embaſſy from the Chriſtians in Paleſtine ibid.

——concludes a treaty of peace with the French page 93
——his death and character ibid.
Henry III. crowned king 114
——ſwears fealty to the pope ibid.
——his great weakneſs 116
——ſets himſelf above the laws ibid.
——is treated with contempt by the barons 117
——gives the biſhopricks to Italian clergy ibid.
——is oppoſed by the barons ibid.
——refuſes an audience to the archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——marries the daughter of the count of Provence 118
——beſtows all his favours upon foreigners ibid.
——by his obſtinacy, he loſes the affections of his people ibid.
——raiſes money in an illegal manner 119
——lands in France, where he is defeated ibid.
——extorts money from the clergy ibid.
——calls a parliament to meet at Lincoln 120
——ſwears to obſerve the great charter, but perjures himſelf ib.
——the barons enter into an aſſociation againſt him 121
——he raiſes an army to oppoſe them 122
——is defeated and taken priſoner ibid.
——is releaſed, but acts in the ſame manner as before 123
——raiſes another army to oppoſe the barons 124
——defeats them at Eveſham ibid.
——ſtate of the nation in his reign 125
——his death and character ibid.
Henry IV. aſcends the throne 168
——ſuppreſſes a moſt dangerous conſpiracy ibid.
——courts the favour of the clergy ibid.
——enters into a war with the Welſh 169
——defeats the Scots ibid.
——defeats the earl of Northumberland ibid.
——ſuppreſſes a rebellion in the north 170
——puts to death the archbiſhop of York ibid.
——ſeeks popularity 171
——proceeds with great ſeverity againſt the Lollards ibid.
——his death and character 172
——account of his children ibid.
——ſtate of learning in his reign ibid,
——gunpowder invented in his reign 173
Henry V. aſcends the throne 174
——ſeeks the aſſiſtance of the clergy ibid.
——ſuffers them to put to death Sir John Oldcaſtle ibid.
——lays claim to ſome provinces in France ibid.
——ſuppreſſes a dangerous conſpiracy 175
——invades France ibid.
——takes Harfleur ibid.
——obtains a ſignal victory 176
——ſeizes all Normandy 177
——concludes a peace with the French ibid.
——marries the king's daughter ibid.
——invades France a ſecond time 178
——his laſt converſation with his friends ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Henry VI. ſucceeds his father when only a child 179
——is proclaimed king of France ibid.
——is directed in the affairs of government by his uncles ibid.
——crowned king of France at Paris 183
——marries Margaret of Anjou 185
——is too mueh governed by her ibid.
——ſad ſtate of the nation at that time 186
——he diſcovers the moſt invincible weakneſs ibid.
——is oppoſed by the duke of York ibid.
——his favourites hated by the people 187
——baniſhes the duke of Suffolk ibid.
——is oppoſed by Jack Cade ibid.
——the duke of York takes up arms 188
——is taken priſoner 189
——concludes a peace with the duke of York 190
——recedes from his engagements through the perſuaſions of his queen ibid.
——his army defeated by the duke of York ibid
——concludes a ſecond treaty with the duke 191
——breaks his engagements a ſecond time ibid.
——driven from the throne by the young duke of York 192
——again reinſtated in his former dignity 196
——his death and character 199
Henry VII. aſcends the throne of England 205
——his title not well founded ibid.
——recognized by the Engliſh parliament ibid.
——his great partiality to the houſe of Lancaſter ibid.
——receives ſupplies from his parliament 206
——publiſhes an act of indemnity ibid.
——marries the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. ib.
——his political views in doing ſo ibid.
——ſuppreſſes a dangerous inſurrection ibid.
——is oppoſed by Simuel ibid.
——is very unpopular ibid.
——takes Simnel priſoner, and makes him a ſcullion in the kitchen 207
——invades Franee 208
——freſh conſpiracies againſt him ibid.
——puts Stanley to death 209
——cauſes one hundred and fifty Kentiſh men to be hanged on gibbets ibid.
——ſuppreſſes the adherents of Perkin Warbeck ibid.
——freſh diſturbances ibid.
——Perkin goes to Scotland ibid.
——rebellion in Cornwall 210
——Perkin Warbeck lands in Cornwall ibid.
——an army ſent againſt him page 211
——the king marries his ſon Arthur to Catherine of Arragon ib.
——loſes his favourite Morton ibid.
——avaricious diſpoſition ibid.
——raiſes money in an illegal manner 212
——makes a new treaty of commerce with the Low Countries ib.
——is viſited by the king of Spain 213
——becomes odious to his ſubjects ibid.
——amaſſes vaſt ſums of money ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
——his political conduct 214
——ſtate of learning ibid.
——origin of printing ibid.
——diſcovery of America ibid.
Henry VIII. crowned king 215
——his great popularity ibid.
——character of his miniſters ibid.
——marries his brother's widow 216
——takes Wolſey into his ſervice ibid.
——makes him his chief miniſter 217
——lands at Calais ibid.
——lays ſiege to Terrounne ibid.
——concludes peace with the Scots 218
——and with the French 219
——gives the archbiſhoprick of York to Wolſey ibid.
——makes him chancellor ibid.
——is viſited by the emperor Charles V. 221
——paſſes over to Calais ibid.
——has an interview with the French king ibid.
——writes againſt Luther 222
——receives the title of defender of the faith ibid.
——declares war againſt France 223
——conceives a diſguſt to his queen 226
——his marriage enquired into 227
——becomes enamoured of Anne Boleyn ibid.
——diſgraces cardinal Wolſey ibid.
——determines to humble the clergy 229
——renounces obedience to the pope ibid.
——marries Anne Boleyn privately ibid.
——divorced from queen Catherine ibid.
——his conduct approved of by the parliament 130
——is excommunicated by the pope ibid.
——declares himſelf head of the church ibid.
——commits Fiſher and More to the Tower ibid.
——puts ſeveral of the monks to death 231
——Fiſher and More beheaded for denying the king's ſupremacy ibid.
——ſollicited to embrace the doctrines of Luther ibid.
——receives a letter from queen Catherine 232
——diſſolves the convents, and ſequeſtrates their lands ibid.
——ſets forth a new tranſlation of the Bible ibid.
——puts to death Anne Boleyn 233
——ſuppreſſes a rebellion in Yorkſhire ibid.
——proceeds with great ſeverity againſt the clergy 234
——his horrid cruelty ibid.
——marries Jane Seymour ibid.
——has a ſon, afterwards Edward VI. ibid.
——ſupports all the tenets of popery except the ſupremacy 235
——holds a conference with one Lambert concerning the proteſtant doctrine ibid.
——erects ſome new biſhopricks 236
——employs Leland to collect manuſcripts ibid.
——marries Anne of Cleves ibid.
——diſſolves the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem ibid.
——puts lord Crowell to death 237
——marries Catherine Howard ibid.
——invites his nephew, the king of Scotland, to meet him at York 238
——puts to death his queen, Catherine Howard 239
——ſends an army againſt the Scots ibid.
——marries Catherine Parr 240
——reſtores the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth to their right of inheritance 241
——declares war againſt the French ibid.
——is ſtimulated to put his queen, Catherine Parr, to death, but ſhe artfully ſaves herſelf 243
——makes his laſt will ibid.
——dies unlamented ibid.
——his character 244
——account of his children ibid.
——and of his parliaments ibid.
Henry, ſon of Henry II. crowned king 90
——takes up arms againſt his father ibid.
——puts himſelf under the protection of the French king ibid.
Henry, ſon of Henry VI. lands in England 198
——marches to Tewkeſbury ibid.
——is barbarouſly murdered 199
Henry, prince of Wales, ſon of James I. his character 318
——his death ibid.
Henry IV. the French king, ſtabbed by Ravilliac 317
Hyde, Edward, made lord chancellor 462
——created earl of Clarendon ibid.
——his good advice to the king 463
——is diſgraced, and goes abroad 469
——his death and character ibid.

I.

JAMAICA, taken by the Engliſh without any reſiſtance 449
James I. born 274
——takes upon himſelf the government of Scotland 285

——is taken priſoner by his nobles page 288
——makes his eſcape 289
——baniſhes the conſpirators ibid.
——proceeds againſt the clergy ibid.
——enters into a treaty with queen Elizabeth 292
——his grief for his mother 296
——aſcends the throne of England 312
——his coronation ibid.
——chuſes his miniſtry ibid.
——proceeds with ſeverity againſt ſome ſuſpected perſons ibid.
——holds a conference with ſome puritans at Hampton-court 313
——his ſpeech to the parliament ibid.
——concludes peace with Spain 314
——is in danger of being deſtroyed by the papiſts 315
——his profuſion 316
——propoſes an union between England and Scotland ibid.
——his bold attempts to raiſe money 317
——iſſues a proclamation againſt the Jeſuits ibid.
——his great pedantry 318
——ſettles the government of Ireland ibid.
——heaps favours on Robert Carre ibid.
——reſtores the families of Eſſex and Howard 319
——inſtitutes the order of Baronets to raiſe money ibid.
——diſgraces one favourite and makes choice of another 320
——viſits Scotland ibid.
——calls a general aſſembly of the clergy 321
——is influenced by the Spaniſh ambaſſador 323
——calls a new parliament ibid.
——his deſpotic proceedings 324
——ſends his ſon to Spain 326
——amuſed with falſe promiſes ibid.
——his death and character 330
——ſtate of commerce ibid.
James II. aſcends the throne 485
——his ſpeech to the privy-council ibid.
——flattered by addreſſes from all parties ibid.
——makes an open profeſſion of his attachment to the prieſts ibid.
——is blamed by the pope for his raſhneſs ibid.
——puniſhes Titus Oates ibid.
——calls a parliament in Scotland 486
——and another in Scotland ibid.
——is oppoſed by the duke of Monmouth ibid.
——and by the duke of Argyle, who lands in Scotland ibid.
——ſuppreſſes both rebellions ibid.
——horrid cruelties to all the unhappy priſoners 487
——diſpenſes with the teſt-act in favour of papiſts ibid.
——appoints Tyrconnel, a papiſt, lord-lieutenant of Ireland ibid.
——prefers papiſts to places of truſt and honour ibid.
——diſpenſes with the penal laws 487
——ſends popiſh biſhops into different parts of England ibid.
——eſtabliſhes a high-court of commiſſion contrary to law 488
——is directed by father Peters, a jeſuit ibid.
——ſends an ambaſſador to the pope ibid.
——grants a toleration without conſent of parliament ibid.
——proceeds in the moſt ſcandalous manner againſt the fellows of Magdalen college 489
——orders the clergy to read his declaration in the churches ibid.
——ſends the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſix biſhops to the Tower 490
——ſchemes formed againſt him 491
——a manifeſto publiſhed by the prince of Orange ibid.
——ſees his danger ibid.
——diſcharges ſome of the papiſts ibid.
——reſolves to call a free parliament ibid.
——but is prevented by the prince of Orange ibid.
——abſconds privately 492
——is taken at Feverſham and brought back to London ibid.
——retires a ſecond time and embarks for France ibid.
——gives himſelf up to the company of Jeſuits ibid.
——writes letters to the convention of eſtates 493
——his offers rejected ibid.
——ſtate of commerce and learning at the end of his reign 494
——the Iriſh take up arms to reinſtate him on the throne 497
——lands at Kinſale 498
——is met at Dublin by the Romiſh clergy ibid.
——marches to Londonderry ibid.
——is defeated at the Boyne 500
——returns to France 501
——his death and character 519
Jeffries, lord chief-juſtice, his horrid cruelties 487
——is created a peer, and made high-chancellor ibid.
John, king, aſcends the throne 101
——why called Lackland ibid.
——divorces his wife, and marries another ibid.
——his imprudent conduct ibid.
——lands an army in Normandy 102
——oppreſſes the Normans ibid.
——is oppoſed by the French king ibid.
——takes his nephew Arthur priſoner ibid.
——cauſes him to be barbarouſly murdered ibid.
——deſerted by his vaſſals in Normandy ibid.
——ſollicits aſſiſtance from the pope 103
——ſends the conſtable of Cheſter to oppoſe the French king ibid.
——returns to England with diſgrace ibid.
——conſpiracies formed againſt him ibid.
——is oppoſed by the monks of Canterbury ibid.
——is exaſperated againſt the pope 104
——the pope interdicts the kingdom ibid.
——the king's obſtinacy ibid.
——becomes more and more tyrannical ibid.
——ſends an embaſſy to Rome page 104
——compels the barons to give him hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour 104
——has an interview with Pandolph the legate 105
——preſents his crown to the legate ibid.
——becomes tributary to the pope ibid.
——attempts to invade France ibid.
——the barons refuſe to join his ſtandard ibid.
——receives abſolution ibid.
——oppoſed by the barons 106
——they demand a renewal of the charter of Henry I. ibid.
——he meets them near Staines ibid.
——ſigns the great charter ibid.
——grants the charter of foreſts 110
——farther diſſentions between him and the barons 112
——is oppoſed by Lewis, dauphin of France ibid.
——his great cowardice ibid.
——raiſes an army; but is deſerted by the barons 113
——his death and character ibid.
——ſtate of learning in his reign ibid.
——ſtate of commerce and manners of the people 114
John, king of Bohemia, commands a part of the French army 152
John, the French king, raiſes a great army 156
——is taken priſoner by the Engliſh 157
——is nobly treated by Edward the Black Prince ibid.
——brought in triumph to London ibid.
——his generous behaviour 159
Iſabella, daughter of the French king, married to Edward II. 136
——ſhe intrigues with the barons 139
——goes over to France ibid.
——refuſes to return, unleſs the king would diſmiſs his favourites ibid.
——reſolves to invade England ibid.
——her meaſures approved of by the barons and clergy ibid.
——ſhe lands in Suffolk ibid.
——publiſhes a declaration ibid.
——takes the king, her huſband, priſoner 140
——calls a parliament; and obliges him to reſign the crown ib.
——places her ſon on the throne ibid.
——cauſes Edward II. her huſband, to be murdered 141
——her ſcandalous behaviour with Mortimer 143
——is hated by the people ibid.
——impriſoned for life ibid.

K.

KEILING, engages in the Ryehouſe plot page 482
——diſcovers his accomplices; who are all taken 483
Kenmure, viſcount, engages in the rebellion 557
——proclaims the pretender in ſeveral towns ibid.
——marches to Preſton ibid.
——ſurrenders priſoner 558
——impeached by the commons 559
——condemned and executed 560
Kent, kingdom of 25
——account of its kings ibid.
——embraces chriſtianity ibid.
Kirk, general, ſent into the weſt to oppoſe the rebels 487
——he commits the moſt ſhocking barbarities on the priſoners ib.
——a ſhocking inſtance of his cruelty ibid.
Knevet, Sir Thomas, ſeizes Guy Fawkes 315
Knox, John, the Scottiſh reformer 269
——his ſufferings ibid.
——his enthuſiaſm ibid.
——ſtirs up the people to deſtroy the monaſteries and churches ib.
——his inflammatory ſermons ibid.
——compares the queen, his ſovereign, to Jezebel 271
——ſtirs up the people againſt her ibid.
——inſults her to her face ibid.
——makes the pulpit a ſtage for inſolence and abuſe ibid.

L.

LAFELDT, or La Vall, battle of page 622
——brave conduct of the Engliſh, and cowardly behaviour of the Dutch 623
Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter, accuſed of hereſy 235
——diſputes with the king ibid.
——is burnt alive ibid.
Lambert, general, commands a part of the parliament's army 402
——defeats a great number of the royaliſts in Scotland 438
——his military conduct ibid.
——refuſes knighthood from Oliver Cromwell 440
——receives a penſion 451
——oppoſes Cromwell ibid.
——oppoſes the preſbyterians 456
——preſents a petition in favour of the army ibid.
——leads a party of ſoldiers to Weſtminſter ibid.
Lanfranc, tutor to William Rufus 70
——appointed archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——perſuades the Engliſh to make Rufus their ſovereign ibid.
——crowns the king ibid.
——his great abilities 71
——remonſtrates in favour of the people ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Langton, cardinal, archbiſhop of Canterbury 103
——returns to England from Rome 104
——abſolves king John 105
——puts himſelf at the head of the barons 106
——aſſiſts in procuring the great charter ibid.
——ſuſpended by the pope 12
Latimer, biſhop, committed to the Tower 258
——burnt at Oxford 263
——his laſt words ibid.

# INDEX.

Lanſdown, battle of page 392
Laud, William, becomes the favourite of Charles I. 334
——hated by the people 349
——puts himſelf at the head of a party ibid.
——his high notions of the prieſthood 350
——directs all the councils ibid.
——introduces new ceremonies into the church ibid.
——a cruel perſecutor of the puritans 352
——propoſes innovations in the church of Scotland ibid.
——accompanies Charles I. to Edinburgh, and brings upon himſelf the hatred of the Scots 353
——perſecutes the puritans, and ſhuts up the Dutch churche 354
——his ſeverity in the Star Chamber 355
——procures the diſgrace of biſhop Williams ibid.
——compoſes a new liturgy for the church of Scotland 356
——accuſed by the commons 366
——committed to the Tower 367
——brought to a trial 399
——found guilty, and executed 400
——his character ibid.
Lenthal, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, his advice 388
——his blaſphemous expreſſion 413
Leſley, general, commands the Scots army 436
Leſtwithiel, ſiege of 404
Llewellyn, prince of Wales, his connections 126
——demands in marriage the daughter of the earl of Leiceſter ib.
——rejects the conditions propoſed to him by Edward I. ibid.
——is oppoſed by the Engliſh ibid.
——ſurrenders to Edward ibid.
——brought to London, and married to the earl's daughter ib.
——returns to Wales ibid.
——adheres to the conditions of peace 127
——preſents a remonſtrance to Edward ibid.
——defeats the Engliſh ibid.
——advances into Radnorſhire, where he is killed ibid.
Lewis, ſon of the French king, invades England 112
——marches to London ibid.
——ravages Kent and Suſſex ibid.
——beſieges Dover 113
——forſaken by his friends ibid.
——driven out of the kingdom ibid.
Lilbourn, John, committed to priſon 421
London rebuilt by Alfred 40
——receives a charter 74
——a moſt terrible plague in it 4[illegible]6
——burnt down 468
——rebuilt in a more elegant manner than before ibid.

M.

MAGNA Charta, a tranſlation of page 106
——remarks on it 110
Maid of Orleans, account of 182
——her great courage ibid.
——her influence over the army 183
——is taken priſoner ibid.
——accuſed of witchcraft 184
——burnt alive ibid.
Margaret of Anjou, married to Henry VI. 185
——her ambition ibid.
——influences the national councils 187
——makes the duke of Suffolk her favourite ibid.
——and after him the duke of Somerſet ibid.
——great inſurrections on account of her conduct ibid.
——orders a reward to be offered for apprehending the duke of York 188
——is hated by the people for her connections with Somerſet 189
——her enterprizing diſpoſition 190
——refuſes to hearken to reaſon ibid.
——ſhe inſtigates the northern counties to take up arms 191
——marches to Wakefield ibid.
——defeats the duke of York 192
——her cruelty to the priſoners ibid.
——defeats the Yorkiſts ibid.
——puts ſeveral of the nobility to death ibid.
——raiſes another army 193
——is defeated at Taunton ibid.
——obliged to take refuge in Scotland ibid.
——goes over to France 194
——lands in England ibid.
——ſubdues Northumberland ibid.
——is defeated, and eſcapes to Flanders ibid.
——ſollicits the aſſiſtance of Warwick 196
——reinſtates her huſband on the throne ibid.
——is again driven out of the kingdom, and lands with freſh forces, at Weymouth 198
——marches to Tewkeſbury ibid.
——is defeated, and committed to the Tower ibid.
——releaſed, and dies in obſcurity ibid.
Mary I. aſcends the throne of England 255
——her critical ſituation 256
——triumphal entry into London ibid.
——partiality to the papiſts ibid.
——her deſign to re-eſtabliſh the popiſh religion 257
——begins her reign with acts of cruelty ibid.
——deſtitute of compaſſion to the proteſtants ibid.
——impriſons archbiſhop Cranmer 258
——calls a parliament ibid.
——reſolves to marry the king of Spain ibid.
——ſollicits the pope to reconcile her kingdom to the ſee of Rome ibid.
——orders all the proteſtant miniſters to leave their churches 259
——ſeveral diſturbances in the beginning of her reign page 259
——her unrelenting cruelty 260
——gratified in every thing by her parliament ibid.
——is married to the king of Spain 261
——invites cardinal Pole to England ibid.
——is directed in all her councils by Gardiner 262
——cauſes ſeveral biſhops to be burnt ibid.
——commits many other barbarities ibid.
——orders Cranmer to be burnt 263
——extorts money in an illegal manner 264
——loſes the important town of Calais 266
——becomes melancholy 267
——her death and character ibid.
——ſtate of learning and commerce in her reign ibid.
Mary II. aſcends the throne in conjunction with her huſband William III. 493
——appointed regent 500
——receives addreſſes from the cities and towns 501
——rewards the ſailors in the moſt liberal manner 505
——is ſeized with the ſmall-pox 508
——her death and character ibid.
——account of her funeral 509
Maud, the empreſs, countenanced by many of the Engliſh nobility 79
——her ſucceſſion obſtructed by Stephen, who ſeizes on the crown ibid.
——her cauſe ſupported by David, king of Scotland 80
——ſhe lands in England ibid.
——ſollicits the aſſiſtance of the earl of Glouceſter ibid.
——takes refuge in Briſtol ibid.
——her title recognized by the biſhop of Wincheſter 81
——the inflexibility of her temper ibid.
——is forſaken by her friends ibid.
——beſieged in Wincheſter ibid.
——makes her eſcape 82
——goes to Oxford, and is obliged to make her eſcape in the depth of winter ibid.
——returns to the continent ibid.
——loſes her huſband ibid.
Mary, queen of Scots, married to Francis II. of France 269
——aſſumes the arms of England ibid.
——returns to Scotland 270
——her unhappy ſituation 271
——her attachment to the family of Guiſe ibid.
——is married to lord Darnley 273
——delivered of a ſon 274
——her huſband murdered 275
——married to Bothwell 276
——deſerted by her friends ibid.
——taken priſoner ibid.
——makes her eſcape ibid.
——is defeated at Langſide 277
——takes refuge in England ibid.
——is made priſoner ibid.
——commiſſioners appointed to enquire into her conduct 278
——is impriſoned ibid.
——her nobles declare againſt her 279
——her cauſe eſpouſed by the catholic powers ibid.
——correſponds with the duke of Norfolk 281
——ſends the biſhop of Roſs with money to her friends ibid.
——ſome of the nobles of Scotland eſpouſe her cauſe ibid.
——papiſts write in her defence 291
——a conſpiracy to deliver her 292
——a commiſſion granted to try her 293
——executed 296
Minden, battle of 646
Monk, general, his conduct 457
——promotes the reſtoration ibid.
Monmouth, duke of, invades England 486
——is defeated, taken priſoner and executed ibid.
Montford, Simon de, oppoſes Henry III. 120
——inſiſts on calling a parliament 121
——takes the king priſoner ibid.
——his death and character 124
Morton, earl of, choſen regent of Scotland 281
——his character ibid.
Murray, earl of, choſen regent of Scotland 276
——defeats Mary, queen of Scots at Langſide 277
——duplicity of his conduct 278
——his treachery to the earl of Northumberland 279
——his death ibid.

N

NAESBY, battle of page 408
Newbury, firſt battle of 405
——ſecond battle of ibid.
Newark, Charles I. eſcapes from it 410
——beſieged by the Scots 412
——makes a noble defence ibid.
New-Foreſt, account of 66
——depopulated 67
Newton, Sir Iſaac, an account of 495
——his remarkable diſcoveries ibid.
Northumberland, kingdom of 23
——duke of, his ambition 253
——his perfidy ibid.
——reſolves to make his ſon king, by marrying him to the lady Jane Grey 254
——his political conduct ibid.
——his imperious behaviour 255
——takes up arms ibid.
——forſaken by his friends 256

——his

——his mean submission page 256
——committed to the Tower ibid.
——condemned and executed 257
Northumberland, earl of, betrayed by Murray 279

O.

OATES, Titus, his plot page 477
——impeaches the papists 478
——reflection upon it ibid.
——prosecuted for perjury 485
——his cruel sufferings ibid.
Odo, bishop of Bayeaux, his character 71
——his ambitious designs ibid.
Offa succeeds to the throne of Mercia 33
——his great abilities ibid.
——makes incursions into the neighbouring provinces ibid.
——his horrid cruelties ibid.
——his superstition ibid.
——founds the abbey of St. Albans 34
Order of the Garter instituted 155
——its motto ibid.
Orleans, siege of 181
——strong resistance made by the garrison ibid.
Orleans, maid of 182
——her political conduct ibid.
——animates the garrison ibid.
——relieves the city 183
——taken prisoner ibid.
——accused of witchcraft 184
——burnt alive ibid.
Ostorious succeeds to the government of Britain 9
——carries the Roman eagles into the north ibid.
——opposed by the Brigantes ibid.
——engages in battle with Caractacus 10
——defeats the Britons, and takes Caractacus prisoner ibid.
——decreed a triumph ibid.
Overbury, Sir Thomas, account of 319
——his prudent advice to the earl of Somerset ibid.
——barbarously murdered ibid.
Oxford, university of, founded 42
——Maud the empress escapes from it 82
——a parliament held there 122
——statutes and constitutions of ibid.
——great disputes concerning these statutes ibid.
——the army of Charles I. quartered there 392
——a parliament held there 400
——a negotiation entered into at that place 406
——Charles I. takes refuge there 409
——a valuable booty brought to that place ibid.

P.

PANDOLPH, the pope's legate, his advice to king John 105
——receives from him homage to the pope for all England ibid.
——returns to Italy ibid.
Parr, Catharine, married to Henry VIII. 240
——disputes with the king on the subjects of religion 242
——a plot laid to ensnare her 243
Paulinus sent to command in Britain 11
——destroys the Druids ibid.
——defeats queen Boadicia 12
——is recalled from his government 13
Paulinus, a Spanish notary, oppresses the Britons 18
——is burnt alive ibid.
Petition of rights 493
Philip of Spain, marries queen Mary 261
——hated by the English ibid.
——the parliament refuses to grant him money 264
Philip, Fort St. besieged by the French 631
——surrenders to the French 632
——great discontents on account of it ibid.
Philippa, queen of Edward III. her gallant behaviour 154
Piercy, family of, opposes Henry IV. 169
Plague, a dreadful one in London 466
Pocock, admiral, sent to the East-Indies 645
——defeats a French squadron ibid.
Pole, cardinal, stopped by the emperor at Dillingham 258
——sent legate to England 261
——his speech to the parliament ibid.
——becomes a great favourite of queen Mary 262
——his death and character 267
Porteous, captain, his cruelty 588
——is condemned to be hanged ibid.
——reprieved by queen Caroline ibid.
——taken out of prison and executed by the populace ibid.
Preston, battle of 557
Preston-Pans, or Tranent, battle of 619
Protestants, cruel persecution of 264
——many of them burnt 266

Q.

QUEBEC, siege of page 644
——its strength and situation ibid.
——taken by the English 645
——general Wolfe killed there ibid.

R.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, page 312
——condemned, but reprieved 313
——studies history 321
——his long imprisonment ibid.
——sent on an expedition page 321
——is beheaded ibid.
Ravilliac, murders Henry IV. of France 531
Remonstrance, famous one 393
Rezzio, David, favourite of Mary queen of Scots 273
——barbarously murdered 274
Richard I. ascends the throne 93
——a tumult at his coronation 94
——his generosity to the king of Scotland ibid.
——sets out for the Holy Land 95
——his undaunted behaviour 96
——defeats the Saracens 97
——divisions in his army 98
——procures honourable conditions for the christians ibid.
——taken prisoner ibid.
——set at liberty 99
——sets out for the continent 100
——killed 101
——his character ibid.
Richard II. succeeds to the crown 161
——ceremonies at his coronation ibid.
——insurrections in his reign 162
——his gallant behaviour 163
——becomes unpopular 165
——refuses to meet his parliament ibid.
——great disorders in his reign ibid.
——a slave to pleasure 166
——banishes the duke of Hereford ibid.
——forced to resign his crown 167
——sent prisoner to Pontefract 168
——murdered ibid.
——his character ibid.
Richard III. ascends the throne 203
——conspiracies formed against him ibid.
——opposed by Henry earl of Richmond 204
——is defeated and slain ibid.
——his character ibid.
Ridley, bishop of London, burnt at Oxford 263
Robert, duke of Normandy, takes up arms against his brother 71
——his indolence ibid.
——lands in England 75
——taken prisoner 76
Robert Bruce crowned king of Scotland 135
——his valour ibid.
——defeats the English 138
Robert Mowbray opposes William Rufus 72
Rye-house plot, account of 482
——its fatal consequences 483

S.

SACHEVEREL, an account of page 541
——censured by the house of commons ibid.
——his trial ibid.
——madness of the people on that occasion ibid.
Saladine, commander of the Saracens 96
——his great conduct in war ibid.
——defeated by Richard I. 97
——loses fifty thousand of his men ibid.
——concludes a truce with Richard I. 98
——his humanity and generosity ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Salisbury, earl of, joins the duke of York 190
——obtains a complete victory over the royalists ibid.
——but is obliged to leave England 191
——attainted in parliament ibid.
Saunders, admiral, sent against Louisbourgh 633
——sent to command a fleet in the river St. Lawrence 644
——assists in taking Quebec ibid.
Saxons, arrive in Britain 21
——defeat the Picts and Scots ibid.
——resolve to settle in Britain 22
——wars between them and the Britons ibid.
——they divide the nation into seven kingdoms 23
——state of those kingdoms ibid.
——they embrace christianity 25
——state of learning among them 64
Schomberg, duke of, accompanies king William to Ireland 500
——is killed ibid.
Senegal, taken by the English 640
Seymour, lady Jane, becomes the queen of Henry VIII. 232
——her death and character 234
Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, a violent persecutor 479
——murdered by the presbyterians ibid.
Ship-money, what 364
——hated by the people ibid.
——opposed by the city of London 365
——famous trial concerning it ibid.
Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, blocks up the harbour of Toulon 538
Shrewsbury, battle of 169
——consequences attending it ibid.
——cruelty to those who were taken prisoners 170
Sidney Algernoon, account of 483
——arrested, and committed to prison ibid.
——prosecuted in the most illegal manner ibid.
——his behaviour at the place of execution ibid.
Silesia, attacked by the king of Prussia 601
——his success ibid.
——delivered up to him 602
Simnel, Lambert, personates the duke of York 206
——crowned in Dublin ibid.

——lands in England page 206
——supported by the dutchess of Burgundy 207
——defeated and taken prisoner ibid.
South-Sea Company, account of 563
——great sums of money granted to support it ibid.
——the governors proceed in an imprudent manner ibid.
——public's censures of it ibid.
——many ruined by it 564
Spanish armada, account of 297
——preparations in England to oppose it ibid.
——queen Elizabeth's behaviour on that occasion ibid.
——alarms in England 298
——totally defeated ibid.
Stamp-act, account of 657
Standard, battle of 80
Stephen, king, ascends the throne of England 79
——gains over the populace ibid.
——his unhappy situation ibid.
——opposed by the empress Maud 80
——taken prisoner 81
——set at liberty 82
——is powerfully supported ibid.
——besieges the empress in Oxford ibid
——incurs the displeasure of the clergy 83
——reforms several abuses ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
——state of learning in his reign ibid.
Strafford, earl of, impeached 365
——brought to his trial 371
——his defence ibid.
——his generous behaviour 373
——his death and character 374
Sussex, kingdom of 26
——succession of its kings ibid.
Sweyn, king of Denmark, invades England 52
——is defeated ibid.
——returns to England 53
—— succeeded by his son Canute ibid.

T.

TALLARD, marshal, appointed to command the French army page 528
——marches to oppose the duke of Marlborough ibid.
——improper disposition of his army ibid.
——defeated and taken prisoner 529
Taunton, taken by Essex 404
——its garrison reinforced by Cromwell 406
——again besieged 407
——reduced to great distress 408
Templars, knights, account of them 141
——their origin ibid.
——great riches ibid.
——become obnoxious to the people ibid.
——accused of the most odious crimes ibid.
——several of them burnt alive ibid.
——the order abolished ibid.
Tewkesbury, battle of 198
Theodosius sent to command in Britain 18
——his justice, courage, and moderation ibid.
——defeats the Caledonians and Picts ibid.
——forms a new province ibid.
——returns to Rome ibid.
——is raised to be emperor 19
Thomas á Becket, account of him 85
——becomes the favourite of Henry II. ibid.
——appointed chancellor ibid.
——raised to be archbishop of Canterbury ibid.
——remarkable change in his conduct 86
——becomes a bigotted slave to Rome ibid.
——endeavours to raise the clerical power above the civil ibid.
——opposes the king ibid.
——summoned to answer for his conduct 87
——makes his escape out of the kingdom ibid.
——stirs up the French king against the English 88
——misrepresents the conduct of his sovereign to the pope ib.
——threatens the kingdom with an interdict ibid.
——pretends to be reconciled to the king 89
——lands in England ibid.
——excommunicates the king ibid.
——murdered ibid.
Thurot sails from Dunkirk 647
——sails to the Baltic ibid.
——and round the north of Scotland for Ireland ibid.
——lands at Carrickfergus ibid.
——his squadron defeated, and himself killed ibid.
Tillotson, Dr. John, his death and character 508
Tyler, Wat, account of him 162
——beats out the brains of a tax gatherer ibid.
——raises a great army in Kent ibid.
——is joined by another from Essex ibid.
——marches to Blackheath ibid.
——plunders the houses of the citizens of London ibid.
——sets fire to the monastery of St. John, in Clerkenwell ibid.
——puts to death the archbishop of Canterbury 163
——and some others of the nobility ibid.
——his matchless impudence to the king ibid.
——meets the king in Smithfield ibid.
——his insolent demands ibid.
——is killed by Walworth ibid.
——his followers dispersed ibid.
Tyrone, earl of, raises a rebellion in Ireland page 304
——opposed by the earl of Essex ibid.
——his barbarities ibid.

V.

VENABLES, sent to the West-Indies page 449
——miscarries in his attempt on Hispaniola ibid.
——takes Jamaica ibid.
Vernon, admiral, sails for the West-Indies 598
——lays siege to Porto Bello ibid.
——takes that strong fort with only six ships ibid.
——great rejoicings in England on that occasion ibid.
——attacks Carthagena 559
——but fails in taking it ibid.
Villiers, George, made duke of Buckingham 326
——his unbounded ambition ibid.
——sets out for Spain with the prince of Wales ibid.
——his ridiculous behaviour at Madrid ibid.
——sends to England false accounts of his proceedings ibid.
——attends James I. in his last illness 329
——becomes the favourite of Charles I. 331
——sent ambassador to France ibid.
——his ridiculous vanity 332
——brings over to England the princess Henrietta ibid.
——hated by the people 333
——remonstrated against by the commons 337
——persuades the king to make use of illegal measures for raising money 340
——attacks the French in the isle of Rheé 441
——his cowardly behavionr ibid.
——returns to England ibid.
——another remonstrance presented against him 343
——murdered by Felton 347
——the king affected with his death ibid.
Union of England and Scotland 532
Vortigern, made king of the Britons 22
——his scandalous vices ibid.
Vortimer chosen king ibid.
Utrecht, peace of 546
——much censured ibid.

W.

WADE, marshal, marches against the rebels page 619
——great sickness in his army ibid.
——is oblig d to return to Newcastle ibid.
——sends general Oglethorp to Lancashire 620
Wallace, William, an account of him 132
——stands up in defence of his country ibid.
——defeats the English ibid.
——basely treated by the Scotch nobility ibid.
——puts himself at the head of a chosen band of men 133
——has an interview with Robert Bruce ibid.
——reproaches him for his meanness ibid.
——his noble expressions ibid.
——convinces Bruce of his error ibid.
——excepted out of an act of indemnity 134
——continues to support the liberties of his country ibid.
——basely betrayed by the English ibid.
——put to death in the most barbarous manner ibid.
Walcote, concerned in the Ryehouse plot 483
——condemned and executed ibid.
Waldeck, prince, account of his conduct 617
——commands a party of the Dutch forces ibid.
Walpole, Robert, acts as prime minister 574
——his conduct in the house of commons ibid.
——supports all the court measures 575
——strong opposition against him ibid.
——courts popularity 579
——seconds the motions for an address ibid.
——projects the excise scheme 580
——makes a long speech in defence of that measure ibid.
——triumphs over those in opposition 581
——great riots in consequence of his conduct 582
——opposes settling a jointure on the princess of Wales 589
——his subtlety in that affair ibid.
——opposes all the schemes of the patriots 594
——is pressed to the utmost by those in opposition 595
——requests fresh supplies 597
——his aversion to a war 598
——carries all his schemes into execution 599
——a motion made to impeach him 600
——his remarkable defence ibid.
——forced to resign all his employments 603
——created earl of Orford ibid.
Wakefield, battle of 192
Walworth, lord-mayor of London, kills Wat Tyler 163
Wat Tyler, his reasons for taking up arms 162
——his insolence 163
——his cruelty ibid.
——exorbitant demands ibid.
——his death ibid.
Warwick, earl of, stands up in defence of the duke of York 189
——appointed governor of Calais 190
——returns to London ibid.
——takes up arms for the duke of York ibid.
——becomes the favourite of the people 191
——defeats the royal army, and takes Henry VI. prisoner ib.
——procures a new act relating to the succession ibid.
——places Edward IV. on the throne of England 192
——defeats the heroic queen Margaret at Touton 193
——sent ambassador to demand the French king's daughter as a spouse for Edward IV. 194

——is

——is diſguſted at the conduct of his ſovereign page 195
——retires to his caſtle at Warwick ibid.
——marries his daughter to the duke of Clarence ibid.
——raiſes another army ibid.
——enters into an open rebellion ibid.
——replaces Henry VI. on the throne ibid.
——directs the whole affairs of government ibid.
——again takes the field 197
——meets Edward IV. at Barnet ibid.
——a bloody battle enſues ibid.
——behaves in the moſt gallant manner 198
——is killed ibid.
Weſt Saxons, kingdom of, 26
——ſucceſſion of kings ibid.
Wentworth, earl of Strafford, his precipitate conduct 360
——adviſes the calling a new parliament 362
——made lord deputy of Ireland ibid.
——ſurrounded with enemies ibid.
——attacked in parliament 364
——impeached of high-treaſon 365
——brought to his trial 371
——his defence ibid.
——his noble behaviour 373
——his behaviour on the ſcaffold 374
——his character ibid.
William, duke of Normandy, viſits Edward the confeſſor 59
——his duplicity of behaviour 60
——ſets up a claim to the crown of England 61
——reſolves to invade England 62
——embarks and lands in Suſſex ibid.
——defeats Harold at the battle of Haſtings 63
——marches to London 64
——crowned at Weſtminſter 65
——dreadful diſorder attending it ibid.
——new models the laws ibid.
——grants a charter to London ibid.
——returns to Normandy ibid.
——takes hoſtages along with him 65
——a rebellion in his kingdom ibid.
——his tyrannical government 66
——drives many of the ancient nobility out of the kingdom ibid.
——quarrels with the clergy ibid.
——marches with an army into Scotland 67
——goes over to Normandy ibid.
——freſh rebellions in England ibid.
——his ſpirited conduct to the pope 68
——troubles in his own family ibid.
——orders Doomſday-book to be compiled ibid.
——his paſſion for hunting 69
——his death and character ibid.
William Rufus aſcends the throne 70
——his arbitrary proceedings 71
——his courage in war 72
——conſpiracies formed againſt him ibid
——quarrels with the archbiſhop of Canterbury 73
——enthuſiaſtic fury in his reign ibid.
——his heroic conduct 74
——reſolves to march to the Holy Land ibid.
——his paſſion for hunting ibid.
——is ſhot by an arrow ibid.
——his character ibid.
William III. aſcends the throne of England 496
——calls a parliament ibid.
——an enemy to perſecution ibid.
——parties formed both for and againſt him ibid.
——ſome of the biſhops refuſe to take the oath of allegiance ibid.
——gives his aſſent to the act of ſettlement 497
——his authority acknowledged in Scotland ibid.
——propoſes going over to Ireland 499
——great debates in his councils 500
——lands at Carrickfergus ibid.
——marches towards the Boyne ibid.
——his ſpirited conduct ibid.
——loſes duke Schomberg ibid.
——defeats James II. 501
——defeats the French fleet ibid.
——reduces Ireland ibid.
——ſends the duke of Marlborough to Ireland ibid.
——opens the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne 502
——embarks for Holland ibid.
——holds a congreſs with the allies ibid.
——conducts the army in Flanders 503
——returns to England ibid.
——congratulated by the parliament ibid.
——gives his aſſent to bills ibid.
——returns to Holland 504
——ſends a fleet againſt the French ibid
——defeats the French fleet at La Hogue 505
——great diſcontents among his ſubjects ibid.
——debates in parliament ibid.
——embarks for Hollands 506
——his courage deſcribed ibid.
——returns to England and opens the ſeſſion of parliament 506
——death and character of his queen 509
——takes upon him the whole of the government ibid.
——goes over to Holland ibid.
——promotes ſeveral ſalutary laws 511
——ſeveral conſpiraces formed againſt him ibid.
——concludes the peace of Ryſwick 512
——reduces the land forces 515
——ſends the Dutch guards over to Holland ibid.
——propoſes ſettling the crown upon the family of Brunſwick 516
——gives his aſſent to that act 517
——reſolves to oppoſe the French ibid.
——ſtate of the nation at the cloſe of his reign 520
——his death and character ibid.
——ſome account of his moſt remarkable virtues and vices ibid.
William, duke of Cumberland, appointed commander in chief of the army 616
——arrives at the Hague ibid.
——ſets out for Bruſſels ibid.
——his accompliſhments ibid.
——defeated at Fontenoy 617
——his conduct on that memorable day ibid.
——retreats in good order ibid.
——drives the rebels out of England 620
——retakes Carliſle ibid.
——ſent down to Scotland ibid.
——purſues the rebels ibid.
——defeats them at Culloden ibid.
——returns to London 621
——engages the French near La Vall ibid.
——is defeated 622
——his courage and prudence ibid.
——returns to London 623
——appointed to command the allied army in Hanover 635
——wiſe method of diſpoſing of his troops ibid.
——is obliged to retreat ibid.
——is obliged to conclude a treaty ibid.
——his death and character 657
——ſome particulars relating to him ibid.
Wolfe, general, aſſiſts in taking Louiſbourg 641
——takes poſſeſſion of the harbour ibid.
——ſent to command the army in Canada ibid.
——publiſhes a declaration ibid.
——his great humanity ibid.
——his letter to the French general ibid.
——makes himſelf acquainted with the river St. Laurence ibid.
——is forced to keep his bed with ſickneſs 645
——his example encourages the ſoldiers ibid.
——is mortally wounded ibid.
——his death and character ibid.
Wolſey, cardinal, made prime miniſter 217
——appointed archbiſhop of York 219
——his inſolence to the archbiſhop of Canterbury ibid.
——appointed legate ibid.
——made chancellor ibid.
——his friendſhip courted by foreign princes 220
——receives a premium from the French king ibid.
——his love of learning 221
——directs all the affairs of government ibid.
——his arrogant behaviour ibid.
——ſent ambaſſador to the Emperor 222
——procures the death of the duke of Buckingham ibid.
——aſpires to be pope 223
——deceived by the Emperor ibid.
——errects two colleges 224
——adviſes the king to raiſe money without authority from parliament 225
——makes the king a preſent of Hampton-Court ibid.
——appointed one of the commiſſioners to enquire into the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catherine 226
——is diſgraced 227
——impeached by the lords ibid.
——ordered to retire to York 228
——his behaviour there ibid.
——arreſted by order of the king ibid.
——is taken ill at Leiceſter ibid.
——his death and character with his laſt words ibid.

Y.

YORK, County of, a rebellion there page 233
——the nobility and gentry ſummoned to meet 384
York, Richard, duke of, account of him 186
——ſent over to Ireland ibid.
——lands in England 188
——ſends a letter to the king ibid.
——raiſes an army in Wales with which he invades England ibid.
——propoſes conditions to the king 189
——inſiſts on a change in the miniſtry ibid.
——retires to Wales ibid.
——becomes extremely popular 190
——a ſcheme laid to deſtroy him ibid.
——gains a victory over the royal army 191
——his death and character 192

# DIRECTIONS to the BINDER.

No. 1. FRONTISPIECE to face the Title
ibid. Edward the Black Prince page 157
No. 2. Alfred disguiſed in the character of a harper, viewing the Daniſh camp 40
No. 3. Hengiſt and Horſa meeting king Vortigern 21
No. 4. The Britons ſubmitting to Claudius 9
No. 5. Coronation of Henry VI. at Paris 183
ibid. Queen Elizabeth 267
No. 6. Paulinus baptizing Edwin, the firſt chriſtian king of Northumberland, at York 30
No. 7. Queen Elizabeth ſtriking the earl of Eſſex 303
No. 8. The firſt interview of Edgar and Elfrida 49
ibid. Richard III. 203
No. 9. Charles I. ordering his ſtandard to be ſet up at Nottingham-Caſtle 385
No. 10. Queen Anne 520
ibid. General Wolfe expiring in the arms of a volunteer and a grenadier 645
No. 11. The burning of St. John's monaſtery, near Smithfield, by Wat Tyler's rabble 162
No. 12. The duke of Queenſberry and Dover preſenting the act of union to queen Anne 534
ibid. James II. 485
No. 13. Pendergraſs delivering to William III. a liſt of the conſpirators concerned in the aſſaſſination plot 511
No. 14. Combat between Edmund Ironſide and Canute the Great 55
ibid. King John 101
No. 15. Robert, ſon of William the Conqueror, ſaving his father's life at the battle of Gerberoy 68
No. 16. The duke of Suffolk beheaded in a long-boat near Dover 187
ibid. Edward IV. 193
No. 17. Berinus converting the Saxons to chriſtianity 27
No. 18. Dunſtan dragging king Edwy from his conſort, queen Ethelgiva, on his coronation day 47
ibid. Edward I. 125
No. 19. The maid of Orleans receiving the ſword of St. Catharine 182
No. 20. Henry VI. 179
ibid. Henry VIII. 215
No. 21. Lady Mary Bruce expoſed as a public ſpectacle at Roxburgh-Caſtle, by order of Edward I. 135
No. 22. Mary II. 496
ibid. Edward V. 201
No. 23. Athelſtan ſaves his father's life, by taking Leofrid the Dane priſoner 44
No. 24. Anſelm Fitz-Arthur claiming the ground wherein William the Conqueror was going to be buried 69
ibid. Mary I. 255
No. 25. Defeat of the Spaniſh armada in 1588 298
No. 26. Murdering the Druids, and burning their groves 11
ibid. Oliver Cromwell 431
No. 27. Cardinal Wolſey reſigning the great ſeal to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk 227
No. 28. Edward the Black Prince waiting on John, king of France, his priſoner 157
ibid. Anne Boleyn 229
No. 29. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, taking the Daniſh ſtandard 40
No. 30. Charles II. 462
ibid. Charles I. 331
No. 31. Edward I. while prince of Wales, killing the aſſaſſin who wounded him with a poiſoned dagger in the Holy Land 124
No. 32. ——Kirke's villainy and cruelty to a young woman who begged of him to ſave her brother's life 487
ibid. Henry I. 74
No. 33. Richard, duke of Glouceſter, accuſing the queen of Edward IV. of witchcraft 202
No. 34. Edward the martyr ſtabbed by order of his ſtepmother Elfrida page 50
ibid. Edward VI. 245
No. 35. Tragical death of Jacob Van Ardevelt 151
No. 36. Guy Fawkes ſeized by order of Sir Thomas Knevet 315
ibid. William III. 497
No. 37. Edmund I. ſtabbed by Leoff the robber 46
No. 38. St. Auſtin preaching before king Ethelbert and queen Bertha 25
ibid. Richard I. 93
No. 39. Alfred the Great making a collection of laws 42
No. 40. The duke of Northumberland's mean ſubmiſſion to the earl of Arundel 256
ibid. Felton aſſaſſinating the duke of Buckingham 347
No. 41. Charles I. demanding the five members in the houſe of commons 380
No. 42. The murder of prince Arthur by king John 102
ibid. William the Conqueror 64
No. 43. Henry II. ſerving the firſt diſh to his ſon Henry's table 88
No. 44. The abbeſs of Coldingham cutting off her noſe and upper lip, as an example for her nuns to follow, to prevent being raviſhed by the Danes 38
ibid. Mary queen of Scots 270
No. 45. The battle of Agincourt named by Henry V. 177
No. 46. Queen Emma's chaſtity tried by ordeal fire 58
ibid. William II. 70
No. 47. Cromwell diſſolving the long parliament 443
ibid. Henry III. 114
No. 48. Landing of Julius Cæſar 4
No. 49. The governor of Meaux hanged on a tree whereon he uſed to hang the Engliſh priſoners 178
ibid. Edward II. 135
No. 50. Lord Wenlock killed by the duke of Somerſet 198
No. 51. Biſhop Gardiner coming with a guard to ſeize Catherine Parr, walking in the garden with Henry VIII. 243
ibid. James I. 312
No. 52. Jack Cade declaring himſelf lord of the city of London 188
No. 53. The death-warrant read to Mary queen of Scots in the hall wherein ſhe was beheaded 295
ibid. King Stephen 79
No. 54. The monks of Bangor put to the ſword by order of Ethelfrid 30
No. 55. Richard I. mortally wounded by an arrow ſhot by Bertram de Gourdon from the walls of the caſtle of Chibus 101
ibid. Henry V. 174
No. 56. The battle of Agincourt 170
No. 57. William the Conqueror ſeizing his brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, and earl of Kent 69
ibid. Map of England 1
No. 58. Edward III. 142
No. 59. George III. 650
ibid. George I. 552
No. 60. Henry VII. 205
No. 61. Caractacus betrayed into the hands of the Romans by Cartiſmandua 10
ibid. Queen Charlotte 651
No. 62. Tyrrel and his accomplices ſmothering Edward VI and his brother, the duke of York, in the Tower, by order of Richard III. 203
No. 63. Richard II. 161
No. 64. Henry II. 84
No. 65. The Manilla galleon taken by admiral Anſon 615
ibid. Henry IV. 168
No. 66. Henry, prince of Wales, taking the crown from off the pillow of his father, Henry IV. 172
No. 67. Richard II. killed at Boſworth-field 204
No. 68. Death of lady Jane Gray 260
No. 69. Death of lord Haſtings 202
No. 70. The biſhop of Beauvais's armour preſented to the pope, beſmeared with blood 100

BRITISH MUSEUM 26 DE 71

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